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## AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

### III



THE EMPEROR VALENTINIAN I  
*Colossal Statue, Barletta, Italy*

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1.518  
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# AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

JOHN C. ROLFE

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IN THREE VOLUMES

III



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## PREFACE

IN taking leave of Ammianus the translator does so with increased respect for the man and for his work. He is inclined, all things considered, to accept the opinion of E. Stein (*Geschichte des Spätromischen Reichs*, i, p. 331) that he is the greatest literary genius that the world has seen between Tacitus and Dante. Stein adds that Ammianus is superior to Tacitus in his greater objectivity, and in a far wider historical horizon in the attention which he gives to the provinces; the latter feature is, of course, due to changed conditions in the time of the later historian. Those who challenge this high estimate must admit that Ammianus had lofty ideals of personal conduct and of historiography, and that he used every effort to prepare himself for his great task.

In this volume the deviations from Clark's punctuation are somewhat more numerous than in its two predecessors; these, as well as the changes in orthography, are in great part due to the suggestions of the General Editors, rather than to any doubt of the importance of the punctuation by clausulae. It is natural to suppose that Clark's punctuation would sometimes trouble, and perhaps mislead, the general reader, although it is note-

## PREFACE

worthy that in no review or letter that has yet come to our attention has any comment on the punctuation of the text been made. There is also reason to suspect, as Gardthausen<sup>1</sup> and others have done, that while Ammianus unquestionably wrote with careful attention to rhythm, he was not a slave to it,<sup>2</sup> and that some deviations in punctuation are allowable, if not necessary.

A glance at the two maps in vol. i makes it clear that in the limited space allowed by the format it would be impossible to include all the places mentioned by Ammianus, even if it were possible to determine the position of all of them. It is hoped that the three sets of maps, which supplement one another, will prove adequate; see the third paragraph of the Preface to vol. ii. Another point is illustrated by Carnuntum, which does not appear on the maps; in xxx, 5, 2 it is called by Ammianus a town of Illyricum, and it is in fact in the Prefecture of Illyricum, but it is more exactly situated in Pannonia, on the Danube, just before that river turns abruptly to the south.

The dates in the running-titles refer only to the regular narrative of Ammianus. When he has on the same page something which took place at a different date, that date is given in the margin or in the notes.

The text of Ammianus, and to a greater extent that of the *Excerpta*, contain numerous spellings which vary from English usage, and some which

<sup>1</sup>Woch. f. Klass. Phil. 1911, 218.

<sup>2</sup>Julius Miller, *Jahresbericht*, 247 (1935), p. 54.

## PREFACE

are incorrect; for example, *Erethias* (*Erechthias*), Theoderic (Theodoric), Arrius (*Arius*). It has seemed best to follow the text in such cases, and to use the approved, or the correct, form in the translation. The *Excerpta* also contain a considerable number of spellings and constructions which are found only in late, or in mediæval, Latin. With the former the same practice has been followed. Readers should not count such instances as errors, or as inconsistencies.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

PHILADELPHIA, *November*, 1938.

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
THE SURVIVING BOOKS OF THE HISTORY	
Book XXVII . . . . .	2
Book XXVIII . . . . .	86
Book XXIX . . . . .	186
Book XXX . . . . .	294
Book XXXI . . . . .	376
EXCERPTA VALESIANA	
LINEAGE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE . . . . .	506
HISTORY OF KING THEODORIC . . . . .	531
INDEX . . . . .	571
ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS	
VALENTINIAN I. . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
MAP: THRAOE AND THE AEGAEAN . . . . .	<i>At end</i>
MAP: BRITAIN, GERMANY AND NORTH AFRICA . . . . .	<i>At end</i>



**AMMIANI MARCELLINI  
RERUM GESTARUM  
LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT**

AMMIANI MARCELLINI  
RERUM GESTARUM  
LIBRI QUI SUPERSUNT

LIBER XXVII

1. *Alamanni, fusis acie Romanis, Chariettonem et Severianum comites interficiunt.*

1. Dum per eorum orbem haec, quae narravimus, diversi rerum expediunt casus, Alamanni post aerumnosas iacturas et vulnera, quae congressi saepe Iuliano Caesari pertulerunt, viribus tandem resumptis, licet imparibus pristinis, ob causam expositam supra Gallicanos limites formidati iam persultabant. Statimque post Kalendas Ianuarias, cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorresceret sidus, cuneatim egressa, multitudo licentius vagabatur. 2. Horum portioni primae Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occursurus cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promptissimo, adscito in societatem laboris Severiano itidem comite, invalido et longaevo, qui apud Cabillona<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cabillona*, Hadr. Val. ; *calidona*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The ill-treatment of their envoys ; see xxvi. 5, 7.

<sup>2</sup> There were three divisions ; see 2, 2 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xvii. 10, 5.

# THE SURVIVING BOOKS OF THE HISTORY OF AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

## BOOK XXVII

1. *The Alamanni rout the Romans in battle and kill the generals Charietto and Severianus.*

1. While throughout the Orient the changing <sup>365-6</sup> course of events was developing as we have narrated, the Alamanni, after the sad losses and wounds which they had suffered from their frequent battles with Julianus Caesar, having at last renewed their strength (which yet did not equal its old vigour), and being an object of dread for the reasons which we have mentioned above,<sup>1</sup> were already overleaping the frontiers of Gaul. And immediately after the first of January, while throughout those ice-bound regions the grim season of winter bristled, they hurried forth in divisions,<sup>2</sup> and, without restraint a host was ranging everywhere. 2. Charietto,<sup>3</sup> who was then commanding general throughout both Germanies, along with soldiers eager for war, set out to meet their first division, taking as a partner in the campaign Severianus, who was also a general, an aged and feeble man, who at Cabillona<sup>4</sup> commanded the

<sup>1</sup> To-day Châlon-sur-Saône; cf. xiv. 10, 3, 5; xv. 11, 11.



## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

Divitensibus praesidebat et Tungricanis. 3. Proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto, ponteque brevioris aquae festina<sup>1</sup> celeritate transmisso, visos eminus barbaros, Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessebant, quae illi reciprocis iactibus valide contorquebant. 4. Ubi vero turmae congressae strictis conflixere mucronibus, nostrorum acies impetu hostium acriore concussa nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam repperit, cunctis metu compulsis in fugam, cum Severianum vidissent equo deturbatum, missilique telo perfossum.<sup>2</sup> 5. Ipse denique Charietto, dum cedentes obiectu corporis et vocis obiurgatorio<sup>3</sup> sonu audentius retinet,<sup>4</sup> pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu standi conatur, oppetit telo letali confossus.<sup>5</sup> 6. Post cuius interitum, Erulorum Batavorumque vexillum direptum, quod insultando tripudiantes barbari crebro sublatum altius ostendebant, post certamina receptum est magna.

2. *Iovinus, magister equitum per Gallias, unam et alteram Alamannorum manum imparatam caedit; tertiam barbarorum partem apud Catalaunos proelio superat, VI hostium millibus interfectis, IV vulneratis.*

1. Qua clade cum ultimo maerore comperta, correcturus sequius<sup>6</sup> gesta, Dagalaifus a Parisiis

<sup>1</sup> *festina*, Kellerbauer, C. F. W. M.; *summa*, Pet.; *firma*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *perfossum*, N, Bent., Kiess.; *per os fixum*, EAG; *peroffessum*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *obiurgatorio*, N, Kiess.; *iurgatorio*, V (cf. *of-* in note 2).

<sup>4</sup> *retinet*, Val.; *pertinet*, V, restored by Pet.

<sup>5</sup> *confossus*, Eyssen.; *confixus*, EAG; *confusus*, V.

<sup>6</sup> *secius*, Val.; *sed eius*, V.

XXVII., 1, 2-6—2, 1, A.D. 365-6

Divitenses and Tungricani.<sup>1</sup> 3. Accordingly, when the force had been more closely united in one, and with the speed of haste they had built a bridge over a small stream, the Romans, on seeing the savages at a distance, assailed them with arrows and other light missiles, which the enemy vigorously returned throw for throw. 4. But when the forces came to close quarters and fought with drawn swords, our men's lines were broken by the foe's fiercer onset, and found no means either of resisting or of acting bravely. And when they Severianus, who had been thrown from his horse and pierced through by a missile, they were all terrified and put to flight. 5. Lastly Charietto himself, by boldly opposing his body and by reproachful words, held back his retreating men, and by confidence caused by his long stand, tried to wipe out shame and disgrace; but fell pierced by a fatal shaft. 6. After his death the standard of the Eruli and Batavians was taken, which the barbarians with insulting cries and dancing with joy frequently raised on high and displayed, until after hard struggles it was recovered.

2. *Jovinus, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, unexpectedly attacks two companies of the Alamanni and cuts them to pieces. He vanquishes a third part of the savages in a battle at Châlons-sur-Marne, where 6000 of the enemy were killed and 4000 wounded.*

1. The news of this disaster was received with extreme grief, and Dagalaifus was sent from Paris to

<sup>1</sup> See xxvi. 6, 12.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

mittitur. Eoque diu cunctante, causanteque diffusos per varia barbaros semet adoriri non posse, accitoque paulo postea <sup>1</sup> ut cum Gratiano, etiam tum privato, susciperet insignia consulatus, Iovinus equitum magister accingitur, et instructus paratusque cautissime, observans utrumque sui agminis latus, venit prope locum Scarponna, ubi inopinus maiorem barbarorum plebem antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto praeventam ad internecionem exstinxit. 2. Exsultantes innoxii proelii gloria milites, ad alterius globi perniciem ducens, sensimque incedens rector eximius, speculatione didicit fida, direptis propius villis, vastatoriam manum quiescere prope flumen, iamque adventans, abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura, videbat lavantes alios, quosdam comas rutilantes ex more, potantesque non nullos. 3. Et nactus horam impendio tempestivam, signo repente per lituos dato, latrocinialia castra perrupit, contraque Germani, nihil praeter inefficaces minas iactanter sonantes et fremitum, nec expedire arma dispersa, nec componere aciem, nec resurgere in vires permittebantur urgente instanter <sup>2</sup> victore. Quocirca forati pilis et gladiis, cecidere complures, absque his

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<sup>1</sup> -ea ut, W<sup>2</sup>, Novák; post aut, V.      <sup>2</sup> instanter, A; EG omit; *urgenter instante*, Val., Pet.; *urgente instante*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvi. 9, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Now Charpeigne on the Moselle.

<sup>3</sup> The Moselle.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 47. So also the Roman women of early times, Val. Max. ii. 1, 5; Diod. Sic. v. 28, 1.

## XXVII., 2, 1-3, A.D. 365-6

make good the defeat; but since he delayed for a long time under pretext that it was impossible for him to attack the barbarians while they were scattered over various places, he was recalled a little later in order to receive the consular insignia with Gratianus,<sup>1</sup> who was still a private citizen. Then Jovinus, commander of the cavalry, was appointed to the task, and after being most thoroughly equipped and prepared, carefully guarding both wings of his army, he arrived near a place called Scarponna;<sup>2</sup> there he suddenly fell upon a great throng of the savages, took them by surprise before they could arm themselves, and in a short time utterly annihilated them.

2. Then he led on his soldiers, rejoicing in the glory of this bloodless victory, to destroy the second division of the enemy; and the glorious leader was advancing slowly, when he learned from a trustworthy scouting party, that after plundering the neighbouring farmhouses a predatory band was resting near the river.<sup>3</sup> On coming nearer, and being hidden in a valley concealed by a thick growth of trees, he saw that some were bathing, others were reddening their hair after their national custom,<sup>4</sup> and still others were drinking. 3. So taking advantage of this most favourable time, he suddenly gave the signal with the clarions and broke into the robbers' camp, while on the other hand the Germans, merely uttering boastfully vain threats and shouts, were pressed so hard by the victor that they could not gather up their arms, which were lying about here and there, nor form in line, nor rally for a stout resistance. Therefore most of them fell, run through by pikes and swords, except such as took to their

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

quos versos in pedes texere flexuosi tramites et angusti.

4. Hoc prospero rerum effectu, quem virtus peregerat et fortuna, aucta fiducia, Iovinus militem ducens, diligenti speculatione praemissa, in tertium cuneum qui restabat, propere castra commovit, et maturato itinere omnem prope Catelaunos invenit, ad congregiendum promptissimum. 5. Et vallo opportune metato, suisque pro temporis copia cibo recreatis et somno, primo aurorae exortu, in aperta planitie composuit aciem, dilatata arte sollerti, ut spatiis amplioribus occupatis, aequiperare Romani hostium multitudinem apparerent, inferiores numero (licet viribus pares). 6. Signo itaque per bucinas dato, cum pede collato res agi coepisset, saeva<sup>1</sup> vexillorum splendentium facie terriți, steterē Germani. Quibus hebetatis parumper, reparatisque confestim, ad usque diei extimum concertatione protenta, validius imminens miles, fructum rei bene gestae sine dispendio quaesisset, ni Balchobaudes armaturarum tribunus, magniloquentia socordi coali-tus, propinquante iam vespera, cessisset incondite. Quem si secutae residuae cohortes abissent, ad tristes exitus eo usque negotium venerat, ut nec acta nuntiaturus quisquam posset superesse nostrorum. 7. Sed resistens animorum acri robore miles, ita lacertis eminuit, ut hostium quattuor milibus sauciis, sex alia interficeret milia, ipse vero non

<sup>1</sup> *saeva*, Aldrich; *sueta*, vulgo; *insueta*, AG; et *sueta*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Châlons-sur-Marne.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiv. 1, 3.

heels and found shelter on the winding and narrow paths.

4. His confidence now increased by this successful stroke, the result of both valour and good fortune, Jovinus led on his soldiers, sending ahead an efficient scouting party, and hastily advanced against the remaining third division; and when by a rapid march he came near Châlons,<sup>1</sup> he found the enemy fully ready for battle. 5. Having measured off a stockade to suit the conditions, and refreshed his men with food and sleep, so far as time allowed, at the first coming of dawn he drew up his line of battle in the open plain; and he extended it with such skilful art, that the Romans, who were inferior in number (though equal in strength), by occupying a greater space appeared to be as numerous as the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

6. And so, when the signal had been given by the trumpet and they began to engage at close quarters, the Germans stood amazed, terrified by the fearful sight of the gleaming standards. For a while their ardour was blunted, but they quickly recovered and prolonged the fighting to the end of the day; and our vigorously attacking soldiers would have gained the fruit of victory without loss, had not Balchobaudes, tribune of the heavy-armed guard, a man by nature both boastful and cowardly, withdrawn in disorder at the approach of evening. And if the rest of the cohorts had followed his example and left the field, the affair would have come to such a sad ending that not one of our number could have survived to tell what had happened. 7. But the soldiers resisted with bold energy and courage, and were so superior in strength that they wounded 4000 of the enemy and

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

amplius mille<sup>1</sup> ducentis amitteret, ducentis tantummodo vulneratis. 8. Noctis itaque adventu proelio iam dirempto, refectisque viribus fessis, prope confinia lucis ductor egregius, in agminis quadrati figuram producto exercitu, cum comperisset occultantibus tenebris barbaros lapsos, securus insidiarum per aperta camporum sequebatur et mollia, calcando semineces et constrictos, quos, vulneribus frigoribus asperitate contractis, dolorum absumpserat magnitudo. 9. Exin progressus ulterius, revertens ubi nullum reppererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum, ab Ascariis (quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamanica) suffixum patibulo. Ideoque iratus, in tribunum animadvertere statuit, ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore fecisse, eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox documentis evidentibus constitisset.

10. Ei<sup>2</sup> post haec redeunti Parisios post claritudinem recte gestorum, imperator laetus occurrit, brevique<sup>3</sup> postea consulem designavit, illo videlicet ad gaudii cumulum accedente, quod eisdem diebus Procopii susceperat caput, a Valente transmissum.

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<sup>1</sup> mille, W<sup>2</sup>, Val.; EAG omit; ille, V.      <sup>2</sup> ei, Clark;  
et, V, del. Pet.      <sup>3</sup> breuique, Pet.; eumque, E<sup>2</sup>AG,  
Novák; aeuique, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., ready for battle; see note, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Named, with the Eruli and the Batavi, among the court troops: (*erant*) *inter auxilia Palatina sexaginta quinque* (Not. Imper. Occid. v. 157, Seeck).

## XXVII., 2, 7-10, A.D. 365-6

killed 6000 more, while they themselves lost not more than 1200, and had only 200 wounded. 8. When therefore the battle was now broken off by the coming of night, and the wearied soldiers had recovered their strength, their distinguished general towards daybreak led forward his army in square formation<sup>1</sup>; and finding that the savages had slipped away under cover of darkness, free from worry about ambuscades he followed them over the open and easy plains, trampling underfoot the dying, and the contracted bodies of those whom, since the severity of the cold had drawn their wounds together, the extreme pain had taken off. 9. Then, after advancing farther but returning on finding none of the enemy, he learned that the Ascarii<sup>2</sup> (whom he himself had sent by another route to plunder the tents of the Alamanni) had captured a king of the hostile army with a few of his followers, and had gibbeted him. Angered at this, he decided to punish the tribune who had ventured to take this action without consulting higher authority; and he would have condemned him to death, if it had not been clear from convincing evidence that the cruel deed had been committed through passion to which soldiers are prone.<sup>3</sup>

10. When Jovinus returned to Paris after these brilliant victories, Valentinian went out joyfully to meet him, and shortly afterwards made him consul;<sup>4</sup> and, you may be sure it added to his great happiness that he had received at that same time the head of Procopius, sent to him by Valens.

<sup>3</sup> That is, without the tribune's knowledge and giving him no chance to intervene.

<sup>4</sup> In 367.



## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

11. Praeter haec alia multa narratu minus digna conserta sunt proelia, per tractus varios Galliarum, quae superfluum est explicare, cum neque operae pretium aliquod eorum habuere proventus, nec historiam producere per minutias ignobiles decet.

### 3. *De III praefectis Urbi, Symmacho, Lampadio, et Iuventio.*<sup>1</sup> *Sub eo Damasi et Ursini de Episcopatu Romano contentiones.*

1. Hoc tempore vel paulo ante, nova portenti species per Annonariam apparuit Tusciam, idque quorsum evaderet, prodigialium rerum periti penitus ignorarunt. In oppido enim Pistoriensi, prope horam diei tertiam, spectantibus multis, asinus tribunali escenso<sup>2</sup> audiebatur destinatus rugiens, et stupefactis omnibus, qui aderant quique didicerant referentibus aliis, nulloque coniectante ventura postea quod portendebatur evenit. 2. Terentius enim, humili genere in urbe natus et pistor, ad vicem praemii, quia peculatus reum detulerat Orfitum ex praefecto, hanc eandem provinciam correctoris administraverat potestate. Eaque confidentia deinceps inquietius agitans multa, in navi-  
culariorum negotio falsum admisisse convictus, ut

<sup>1</sup> The text (3, 11) has *Viuentius*.  
stored by Bent. ; *ascenso*, W<sup>2</sup>AG.

<sup>2</sup> *escenso*, V, re-

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<sup>1</sup> See crit. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> 360—363.

<sup>3</sup> Tuscia, or Etruria, was divided into Tuscia Annonaria ("grain-bearing") and Tuscia Urbicaria or Suburbicaria ("near the city," i.e. Rome).

11. Besides these battles, many others less worthy of mention were fought in various parts of Gaul, which it would be superfluous to describe, both because their results led to nothing worth while, and because it is not fitting to spin out a history with insignificant details.

3. *Of the three prefects of the City, Symmachus, Lampadius, and Iuventius;<sup>1</sup> and of the contest under the last-named of Damasus and Ursinus for the Bishopric of Rome.*

1. At this time or a little earlier<sup>2</sup> a new form of portent appeared in Annonarian Tuscany,<sup>3</sup> and how it would turn out even those who were skilled in interpreting prodigies were wholly at a loss to know. For in the town of Pistoria,<sup>4</sup> at about the third hour of the day, in the sight of many persons, an ass mounted the tribunal and was heard to bray persistently, to the amazement both of all who were present and of those who heard of it from the reports of others; and no one could guess what was to come, until later the portended event came to pass. 2. For one Terentius, born in that city, a fellow of low origin and a baker by trade, by way of reward because he had brought Orfitus, an ex-prefect, into court on the charge of embezzlement, held the position of governor in that province. Emboldened 374 by this, he proceeded to stir up many disturbances, and being convicted of cheating in a matter of business with some ship-captains,<sup>5</sup> as was reported,

<sup>1</sup> Modern Pistoia.

<sup>2</sup> The *navicularii* brought grain from abroad.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

ferebatur, perit carnificis manu, regente Claudio Romam.

3. Multo tamen antequam hoc contingeret, Symmachus Aproniano successit, inter praecipua nominandus exempla doctrinarum atque modestiae. Quo instante urbs sacratissima otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur, et ambitioso ponte exsultat quem ipse,<sup>1</sup>iudicio principum maximorum, et magna civium laetitia dedicavit, ingratorum, ut res docuit apertissima. 4. Qui consumptis aliquot annis, domum eius in Transtiberino tractu pulcherrimam incenderunt, ea re perciti, quod vilis quidam plebeius finxerat,<sup>2</sup> illum dixisse sine indice ullo vel teste, libenter se vino proprio calcarias exstincturum, quam id venditurum pretiis quibus sperabant.<sup>3</sup>

5. Advenit post hunc urbis moderator Lampadius, ex praefecto praetorio, homo indignanter admodum sustinens, si (etiam cum spueret) non laudaretur, ut id quoque prudenter praeter alios faciens, sed non numquam severus et frugi. 6. Hic cum magnificos praetor ederet ludos, et uberrime largiretur, plebis

<sup>1</sup> *fruebatur dedit ipse*, V; *et a. p. e. atque firmissimo q. condidit*, added by G; *iudicio principum maximorum*, scripsi (cf. English note 3), om. *atque . . . condidit*.

<sup>2</sup> *plebeius finxerat*, EAG; *plebe eius infixerat*, V. <sup>3</sup> *sperabant*, Her. c.c.; *sperabatur*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> A.D. 374. The omen seems to have been that of an unfit person making trouble in a high position; there is perhaps a connection with the asses used to turn the mills in a bakery.

<sup>2</sup> City-prefect in 364 and 365, father of the Symmachus from whom we have a collection of letters.

<sup>3</sup> The Pons Aurelius, later called Pons Antoninus, now the Ponte Sisto (see *Top. Dict. Anc. Rome*, s.v. Pons

## XXVII., 3, 2-6, A.D. 364-5

he met death at the hands of the executioner when Claudius was city-prefect.<sup>1</sup>

3. However, long before this happened, Apronianus was succeeded by Symmachus,<sup>2</sup> a man worthy to be classed among the conspicuous examples of learning and moderation, through whose efforts the sacred city enjoyed an unusual period of quiet and prosperity, and prides itself on a handsome bridge,<sup>3</sup> which Symmachus himself, by the decision of our mighty emperors, dedicated, and to the great joy of the citizens, who proved ungrateful, as the result most clearly showed. 4. For after some years had passed, they set fire to Symmachus' beautiful house in the Transtiberine district, spurred on by the fact that a common fellow among the plebeians had alleged, without any informant or witness, that the prefect had said that he would rather use his own wine for quenching lime-kilns<sup>4</sup> than sell it at the price which the people hoped for.

5. Symmachus was succeeded as prefect of the city by Lampadius,<sup>5</sup> a former praetorian prefect, a man who took it very ill if even his manner of spitting was not praised, on the ground that he did that also with greater skill than anyone else; but yet he was sometimes strict and honest. 6. When this man, in his praetorship, gave magnificent games and made very rich largesses, being unable to endure

Aurelius). It was restored by Valentinian in 365-6 and bore his name for a time. It was not *built* (*condidit*) by Symmachus (see crit. note), but he dedicated it by the emperors' orders *after* his prefecture. See Dessau, *Inscr.* 769; *C.I.L.*, vi. 31402.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi. 181.

<sup>5</sup> In 365.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

nequiens tolerare tumultum, indignis multa donari saepe urgentis, ut et<sup>1</sup> liberalem se et multitudinis ostenderet contemptorem, accitos a Vaticano quosdam egentes, opibus ditaverat magnis. 7. Vanitatis autem eius exemplum, ne latius evagemur, hoc unum sufficiet poni, leve quidem, sed cavendum iudicibus. Per omnia enim civitatis membra, quae diversorum principum exornarunt impensae, nomen proprium inscribebat, non ut veterum instaurator, sed conditor. Quo vitio laborasse et<sup>2</sup> Traianus dicitur princeps, unde eum herbam parietinam iocando cognominarunt.

8. Hic praefectus exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo, cum collecta plebs infima domum eius prope Constantinianum lavacrum iniectis facibus incenderat et malleolis, ni vicinorum et familiarum veloci concursu a summis tectorum culminibus petita saxis et tegulis abscessisset. 9. Eaque vi territus ipse, primitiis<sup>3</sup> crebrescentis seditionis in maius, secessit ad Mulvium pontem, quem struxisse superior dicitur Scaurus, ut lenimenta<sup>4</sup> ibidem tumultus opperiens, quem causa concitaverat gravis.

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<sup>1</sup> *ut et*, Her.; V omits *et*.      <sup>2</sup> *laborasse et*, Her.; *laborasset*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *primitiis*, Pet.; *primitus*, EA; *premitus*, V (*primitus*, V<sup>3</sup>).      <sup>4</sup> *ut lenimenta*, Pet.; *lenimenta*, Novák; *ad lenimenta*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as mimes, actors, and charioteers; cf. xiv. 6, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The Vatican hill, where there was an Apostles' Church before whose doors the people begged for alms.

<sup>3</sup> Pseud.-Aurel. Victor, *Epit.* 41, 13, says that Constantine gave this name to Trajan, because he had his name put on many buildings (*ob titulos multis aedibus inscriptos*).

the blustering of the commons, who often urged that many things should be given to those who were unworthy of them,<sup>1</sup> in order to show his generosity and his contempt of the mob, he summoned some beggars from the Vatican<sup>2</sup> and presented them with valuable gifts. 7. But of his vanity, not to digress too far, it will suffice to give this single instance, insignificant indeed, but something to be shunned by high officials. For through all quarters of the city which had been adorned at the expenses of various emperors, he had his own name inscribed, not as the restorer of old buildings, but as their founder. From this fault the emperor Trajan also is said to have suffered, and for that reason he was jestingly called "wall-wort."<sup>3</sup>

8. As prefect, Lampadius was disturbed by frequent outbreaks, the greatest of all being when a mob, composed of the dregs of the populace, by throwing fire-brands and fire-darts upon his house near the Baths of Constantine would have burned it, had not his friends and neighbours quickly rushed to the spot and driven them off by pelting them with stones and tiles from the house-tops. 9. He himself, terrified by such violence in the first stages of a growing tumult, fled to the Mulvian bridge<sup>4</sup>—which the elder Scaurus<sup>5</sup> is said to have built—as though to wait there for the cessation of the tumult,

<sup>1</sup> See Livy, xxvii. 51, 2, for the first reference to this bridge (207 B.C.).

<sup>2</sup> So also Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *De Viris Ill.* 72, 8. This is M. Aemilius Scaurus, censor in 110 B.C., but the Pons Mulvius (Ponte Molle) must have been built as early as 220 B.C., to carry the Via Flaminia across the Tiber, and Scaurus restored it. Mulvius is unknown.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

10. Aedificia erigere exordiens<sup>1</sup> nova, vel vetusta quaedam instaurans, non ex titulis solitis parari iubebat impensas, sed si ferrum quaerebatur, aut plumbum, aut aes aut quicquam simile, apparitores immittebantur, qui velut ementes diversas raperent species, nulla pretia persolvendo, unde accensorum iracundiam pauperum, damna deflentium crebra, aegre potuit celeri vitare digressu.

11. Advenit successor eius ex quaesitore palatii, Viventius, integer et prudens Pannonius, cuius administratio quieta fuit et placida, copia rerum omnium affluente. Sed<sup>2</sup> hunc quoque discordantis populi seditiones terruere cruentae, quas<sup>3</sup> tale negotium excitarat.<sup>4</sup> 12. Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopi<sup>5</sup> sedem ardentes, scissis studiis asperrime conflictabantur,<sup>6</sup> ad usque mortis vulnorumque discrimina adiumentis utriusque progressis, quae nec corrigere sufficiens Viventius nec mollire, coactus vi magna, secessit in suburbanum. 13. Et in concertatione superaverat Damasus, parte quae ei<sup>7</sup> favebat instante. Constatque in basilica Sicinini, ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, uno die centum triginta septem

<sup>1</sup> *exordiens*, Bent.; *exoriens*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *affluente. set*, Clark; *adfluens. sed*, C. F. W. M.; *fluentes et V (fluens et, V<sup>3</sup>, EAG)*.  
<sup>3</sup> *quas*, Pet.; *quae*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *excitarat*, Pet.; *excitauere*, EAG; *excitare*, V (*excitauere*, V<sup>3</sup>).      <sup>5</sup> *episcopi*, Her.; *episcopalem*, EAG; *epicops*, V (*episcopalem*, V<sup>3</sup>).      <sup>6</sup> *conflictabantur*, G; *conflictabant*, V.      <sup>7</sup> *ei*, GV<sup>3</sup>; *causae eius*, Her.; *eius*, V.

XXVII., 3, 10-13, A.D. 365-7

which a serious cause had aroused. 10. For when preparing to erect new buildings or restoring old ones, he did not order materials to be obtained from the usual taxes,<sup>1</sup> but if there was need of iron, lead, bronze, or anything of the kind, attendants were set on, in order that they might, under pretence of buying the various articles, seize them without paying anything. In consequence, he was barely able by swift flight to avoid the anger of the incensed poor, who had repeated losses to lament.

11. As his successor came Viventius, a former 366-7 court-chancellor, a just and prudent man of Pannonia, whose administration was quiet and mild, and rich in an abundance of everything. But he, too, was alarmed by sanguinary outbreaks of the factions of the people, which were caused by the following affair. 12. Damasus and Ursinus, burning with a superhuman desire of seizing the bishopric, engaged in bitter strife because of their opposing interests; and the supporters of both parties went even so far as conflicts ending in bloodshed and death. Since Viventius was able neither to end nor to diminish this strife, he was compelled to yield to its great violence, and retired to the suburbs. 13. And in the struggle Damasus was victorious through the efforts of the party which favoured him. It is a well-known fact that in the basilica of Sicininus,<sup>2</sup> where the assembly of the Christian sect is held, in a single day a hundred and thirty-seven corpses of the slain were found, and that it was only with difficulty that the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., a fund set aside for such purposes; see Exc. 67. For *tituli* see xxx. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> In the Fifth Region, also called *Basilica Liberii* (see Val. in Wagner-Erfurdt); now Santa Maria Maggiore.



## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

reperta cadavera peremptorum, efferatamque diu plebem aegre postea delenitam.

14. Neque ego abnuo, ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, huius rei cupidos ob impetrandum quod appetunt, omni contentione laterum iurgare<sup>1</sup> debere, cum id adepti, futuri sint ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. 15. Qui esse poterant beati re vera, si magnitudine urbis despecta, quam vitiis opponunt, ad imitationem antistitum quorundam provincialium viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum, et supercilia humum spectantia, perpetuo numini, verisque eius cultoribus, ut puros commendant, et verecundos. Hactenus deviasse sufficiet, nunc ad rerum ordines revertamur.

### 4. *Describuntur populi et VI provinciae Thraciarum, singularumque clarae urbes.*

1. Dum aguntur ante dicta per Gallias et Italiam, novi per Thracias exciti sunt procinctus. Valens enim ut consulto placuerat fratri, cuius regebatur arbitrio, arma concussit in Gothos, ratione iusta permotus, quod auxilia misere Procopio, civilia bella coeptanti. Ergo conveniet<sup>2</sup> pauca super harum origine regionum et situ transcurrere, per brevem excessum.

<sup>1</sup> *iurgare*, V, rest. by Pet.; *iurgari*, EAG. C. F. W. M.; *conuenit*, EAGV<sup>3</sup>; *con*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *conueniet*,

long-continued frenzy of the people was afterwards quieted.

14. Bearing in mind the ostentation in city life, I do not deny that those who are desirous of such a thing ought to struggle with the exercise of all their strength to gain what they seek; for when they attain it, they will be so free from care that they are enriched from the offerings of matrons, ride seated in carriages, wearing clothing chosen with care, and serve banquets so lavish that their entertainments outdo the tables of kings. 15. These men might be truly happy, if they would disregard the greatness of the city behind which they hide their faults, and live after the manner of some provincial bishops, whose moderation in food and drink, plain apparel also, and gaze fixed upon the earth, commend them to the Eternal Deity and to his true servants as pure and reverent men. But this will be a sufficient digression; let me now return to the course of events.

4. *A description of the six provinces of Thrace and their peoples, and of the famous cities in each.*

1. While the above-mentioned events were taking place in Gaul and Italy, a new campaign was set on foot in Thrace. For Valens, in accordance with the desire of his brother, whom he consulted and by whose will he was guided, took up arms against the Goths, influenced by a just reason, namely, that they had sent aid to Procopius, when he began his civil war. It will be fitting, then, to sketch hastily in a brief digression the early history and the topography of those regions.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

2. Erat Thraciarum descriptio facilis, si veteres concinerent stili, quorum obscura varietas, quoniam opus veritatem professum non iuvat, sufficere ea quae vidisse meminimus expedire. 3. Has terras immensa quondam camporum placiditate aggerumque altitudine fuisse porrectas, Homeri perennis auctoritas docet, aquilonem et zephyrum ventos exinde flare fingentis, quod aut fabulosum est, aut tractus antehac diffusi latissime, destinatique nationibus feris, cuncti Thraciarum vocabulo censebantur. 4. Et partem earum habitavere Scordisci, longe nunc ab eisdem provinciis disparati, saevi quondam et truces, et<sup>1</sup> (ut antiquitas docet), hostiis captivorum Bellonae litantes et Marti, humanumque sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius, quorum asperitate post multiplices pugnarum aerumnas saepe res Romana vexata postremo omnem amisit exercitum, cum rectore.

5. Sed (ut nunc cernimus), eadem loca, formata in cornuti sideris modum, effingunt theatri faciem speciosam. Cuius in summitate occidentali montibus praeruptis densetae<sup>2</sup> Succorum patescunt angustiae, Thracias dirimentes et Daciam. 6. Partem vero sinistram, arctois obnoxiam stellis, Haemimontanae celsitudines claudunt, et Hister, qua Romanum

<sup>1</sup> *et truces et ut*, Her.; *et truces ut*, EAG; *atrocitate, ut*, Pet.; *et trucetas aut*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *densetae*, C. F. W. M.; *densitate*, vulgo; *densita et*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, ix. 5.

<sup>2</sup> In the time of Ammianus included in Pannonia.

<sup>3</sup> The consul of 114 B.C., M. Porcius Cato; Dio, xxvi. 88 (vol. ii. *L.C.L.*); Florus i. 39, 3 f.; Eutr. iv. 24. Nothing is said of Cato's death by these writers.

## XXVII., 4, 2-6

2. A description of Thrace would be easy, if the pens of the earlier writers agreed ; but since their obscurity and their differences lend no aid to a work whose aim is truth, it will suffice to set forth what I myself remember to have seen. 3. That this land formerly consisted of a boundless expanse of gentle plains and lofty mountains, we know from the immortal testimony of Homer, who imagines that the north and west winds begin to blow from there ;<sup>1</sup> but this is either a fable, or else in former times the widely extended tracts marked out to be the home of barbarian tribes were all included under the name of Thrace. 4. A part of these were inhabited by the Scordisci,<sup>2</sup> who are now widely separated from those same provinces : a people formerly cruel and savage, and, as ancient history declares, accustomed to offer up their prisoners as victims to Bellona and Mars, and from their hollowed skulls greedily to drink human blood. By their savageness the Roman state was often sorely troubled and after many lamentable calamities finally lost a whole army with its commander.<sup>3</sup>

5. But, as we now see them, those same places, formed in the shape of a crescent moon, present the appearance of a beautiful theatre. At its western summit are the steep mountains through which the narrow pass of Succi opens, separating Thrace from Dacia. 6. The left side,<sup>4</sup> towards the northern stars, is shut in by the lofty heights of Mount Haemus and the Hister,<sup>5</sup> which, where it washes Roman soil,

<sup>4</sup> This reverses the directions usual on our maps ; but it is correct, since he begins at the west.

<sup>5</sup> The Danube.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

caespitem lambit, urbibus multis et castris contiguus et castellis. 7. Per dextrum (quod australe est) latus, scopuli tenduntur Rhodopes, unde eoum iubar exsurgit, finitur in fretum; cui undosius ab Euxino ponto labenti, pergentique fluctibus reciprocis ad <sup>1</sup> Aegaeum, discidium panditur terrarum angustum. 8. Ex angulo tamen orientali, Macedonicis iungitur collimitiis, per artas praecipitesque vias, quae cognominantur Acontisma: cui proxima Arethusa cursualis <sup>2</sup> est statio, in qua visitur Euripidis sepulcrum, tragoediarum sublimitate conspicui, et Stagira, ubi Aristotelem (ut Tullius ait), fundentem aureum flumen, accipimus natum. 9. Haec quoque priscis temporibus loca barbari tenuere, morum sermonumque varietate dissimiles, e quibus praeter alios ut immaniter efferati memorantur Odrysaee, ita humanum fundere sanguinem assueti, ut cum hostium copia non daretur, ipsi inter epulas post cibi satietatem et potus, suis velut alienis corporibus imprimerent ferrum.

10. Verum aucta re publica, dum consulare vigeret imperium, has gentes antehac semper indomitas, vagantesque sine cultu vel legibus, Marcus Didius ingenti destinatione repressit, <sup>3</sup> Drusus intra fines continuit proprios, Minucius prope amnem Hebrum

<sup>1</sup> *ad*, added by G; V omitus. <sup>2</sup> *cursualis*, Haupt; *arhetus acures vales*, V. <sup>3</sup> *repressit*, Kellerbauer; *pressit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The Thracian Bosphorus, separating Europe (Thrace) from Asia (Mysia). It has a central surface-current flowing from the Euxine, and a deeper one, and also along-shore currents, flowing towards the Euxine.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvi. 7, 12.

borders on many cities, fortresses, and castles. 7. On the right, which is the south side, extend the cliffs of Rhodope, and where the morning star rises it is bounded by the strait which flows with an abundance of water from the Euxine, and going on with alternating current to the Aegaeon, opens a narrow cleft<sup>1</sup> between the lands. 8. But on the eastern corner the land is connected with the frontiers of Macedonia by a steep and narrow pass, which is called Acontisma.<sup>2</sup> Next to this is the posting-station of Arethusa, in which is to be seen the tomb of Euripides,<sup>3</sup> noted for his lofty tragedies, and Stagira, known as the birthplace of Aristotle, who, as Cicero says,<sup>4</sup> poured forth a golden stream. 9. These regions also were occupied in former times by barbarians, who differed from one another in customs and language. Of these the Odrysae are noted for their savage cruelty beyond all others, being so habituated to the shedding of human blood that when there were no enemies at hand, at their feasts, after a satiety of food and drink they plunged the sword into the bodies of their own countrymen, as if they were those of foreigners.

10. But when our country increased in power, and the rule of consuls was in full sway, Marcus Didius, with great determination, checked these tribes that before had been always invincible and were roaming about without civilization or laws. Drusus confined them within their own bounds. Minucius utterly defeated them in a battle near the river Hebrus, which flows from the high mountains

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxxi. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Acad.* ii. 38, 119.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

a celsis Odrysarum montibus defluentem,<sup>1</sup> superatas<sup>2</sup> proelio stravit, post quos residui ab Appio Claudio pro consule sunt infesta concertatione deleti. Oppida enim in Bosporo sita et Propontide classes optinuere Romanae. 11. Advenit post hos imperator Lucullus, qui cum durissima gente Bessorum confligit omnium primus, eodemque impetu Haemimontanos acriter resistentes oppressit. Quo imminente, Thraciae omnes in dicionem veterum transiere nostrorum, hocque modo post procinctus ancipites, rei publicae sex provinciae sunt quaesitae.

12. Inter quas prima ex fronte, quae Illyriis est confinis, Thracia speciali nomine appellatur: quam Philippopolis, Eumolpias vetus, et Beroea, amplae civitates exornant. Post hanc Haemimontus Hadrianopolim habet (quae dicebatur Uscudama), et Anchialon, civitates magnas et opulentas.<sup>3</sup> Dein Mysia, ubi Marcianopolis est, a sorore Traiani principis ita cognominata, et Dorostorus et Nicopolis et Odessus, iuxtaque Scythia, in qua celebriora sunt aliis oppida Dionysopolis et Tomi et Callatia.<sup>4</sup> Europa omnium ultima, praeter municipia urbibus nitet duabus, Apris et Perintho, quam Heracleam posteritas dixit. 13. Rhodopa huic annexa, Maximianopolim habet et Maroneam et Aenum, qua condita et relictas, Aeneas Italiam auspiorum

<sup>1</sup> *defluentem*, Clark, c.c.; *fluentem*, V. Her.; *superatos*, W<sup>2</sup>AG; *superatis*, V. added by Novák, c.c.; V omits. *Calatis*, G; *galati*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *superatas*,  
<sup>3</sup> *et opulentas*,  
<sup>4</sup> *Callatia*, Her.;

<sup>1</sup> Florus, i. 39, 5, 6; Ruf. Fest. 9, 2.

<sup>2</sup> M. Lucullus, Eutr. vi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ruf. Fest. 9, 2-3.

of the Odrysae, and after these the survivors were completely annihilated by the proconsul Appius Claudius in a hot fight.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the Roman fleets took possession of the towns situated on the Bosphorus and the Propontis. 11. After these came General Lucullus,<sup>2</sup> who was the first of all to encounter the savage tribe of the Bessi and in the same onslaught overcame the Haemimontani in spite of their stout resistance.<sup>3</sup> While he threatened that region, all parts of Thrace passed under the sway of our forefathers, and in this way, after dangerous campaigns, six provinces were won for the republic.

12. The first of these on the side bordering on Illyricum is called Thrace in the narrower sense, and is adorned by the splendid cities of Philippopolis, formerly Eumolpias,<sup>4</sup> and Beroea. After this, Haemimontus<sup>5</sup> has Hadrianopolis,<sup>6</sup> also once called Uscudama, and Anchialos,<sup>7</sup> both great and rich cities. Then comes Mysia,<sup>8</sup> with Marcianopolis (so named from the sister of the emperor Trajan), Dorostorus, Nicopolis, and Odessus. Hard by is Scythia, in which the more famous towns are Dionysopolis, Tomi, and Callatia. Europa, the remotest province of all, in addition to various towns, is conspicuous for two cities, Apri and Perinthus, in later times called Heraclea.<sup>9</sup> 13. Rhodopa,<sup>10</sup> next to this, has Maximianopolis, Maronea and Aenus, which Aeneas

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxii. 2, 2; xxvi. 10, 4. See Map 1, Vol. II.

<sup>5</sup> Also called Thracia Secunda.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xiv. 11, 15.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xxii. 8, 43.

<sup>8</sup> Here for Mysia (or Moesia) Secunda, or Inferior; Mysia Prima belonged to Illyricum.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. xxii. 2, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. xxii. 8, 4.





## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

prosperitate perpetua, post diuturnos occupavit errores.

14. Constat autem (ut vulgavere rumores assidui), omnes paene agrestes, qui per regiones praedictas montium circumcolunt altitudines, salubritate virium, et praerogativa quadam vitae longius propagandae, nos anteire, idque inde contingere arbitrantur, quod colluvione ciborum abstinent calidisque,<sup>1</sup> et perenni viriditate roris asperginibus gelidis corpora constringente, aerae purioris dulcedine potiuntur, radiosque solis, suapte natura vitales, primi omnium sentiunt, nullis adhuc maculis rerum humanarum infectos. His ita digestis, pedem referamus ad coepta.

### 5. *Valens Aug. Gothis, qui auxilia Procopio contra ipsum miserant, bellum infert, et post triennium pacem cum eis facit.*

1. Procopio superato in Phrygia, internarumque dissensionum materia consopita, Victor magister equitum ad Gothos est missus, cogniturus aperte, quam ob causam gens amica Romanis, foederibusque longae<sup>2</sup> pacis obstricta, tyranno<sup>3</sup> dederat adminicula, bellum principibus legitimis inferenti. Qui ut factum firma defensione purgarent, litteras eiusdem

<sup>1</sup> *calidisque*, scripsi; *indumentisque*, Brakman in lac. 3 letters in G; *calidis* without lac., V; *calida*, J. Miller (with *conluvie* for *conluuione*); *avida* without lac., Her. (cf. xxv. 10, 13).

<sup>2</sup> *longae*, Liesenberg; *ingenue*, EAG (-uae, AG); *iugis*, Lind.; *indultae*, Novák; *inge*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *tyranno*, Pet.; *armorum*, G; *ramorum*, EA; *ramo*, V.

founded and abandoned,<sup>1</sup> and after long wanderings under continued good auspices, reached Italy.

14. Now it is well known, as constant reports have spread abroad, that almost all the country folk who dwell in the high mountains throughout the lands just described surpass us in health and strength, and in the prerogative (so to speak) of prolonging life; and it is thought that this is due to abstinence from a conglomeration of diet and from hot baths,<sup>2</sup> and a lasting freshness knits their bodies through cold sprinklings with dew; and they enjoy the sweetness of a purer air; further they are first of all to feel the rays of the sun, which are by their own nature life-giving, before they are infected with any stains from human affairs. After having thus given an account of these matters, let us return to our task.

5. *Valens Augustus makes war on the Goths, who had sent aid to Procopius against him, and after three years concludes peace with them.*

1. After Procopius had been vanquished in 366 Phrygia, and the source of internal strife lulled to rest, Victor, commander of the cavalry, was sent to the Goths,<sup>3</sup> in order to get clear information why a people friendly to the Romans and bound by the treaties of a long-continued peace had lent support to a usurper who was making war on the legitimate emperors. They, in order to excuse their action by a strong defence, presented a letter from the said

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxii. 8, 3, note.

<sup>2</sup> With *calidis* sc. *aquis*.

<sup>3</sup> The Moeso-Goths in Dacia. Zos. iv. 10, 11, calls them Scythians.

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

obtulere Procopii, ut generis Constantiniani propinquo, imperium sibi debitum sumpsisse commemorantis, veniaque dignum asserentes errorem.

2. Quibus eodem referente Victore compertis, Valens parvi ducens<sup>1</sup> excusationem vanissimam, in eos signa commovit motus adventantis iam praescios, et pubescente vere, quaesito in unum exercitu, prope Daphnen nomine munimentum, est castra metatus, ponteque contabulato supra navium foros, flumen transgressus est Histrum, resistantibus nullis.

3. Iamque sublatus fiducia, cum ultro citroque discurrens, nullum inveniret quem superare poterat vel terrere: omnes enim formidine perciti militis cum apparatu ambizioso propinquantis, montes petivere Serrorum, arduos et inaccessos, nisi perquam gnaris. 4. Ne igitur aestate omni consumpta, sine ullo remearet effectum, Arintheo magistro peditum misso cum praedatoriis globis, familiarum rapuit partem, quae antequam ad dirupta venirent et flexuosa, capipotuerunt, per plana camporum errantes. Hocque tantum, quod fors dederat, impetrato, redit cum suis innoxius, nec illato gravi vulnere nec accepto.

5. Anno<sup>2</sup> secuto, ingredi terras hostiles pari alacritate conatus, fusius Danubii gurgitibus eva-

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<sup>1</sup> *ducens*, V, restored by Novák; *pendens*, EAG.

<sup>2</sup> *anno*, added by W<sup>2</sup>G (after *secuto*, W<sup>2</sup>); *autumno*, EA (before *secuto*); V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> See xxvi. 6, 1; 7, 10.

<sup>2</sup> In Moesia Secunda, a province formed by Constantine the Great to oppose the Goths, and therefore called on coins by the name of Constantiniana Daphne.

XXVII., 5, 1-5, A.D. 366-8

Procopius, in which he asserted that he had assumed the sovereignty that was due him as nearly related to the family of Constantine;<sup>1</sup> and they maintained that their error was pardonable.

2. When this was learned from the report of the <sup>367</sup> aforesaid Victor, Valens, taking little account of so trivial an excuse, marched against the Goths, who already knew of the coming activity. Getting his army together at the beginning of spring, he measured off a camp near the fortress called Daphne;<sup>2</sup> and having made a bridge of planks over the gangways of ships, he crossed the river Hister without any opposition. 3. And now he was exalted in confidence, since, as he hastened hither and thither, he found no one whom he could conquer or terrify; for all had been struck with fear at the approach of the soldiers with their splendid equipment, and made for the mountains of the Serri, which are lofty and inaccessible except to those who are thoroughly familiar with them. 4. Therefore, to avoid wasting the whole summer and returning without accomplishing anything, he sent Arintheus, commander of the infantry, with plundering bands and seized some of the families which could be captured before they reached the steep and winding mountain-regions and while they were still wandering over the level plains. And after having attained only this, which was what chance offered him, he returned harmlessly with his men, without having inflicted or suffered serious harm.

5. In the following year, having attempted with <sup>368</sup> equal energy to invade the enemy's territory, he was prevented by extensive floods of the Danube

## VALENTINIANUS ET VALENS

gatis,<sup>1</sup> impeditus mansit immobilis prope Carporum vicum, stativis castris ad usque autumnum locatis emensum. Unde quia nihil agi potuit dirimente magnitudine fluentorum, Marcianopolim ad hiberna discessit.

6. Simili pertinacia, tertio quoque anno, per Novidunum navibus ad transmittendum amnem conexis, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos bellicosam gentem aggressus est, postque leviora certamina, Athanaricum ea tempestate iudicem potentissimum, ausum resistere, cum manu quam sibi crediderit abundare, extremorum metu coegit in fugam, ipseque cum omnibus suis Marcianopolim redivit ad hiemem agendam (ut in illis tractibus) habilem.

7. Aderant post diversos triennii casus finiendi belli materiae tempestivae. Prima quod ex principis diuturna permansione metus augebatur hostilis, dein quod commerciis vetitis ultima necessariorum inopia barbari stringebantur, adeo ut, legatos supplices saepe mittentes, venialem poscerent pacem. 8. Quibus imperator rudis quidem, verum spectator adhuc aequissimus rerum, antequam adulationum perniciosus illecebris captus rem publicam funeribus

<sup>1</sup> *euagatis*, Corn.; *uagatis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> When Fritigern with the Goths crossed the Danube and planned to war upon Achaia, they feared to leave Athanaricus behind, since he had remained true to the Romans. He was received at Constantinople by Theodosius in a friendly manner and died in 381. The Goths who had come with Athanaricus were so pleased by his

XXVII., 5, 5-8, A.D. 369-367

and remained inactive, near a village of the Carpi in a permanent camp which he had made, until the end of autumn. And since he was cut off by the extent of the waters from doing anything, he returned from there to Marcianopolis for winter quarters.

6. With like persistence in the third year also he 369 made a bridge of boats to cross the river at Novidunum and forced his way into the barbarian territory; and after continuous marches he attacked the warlike people of the Greuthungi, who lived very far off, and after some slight contests Athanaricus,<sup>1</sup> at that time their most powerful ruler,<sup>2</sup> who dared to resist with a band which he believed to be more than sufficient for himself, was forced to flee, in fear of utter destruction. Then he himself with all his men returned to Marcianopolis as a suitable place (considering that region) for passing the winter.

7. After the many vicissitudes of these three years timely opportunities arose for ending the war. 367 First, because the long stay of the emperor was increasing the enemy's fears; secondly, because the savages, since commerce was cut off, were so distressed by extreme scarcity of the necessities of life that they often sent suppliant deputations to beg for pardon and peace. 8. The emperor was indeed inexperienced, but very reasonable as yet in his judgment of conditions, until he was led astray by the fatal blandishments of his flatterers and inflicted on his country losses ever to be lamented; therefore,

royal funeral that they fought bravely for Theodosius. Cf. Zosimus, iv. 34.

<sup>1</sup> See Introd., Vol. I, p. xxvi, note 2, for this use of *iudex*.

## VALANTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

perpetuo deflendis affligeret, in commune consultans pacem dari <sup>1</sup> oportere decrevit. 9. Missique vicissim Victor et Arintheus, qui tunc equestrem curabant militiam et pedestrem, <sup>2</sup> cum propositis condicionibus assentiri Gothos docuissent litteris veris, praestituitur componendae paci conveniens locus. Et quoniam assererat Athanaricus, sub timenda exsecratione iuris <sup>3</sup> iurandi se esse obstrictum, mandatisque prohibitum patris, ne solum calcaret aliquando Romanum, <sup>4</sup> et adigi non poterat, indecorumque erat et vile ad eum imperatorem transire: recte noscentibus placuit navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quae vehebant cum armigeris principem, gentisque iudicem inde cum suis, foederari, ut statutum est, pacem. 10. Hocque composito, et acceptis obsidibus, Valens Constantinopolim redit, ubi postea Athanaricus proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulsus, fatali sorte decessit et ambitiosis exsequiis ritu sepultus est nostro.

6. *Gratianum filium Valentinianus consentiente exercitu Augustum nuncupat, et puerum purpuram indutum ad fortiter faciendum hortatur, militibusque commendat.*

1. Inter haec Valentiniano magnitudine quassato morborum, agitanteque extrema, colloquio <sup>5</sup> occultiore Gallorum, qui aderant in commilitio principis,

<sup>1</sup> dari, Pet.; dare, V. <sup>2</sup> militiam curabant et pedestrem, Momm. (c.m. tr. by Clark, c.c.); V omits.

<sup>3</sup> iuris iurandi, EAG (iuris deleted by Pet.); iuris omitted by V.

<sup>4</sup> Romanum, Bent., Novák (and c.c.); romanorum, V.

<sup>5</sup> conloquio, T, Hadr. Val.; consilio, Val.; conuiuio, G; conuiui, V.

consulting for the common welfare, he decided that peace ought to be granted. 9. Accordingly, he in his turn sent as envoys Victor and Arintheus, of whom one then commanded the cavalry and the other the infantry, and when their trustworthy report had informed him that the Goths agreed to the conditions which he offered, a convenient place was appointed for concluding peace. But since Athanaricus declared that he was bound by an oath accompanied by a fearful imprecation, and thus prevented by his father's orders from ever setting foot on Roman soil, and since he could not be induced to do so, and it was unbecoming and degrading for the emperor to cross to him, it was decided by those of good judgment that ships should be rowed into mid-stream, one carrying the emperor with his guard, the other the Gothic ruler with his men, and that thus a treaty of peace should be struck, as had been agreed. 10. When this had been arranged and hostages received, Valens returned to Constantinople, where later Athanaricus, driven from his native land by a faction of his kinsmen, died a natural death and was buried after our fashion with splendid rites.<sup>1</sup> 367

6. *Valentinian with the consent of the army appoints his son Gratianus an Augustus, exhorts the boy, who is clad in the purple, to brave deeds, and commends him to the care of the soldiers.*

1. Meanwhile, when Valentinian was attacked by a severe illness and was at the point of death, the Gauls who were at court in the emperor's service,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 32, note 1.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

ad imperium Rusticus Iulianus, tunc magister memoriae, poscebatur, quasi afflatu quodam furoris, bestiarum more humani sanguinis avidus, ut ostenderat cum proconsulari potestate regeret Africam. 2. In praefectura enim urbana, quam adhuc administrans exstinctus est, tempus anceps metuens tyrannidis, cuius arbitrio, tamquam inter dignorum inopiam, ad id escenderat<sup>1</sup> columen,<sup>2</sup> lenis videri cogebatur et mollior. 3. Contra hos nitebantur aliqui studiis altioribus in favorem Severi, magistri tunc peditum, ut apti ad hoc impetrandum, qui licet asper esset et formidatus, tolerabilior tamen fuit, et praeferendus modis omnibus ante dicto.

4. Sed dum haec cogitantur in cassum, imperator remediis multiplicibus recreatus, vixque se mortis periculo contemplans extractum, Gratianum filium suum, adulto iam proximum, insignibus principatus ornare meditabatur. 5. Et paratis omnibus militeque firmato, ut animis id acciperet promptis, cum Gratianus venisset, progressus in campum, tribunal escendit,<sup>3</sup> splendoreque nobilium circumdatus potestatum, dextra puerum apprehensum, productumque in medium, oratione contionaria destinatum imperatorem exercitui commendabat.

<sup>1</sup> *escenderat*, vulgo; *adscenderat* W<sup>2</sup>G (*asc.*, G); *dis-*  
*cenderat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *columen*, VEA, restored by Pet.; *culmen*,  
W<sup>2</sup>G.      <sup>3</sup> *escendit*, Gronov; *ascendit*, EAG; *tribunale*  
*se condit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> This was later. He was proconsul in 371 and 372, and city prefect in 388.

<sup>2</sup> Maximus, who slew Gratian and ruled for five years. His rise and fall are vividly described by Kipling in *Puck of Pooke's Hill*.

XXVII., 6, 1-5, A.D. 367

at a secret conference demanded that Rusticus Julianus, then master of the rolls, should be made emperor: a man who, as if smitten by a blast of madness, was as greedy for human blood as a wild beast, as he showed when governing Africa with proconsular power. 2. For as prefect of the city,<sup>1</sup> in the administration of which office he died, through fear of the precarious situation of the tyrant,<sup>2</sup> through whose choice he had risen to that high position as if for the lack of worthy men, he was compelled to assume the appearance of mildness and clemency. 3. Against these Gauls some with higher aims strove in the cause of Severus, then commander of the infantry, as a man fitted for attaining that rank; and, although he was strict and feared, yet he was more endurable and in every way to be preferred to the aforementioned aspirant.

4. But while these designs were being agitated to no purpose, the emperor was restored with the help of numerous remedies; and observing that he was hardly yet rescued from the danger of death,<sup>3</sup> he purposed to bestow the imperial insignia upon his son Gratianus, who had by this time nearly reached the age of puberty.<sup>4</sup> 5. And when everything was ready, when the soldiers had been won over to accept this with willing minds, and Gratianus had appeared, the emperor advanced into the plain and mounted the tribunal; then, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of men of high rank, he took the boy by the hand, led him into their midst, and commended the future emperor to the army in the following public address:—

<sup>3</sup> And so might be left without a successor.

<sup>4</sup> He was nine years old.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

6. "Faustum<sup>1</sup> erga me vestri favoris indicium, hunc loci principalis circumferens habitum, quo potior aliis iudicatus sum, multis et claris: consiliorum sociis votorumque auspiciis vobis, pietatis officium aggrediar tempestivum, prospera deo spondente, cuius sempiternis auxiliis stabit Romana res inconcussa. 7. Accipite igitur, quaeso, placidis mentibus, viri fortissimi, desiderium nostrum, id reputantes, quod haec quae fieri caritatis sanciant iura, non tantum transire voluimus per conscientiam vestram, verum etiam probata firmari, ut congrua vobis<sup>2</sup> et profutura. 8. Gratianum hunc meum adultum, quem diu versatum inter liberos vestros, commune diligitis pignus, undique muniendae tranquillitatis publicae causa, in augustum assumere<sup>3</sup> commilitium paro, si propitia caelestis numinis vestraeque maiestatis voluntas parentis amorem iuverit praeuntem: non rigido cultu ab incunabulis ipsis (ut nos) educatum, nec tolerantia rerum coalitum asperarum, nec capacem adhuc Martii pulveris, ut videtis, sed familiae suae laudibus, maiorumque factis praestantibus, concinentem—parcius<sup>4</sup> invidiae metu dicitur—protinus surrecturum. 9. Ut enim mihi videri solet mores eius et appetitus, licet nondum maturos, saepe pensanti: ineunte adolescentia, quoniam humanitate et studiis disciplinarum sollertium est<sup>5</sup> expolitus, librabit suffragiis puris

<sup>1</sup> *faustum*, C, vulgo; *augustum*, Corn.; *austum*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *vobis*, Bent.; *nobis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *adsumere*, Her.; *sumere*, W<sup>2</sup>G; *sumeret*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *parcius*, Madvig; *paucioribus*, EAG; *cautius*, Pet.; *paucibus*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *est*, add. vulgo, V omits; *sollertium expolitus librabat*, Pighius, with VP.

6. "It is a propitious sign of your devotion to me that I parade this robe of imperial rank, by which I have been judged preferable to other men, many and distinguished; so taking you as partners in my plans and favourers of my wishes, I shall proceed to an act of dutiful affection, which is timely since the god, through whose eternal aid the Roman state will endure unshaken, now promises success. 7. Therefore, my valiant men, accept I pray you with friendly minds my heart's desire, convinced that we have wished this action, which the duties of affection sanction, not only to be brought to your knowledge, but also to be confirmed by your approval as agreeable to you and likely to be advantageous. 8. This son of mine, Gratianus, now become a man, has long lived among your children, and you love him as a tie between you and me; therefore, in order to secure the public peace on all sides, I plan to take him as my associate in the imperial power, if the propitious will of the god of heaven and of your dignity shall support what a father's love suggests. He has not been, as we have been, brought up in a severe school from his very cradle, nor trained in the endurance of adversity, and (as you see) he is not yet able to endure the dust of Mars; but, in harmony with the glory of his family and the great deeds of his forefathers, he will forthwith rise (I speak with moderation, in fear of Nemesis) to greater heights. 9. For as I am wont to think, when I consider, as I often do, his character and his inclinations, although they are not yet fully developed: when he enters on the years of youth, since he has been instructed in the liberal arts and in the pursuit of skilful accomplishments, he will

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

merita recte secusve factorum : faciet, ut sciant se boni intellegi : in pulchra facinora procurabit, signis militaribus et aquilis adhaesurus : solem nivesque et pruinas et sitim perferet et vigilias : castris (si necessitas adegerit aliquotiens) propugnabit : salutem pro periculorum sociis obiectabit : et quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere poterit, et avitam."

10. Nondum finita oratione, dictis cum assensu laeto auditis, pro suo quisque loco et animo, milites alius alium anteire festinans, tamquam utilitatis et gaudiorum participes, Gratianum declararunt Augustum, clamorum<sup>1</sup> amplissimo sonu blandum fragorem miscentes armorum. 11. Quo viso maiore fiducia<sup>2</sup> Valentinianus exultans, corona indumentisque supremæ fortunæ ornatum, filium osculatus, iamque fulgore conspicuum, alloquitur advertentem quae dicebantur.

12. "En," inquit, "habes, mi Gratiane, amictus, ut speravimus omnes, augustos, meo commilitonumque nostrorum arbitrio, delatos ominibus faustis. Accingere igitur pro rerum urgentium pondere, ut patris patrique collega, et assuesce impavidus penetrare cum agminibus peditum gelu pervios Histrum et Rhenum, armatis tuis proximus stare, sanguinem spiritumque considerate pro his im-

<sup>1</sup> *clamorum*, Pet. ; *classicorum*, EAG ; *clarimorum*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *maiore fiducia*, G ; *more fiduciae*, Pet. ; *more fiducia*, V.

weigh with impartial justice the value of right and wrong actions ; he will so conduct himself that good men will know that he understands them ; he will rush forward to noble deeds and cling close to the military standards and eagles ; he will endure sun and snow, frost and thirst, and wakeful hours ; he will defend his camp, if necessity ever requires it ; he will risk his life for the companions of his dangers ; and, what is the first and highest duty of loyalty, he will know how to love his country as he loves the home of his father and grandfather."

10. The emperor had not yet ended his address when his words were received with joyful acclaim, and the soldiers, each according to his rank and feeling, striving to outdo the others, as though sharers in this prosperity and joy, hailed Gratianus as Augustus, with loud shouts mingled with the favouring clash of arms. 11. On perceiving this, Valentinian, filled with greater joy and confidence, adorned his son with the crown and the robes of supreme rank, and kissed him ; then, resplendent as Gratianus was and listening attentively to his father's words, Valentinian addressed him as follows :—

12. " Behold, my dear Gratian, you now wear, as we have all hoped, the imperial robes, bestowed upon you under favourable auspices by my will and that of our fellow-soldiers. Therefore prepare yourself, considering the weight of your urgent duties, to be the colleague of your father and your uncle and accustom yourself fearlessly to make your way with the infantry over the ice of the Danube and the Rhine, to keep your place close beside your soldiers, to give your life's blood, with all thoughtfulness, for

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

pendere quos regis, nihil alienum putare, quod ad Romani imperii pertinet statum.<sup>1</sup> 13. Haec pro tempore praecepisse sufficiet, cetera monere non desinam. Nunc reliqui vos estis, rerum maximi defensores, quos rogo et obtestor, ut accrescentem imperatorem fidei vestrae commissum, servetis affectione fundata.”

14. His dictis sollemnitate omni firmatis, Eupraxius (Caesariensis Maurus) magister ea tempestate memoriae, primus omnium exclamavit: “Familia Gratiani hoc meretur” statimque promotus quaestor multa et prudentibus aemulanda bonae fiduciae reliquit exempla, nusquam a statu naturae discedens intrepidae, sed constans semper legumque similis, quas omnibus una eademque voce loqui in multiplicibus advertimus causis: qui tunc magis in suscepta parte iustitiae permanebat, cum eum recta monentem, exagitaret minax imperator et nimius. 15. Consurrectum est post haec in laudes maioris principis et novelli, maximeque pueri, quem oculorum flagrantior lux commendabat, vultusque et reliqui corporis iucundissimus nitor, et egregia pectoris indoles: quae imperatorem implesset cum veterum lectissimis comparandum, si per fata proximosque

<sup>1</sup> *statum*, Her.; *salutem*, Haupt; *latus*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *De Off.* ii. 12, 41 f., *eademque constituendarum legum fuit causa quae regum. Ius enim semper est quaesitum aequabile . . . id si ab uno iusto et bono viro*

those under your command, and to think nothing alien to your duty, which affects the interests of the Roman empire. 13. This will suffice for the present by way of admonition; for the future I shall not cease to advise you. Now for the rest I turn to you, great defenders of our country, whom I beg and implore with firm affection to watch over your emperor, not yet grown up, thus entrusted to your loyalty."

14. After these words had been ratified with all solemnity, Eupraxius, a Moor of Caesariensis, then master of the rolls, was the first of all to cry out: "The house of Gratianus is worthy of this"; whereupon he was at once advanced to the quaestorship. He was a man who left many proofs of noble self-confidence worthy of imitation by sensible men, one who never deviated from the principles of a fearless nature, but was always firm and resembled the laws, which, as we know, in the manifold cases in court speak with one and the same voice;<sup>1</sup> and he then remained truer to the side of justice which he had espoused, even when the emperor, becoming arbitrary, assailed him with threats when he gave him good advice. 15. After this, all rose up to praise the elder and the younger emperor, and especially the boy, who was recommended by the fierier gleam of his eyes, the delightful charm of his face and his whole body, and the noble nature of his heart; these qualities would have completed an emperor fit to be compared with the choicest rulers of the olden time, had this been allowed by the fates

*consequabantur, erant eo contenti; cum id minus contingeret, leges sunt inventae, quae cum omnibus semper una atque eadem voce loquerentur.*



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

licuisset, qui virtutem eius etiam tum instabilem obnubilarunt<sup>1</sup> actibus pravis.

16. In hoc tamen negotio, Valentinianus morem institutum antiquitus supergressus, non Caesares sed Augustos germanum nuncupavit et filium, benevole satis. Nec enim quisquam antehac adscivit sibi pari potestate collegam, praeter principem Marcum, qui Verum, adoptivum fratrem, absque diminutione aliqua maiestatis imperatoriae, socium fecit.

### 7. *Valentiniani A. iracundia, feritas, et saevitia.*

1. His ex sententia rectoris et militum ordinatis, vix dies intercessere pauci cum Mamertinum, praefectum praetorio, ab urbe regressum, quo quaedam perrexerat correcturus, Avitianus ex vicario peculatus detulerat reum. 2. Cui ideo Vulcatius successit Rufinus, omni ex parte perfectus, et velut apicem senectutis honoratae praetendens, sed lucrandi opportunas occasiones occultationis spe numquam praetermittens. 3. Qui nactus copiam principis, Orfitum ex praefecto urbis solum exsilio, patrimonii reintegrata iactura, remitti fecit in lares.

4. Et quamquam Valentinianus, homo propalam ferus, inter imperitandi exordia, ut asperitatis

<sup>1</sup> *obnubilarunt*, C, vulgo; *adnubilarunt*, N; *adnubilabant*, EAG; *alinubilarunt*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Marcus Aurelius. Titus is not an exception; see *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xlv. (1914), pp. 43 f.

<sup>2</sup> At Amiens, Aug. 24, 367.

<sup>3</sup> In Illyricum, Africa, and Italy; cf. xxvi. 5, 5.

<sup>4</sup> In 365.

<sup>5</sup> In Africa.

and by his intimates, who, by evil actions, cast a cloud over his virtue, which was even then not firmly steadfast.

16. However, in this affair Valentinian overstepped the usage established of old, in that he named his brother and his son, not Caesar, but Augustus, generously enough. For before that no one had appointed a colleague of equal power with himself except the emperor Marcus,<sup>1</sup> who made his adopted brother Verus his partner, but without any impairment of his own imperial majesty.

7. *The propensity to anger, savageness, and cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus.*

1. Scarcely had a few days passed since these affairs were settled according to the desire of the emperor and the soldiers,<sup>2</sup> when Mamertinus, the praetorian prefect,<sup>3</sup> on his return from Rome, to which he had gone to correct certain abuses, was charged with peculation<sup>4</sup> by Avitianus, a former deputy governor.<sup>5</sup> 2. Therefore he was displaced by Vulcatius Rufinus, a man excellent in all respects, who seemed to be displaying the crown of an honoured old age,<sup>6</sup> except that he never let slip a favourable opportunity for gain, if there was hope of concealment. 3. As soon as he gained the imperial ear, he brought it about that Orfitus, a former prefect of Rome, was freed from banishment,<sup>7</sup> and, after restoration of his lost patrimony, was restored to his home.

4. Valentinian was known to be a cruel man, and although in the early part of his reign, in order to

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cic., *De Sen.* 17, 61, *apex est autem senectutis auctoritas.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 3, 2.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

opinionem molliret, impetus truces retinere non numquam in potestate animi nitebatur, serpens tamen vitium et dilatum,<sup>1</sup> paulatim<sup>2</sup> licentius erupit ad perniciem plurimorum, quod auxit ira acerbius effervescens. Hanc enim ulcus esse animi diuturnum, interdumque perpetuum, prudentes definiunt, nasci ex mentis mollitia consuetum, id asserentes argumento probabili, quod iracundiores sunt incolumibus languidi, et feminae maribus, et iuvenibus senes, et felicibus aerumnosi.

5. Eminuit tamen per id tempus inter alias humilium neces, mors Dioclis ex comite largitionum Illyrici, quem ob delicta brevia<sup>3</sup> flammis iussit exuri; et Diodori ex agente in rebus, triumque apparitorum potestatis vicariae per Italiam, ob id necatorum<sup>4</sup> atrociter, quod apud eum questus est comes, Diodorum quidem adversus se civiliter<sup>5</sup> implorasse iuris auxilium, officiales vero iussu iudicis ausos monere proficiscentem, ut responderet ex lege. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque Christiani, locum ubi sepulti sunt Ad Innocentis appellant.

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<sup>1</sup> *dilatum*, V; *celatum* or *dissimulatum*, Corn.    <sup>2</sup> *paulatim*, added by Brakman; *aliquandiu*, by EAG; V omits.  
<sup>3</sup> *breuia*, V, Clark; *levia*, EAG, Novák.    <sup>4</sup> *necatorum*, Hadr. Val.; *uexatorum*, G; *peccatorum*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *civiliter*, G; *uiriliter*, W<sup>2</sup>; *inlicite*, Dimock; *inlicite ter*, suggested by Clark; *uuliciter*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sen., *De Ira*, i. 13, 5; ii. 19, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Diocles was not a person of low rank; for this use of *alius*, which is fairly frequent in Ammianus, see xxiii. 3, 9, crit. note 5. The same is perhaps true of Diodorus.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., as was the right of a citizen; cf. Apul., *Metam.*

lessen his reputation for harshness, he sometimes strove to keep his savage impulses under his mind's control, yet the fault, as yet lurking and postponed, little by little broke forth without restraint and caused the destruction of many men; and was increased by fierce outbreaks of hot anger. For the philosophers define anger as a long-continued, sometimes permanent, ulcer of the mind, usually caused by weakness of the intellect; and they give for their opinion the plausible ground that the sickly are more inclined to anger than the sound, women than men, the old than the young, and the wretched than the fortunate.<sup>1</sup>

5. Most conspicuous, however, at that time was the death (among the executions of other persons of low rank<sup>2</sup>) of Diocles, former head of the state treasury in Illyricum, whom the emperor ordered to be burned to death because of some small offences; and also that of Diodorus, former state agent, and of three attendants of the deputy-governor of Italy; all these suffered cruel execution because the commanding general complained to the emperor that Diodorus had implored the aid of the law against him, as was his right,<sup>3</sup> and that the officials,<sup>4</sup> by order of the judge, had ventured to summon him as he was going on a journey, to answer to the action according to law. The memory of these victims is still honoured by the Christians in Milan,<sup>5</sup> who call the place where they are buried "The Place of the Innocents".

x. 6. *civiliter*, if it is the correct reading, gives the opinion of Ammianus, not of the accuser; see crit. note.

<sup>1</sup> The attendants of the deputy-governor.

<sup>2</sup> The seat of the deputy-governor of Italy.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

6. Dein cum in negotio Maxentii cuiusdam Pannonii, ob executionem a iudice recte maturari praecceptam, trium oppidorum ordines mactari iussisset, interpellavit Eupraxius, tunc quaestor, et "Parcius" inquit "agito, piissime principum: hos enim, quos interfici tamquam noxios iubes, ut martyras (id est divinitati acceptos) colet religio Christiana." 7. Cuius salutarem fiduciam praefectus imitatus Florentius, cum in re quadam venia digna audisset, eum percitum ira, iussisse itidem ternos per ordines urbium interfici plurimarum, "Et quid<sup>1</sup> agetur"<sup>2</sup> ait "si oppidum aliquod curialis non habuerit"<sup>3</sup> tantos? Inter reliqua id quoque suspendi debet, ut cum habuerit, occidantur." 8. Ad hanc inclementiam illud quoque accedebat, dictu dirum et factu, quod si quis eum adisset, iudicium potentis inimici declinans, aliumque sibi postulans dari, hoc non impetrato, ad eundem quem metuebat, licet multa praetenderet iusta, remittebatur. Itemque aliud audiebatur horrendum, quod ubi debitorum aliquem egestate obstrictum nihil reddere posse discebat,<sup>4</sup> interfici debere pronuntiabat.

<sup>1</sup> *et quid*, V, Clark; *ecquid*, vulgo.      <sup>2</sup> *agetur*, Novák; *agimus*, Pet.; *agitur*, Clark; *agitus*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *habuerit*, A; *habet*, Pet.; *haberet*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *discebat*, Clark; *dicebatur*, AG; *dicebant*, E; *dicebat*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> An incorrect definition of *martyres*, which is correctly defined by Ammianus in xxii. 11, 10; *id est* . . . *acceptos* is probably a gloss, as Valesius and Wagner thought.

<sup>2</sup> Praetorian prefect in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> For the reluctance of citizens to serve as decurions see xxii. 9, 8, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., this provision should be added to the law;

XXVII., 7, 6-8, A.D. 365

6. Later, in the affair of a certain Maxentius of Pannonia, when the judge had rightly commanded a speedy execution, the emperor ordered the death of the decurions of three towns; but Eupraxius, who was then quaestor, intervened, saying: "Act more mercifully, most dutiful emperor, for these men whom you order to be put to death as criminals the Christian religion will honour as martyrs (that is to say, as beloved of God)." <sup>1</sup> 7. Eupraxius' helpful self-confidence was imitated by the prefect Florentius <sup>2</sup> when he heard that, because of some pardonable offence, the emperor had flown into a passion and ordered the execution likewise of three decurions in each of a number of cities; for he said: "What is to be done, then, if any town does not have so many decurions?" <sup>3</sup> To the rest this also should be added, <sup>4</sup> that they shall be killed, when the town has them." 8. To this ruthlessness was added another thing, dreadful to do or even to tell of, namely, that if anyone came before him to avoid being tried before some powerful enemy, and asked that another judge be assigned him, the request was denied and the man was sent back to the person whom he feared, however many just reasons for the change he might present. Still another horrible thing was talked about; for when he learned that any debtor <sup>5</sup> could pay nothing because of the pressure of want, the emperor ruled that he ought to be put to death. <sup>6</sup>

*suspendi* seems to mean "posted" ("hung up"), cf. *legem figere*.

<sup>5</sup> To the fiscus.

<sup>6</sup> This was in accordance with a law of the XII Tables, which was nominally rescinded by the Lex Poetelia of 326 B.C. or later.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

9. Haec autem et similia licenter ideo altiore fastu quidam principes agunt, quod amicis emendandi secus cogitata vel gesta copiam negant, inimicos loqui terrent amplitudine potestatis. Nil autem valet correctio<sup>1</sup> pravitatum apud eos qui quod effici<sup>2</sup> velint maximae putant esse virtutis.

8. *Pictis, Attacottis, et Scottis post Ducem et Comitem interfectos, Britanniam impune vastantibus, Theodosius comes fusis praedam excussit.*

1. Profectus itaque ab Ambianis, Treverosque festinans, nuntio percellitur gravi, qui Britannias indicabat barbarica conspiratione ad ultimam vexatas inopiam, Nectaridumque comitem maritimi tractus occisum, et Fullofauden ducem hostilibus insidiis circumventum. 2. Quibus magno cum horrore compertis, Severum etiam tum domesticorum comitem misit, si fors casum dedisset optatum, correcturum sequius gesta: quo paulo postea revocato, Iovinus . . . in<sup>3</sup> eadem loca profectus reverti eisdem<sup>4</sup> celeri gradu permisit, adminicula petiturus exercitus validi; id enim instantes necessitates flagitare firmabat.<sup>5</sup> 3. Postremo ob multa et metuenda,

<sup>1</sup> nil autem (autem, cod. Scott.) valet correctio, Clark (ualet, Novák; correctio, Val.; mentio, Dimock); nulla uasat uectio, V. <sup>2</sup> uelint effici, Madvig (transposui); ueineffi; maximas, V. <sup>3</sup> in, added by Her. with preceding lac.; reuocata uinus eadem, V (eadem, EAG).

<sup>4</sup> reuerti isdem, Her.; prouertuidem, vulgo; prouertu idem caeleri, V. <sup>5</sup> firmabat, scripsi; firmabant, V.

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<sup>1</sup> For other examples of Valentinian's cruelty see xxix. 3, 2 ff.

XXVII., 7, 9—8, 1—3, A.D. 365—8

9. That some princes commit these and similar arbitrary acts with lofty arrogance is because they do not allow their friends the opportunity of dissuading them from unjust designs or deeds, and that because of their great power they make their enemies afraid to speak. No correction is possible of the perverse actions of those who believe that what they desire to do must be the highest virtue.<sup>1</sup>

8. *When the Picts, Attacotti, and Scots, after killing a general and a count, were devastating Britain without resistance, Count Theodosius routed them and took their booty from them.*

1. Having set out then from Amiens and hastening 367—8 to Treves,<sup>2</sup> Valentinian was alarmed by serious news which showed that Britain was brought into a state of extreme need by a conspiracy of the savages, that Nectaridus, the commanding general of the seacoast region, had been killed, and that another general, Fullofaudes, had been ambushed by the enemy and taken prisoner. 2. This report aroused great horror, and the emperor sent Severus, who at that time was still commander of the household troops, to set right the disasters, if chance should offer the desired opportunity. But he was recalled a little later, and Jovinus . . . having set out for the same regions, allowed them to return at quick step, intending to seek the support of a strong army; for he declared that this was demanded by the pressing necessities of the situation.<sup>3</sup> 3. Finally, because of the many

<sup>2</sup> In order to make war on the Alamanni; cf. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Text and meaning are very uncertain; see crit. notes.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quae super eadem insula rumores assidui perferebant, electus Theodosius illuc properare disponitur, officii Martii felicissime cognitus, asscitaque animosa legionum et cohortium pube, ire <sup>1</sup> tendebat praeunte fiducia speciosa.

4. Et quoniam cum Constantis principis actus componerem, motus adulescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britanniae, pro captu virium explanavi, ad ea quae digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi, ut Ulixes Homericus apud Phaeacas ob difficultatem nimiam replicare formidat.

5. Illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti, per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur. Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones, eisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit, terra vel mari, praedis acerbis incendiisque, et captivorum funeribus omnium violabant.

6. Ad haec prohibenda, si copiam dedisset fortuna prosperior, orbis extrema dux efficacissimus petens, cum venisset ad Bononiae litus, quod a spatio controverso terrarum, angustiis reciproci distinguitur maris, attolli horrendis aestibus assueti, rursusque sine ulla navigantium noxa, in speciem complanari camporum, exinde transmeato lentius freto, defertur

<sup>1</sup> *ire*, vulgo ; EAG omit ; *tenuis*, W<sup>2</sup> ; *pubetere*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> In a lost book ; the same expressions are used by Gellius, xiv. 1, 3, but in the order usual in English, *senescit adolescitque*.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyss.* xii. 452 f.

<sup>3</sup> Called Caledonians by Tacitus, Dio, and others.

alarming things which constant rumours reported about that same island, Theodosius, a man most favourably known for his services in war, was chosen to be sent there with all speed, and having enrolled legions and cohorts of courageous young men, he hastened to depart, preceded by brilliant expectations.

4. And, since in giving an account of the history of the emperor Constans I described the ebb and flow of the ocean<sup>1</sup> and the situation of Britain, as well as my powers permitted, I have thought it superfluous to unfold again what has once been set forth, just as Homer's Ulysses among the Phaeacians<sup>2</sup> shrinks from repeating the details of his adventures because of the excessive difficulty of the task.

5. It will, however, be in place to say, that at 368 that time the Picts, divided into two tribes, called Dicalydones<sup>3</sup> and Verturiones, as well as the Attacotti, a warlike race of men, and the Scots, were ranging widely and causing great devastation; while the Gallic regions,<sup>4</sup> wherever anyone could break in by land or by sea, were harassed by the Franks and their neighbours, the Saxons, with cruel robbery, fire, and the murder of all who were taken prisoners.

6. In order to prevent these outrages, if favourable fortune gave an opportunity, that most energetic leader hastened to the world's end, and reached the coast of Bononia,<sup>5</sup> which from the spacious lands opposite is separated only by a narrow space of a sea wont in turn to swell with dreadful surges, and again, without any danger for sailors, to sink to the form of a level plain. From there he quietly crossed

<sup>1</sup> The coast of Gaul opposite Britain.

<sup>2</sup> Boulogne.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Rutupias, stationem ex adverso tranquillam.<sup>1</sup> 7. Unde cum consecuti Batavi venissent et Heruli, Ioviique et Victores, fidentes viribus numeri, egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit, divisis plurifariam globis, adortus est vagantes hostium vastatorias manus, graves onere sarcinarum, et propere fusis, qui vinctos homines agebant et pecora, praedam excussit, quam tributarii perdidere miserrimi. 8. Eisdemque<sup>2</sup> restituta omni praeter partem exiguam, impensam militibus fessis, mersam difficultatibus summis<sup>3</sup> antehac civitatem, sed subito, quam salus sperari potuit recreatam, in ovantis speciem laetissimus introiit.

9. Ubi ad audenda maiora, prospero successu elatus, tutaque scrutando consilia, futuri morabatur ambiguus, diffusam variarum gentium plebem, et ferocientem immaniter, non nisi per dolos occultiores, et improvisos excursus, superari posse,<sup>4</sup> captivorum confessionibus, et transfugarum indiciis, doctus. 10. Denique edictis propositis, impunitateque promissa, desertores ad procinctum vocabat, et multos alios per diversa libero commeatu dispersos. Quo

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<sup>1</sup> *tranquillam*, V ; *tranquilla unda*, Gardt.      <sup>2</sup> *isdemque*, Gardt. ; *denique*, EAG ; *benigne*, Corn. ; *miserimisdemque*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *summis*, C. F. W. M. ; *arduus*, Her. ; *suis*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *et vinci*, added by Novák, c.c.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Richborough, cf. xx. 1, 3.

<sup>2</sup> London.

the strait and landed at Rutupiae,<sup>1</sup> a quiet haven on the opposite coast. 7. When the Batavi, Heruli, Jovii, and Victores, who followed him, had arrived, troops confident in their strength, he began his march and came to the old town of Lundinium,<sup>2</sup> which later times called Augusta.<sup>3</sup> There he divided his troops into many parts and attacked the predatory bands of the enemy, which were ranging about and were laden with heavy packs; quickly routing those who were driving along prisoners and cattle, he wrested from them the booty which the wretched tribute-paying people had lost. 8. And when all this had been restored to them, except for a small part which was allotted to the wearied soldiers, he entered the city, which had previously been plunged into the greatest difficulties, but had been restored more quickly than rescue could have been expected, rejoicing and as if celebrating an ovation.

9. While he lingered there, encouraged by the successful outcome to dare greater deeds, he carefully considered what plans would be safe; and he was in doubt about his future course, since he learned from the confessions of the captives and the reports of deserters that the widely scattered enemy, a mob of various natives and frightfully savage, could be overcome only by secret craft and unforeseen attacks. 10. Finally, he issued proclamations, and under promise of pardon summoned the deserters to return to service, as well as many others who were wandering about in various places on furlough. In consequence of this demand and strongly moved by his

<sup>3</sup> Probably in honour of some emperor, but the date is uncertain.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

monitu rediere plerique, incentivo perciti,<sup>1</sup> relevatusque<sup>2</sup> anxiiis curis, Civilem nomine recturum Britannias pro praefectis, ad se poposcerat mitti, virum acrioris ingenii, sed iusti tenacem et recti, itidemque Dulcitium, ducem scientia rei militaris insignem.

### 9. *Mauricae gentes Africam populantur. Isaurorum latrocinia Valens compescit. De Praetextati praefectura urbana.*

1. Haec in Britanniiis agebantur. Africam vero, iam inde ab exordio Valentiniani imperii, exurebat barbarica rabies, per procursus audentiores, et crebris caedibus et rapinis intenta. Quam rem militaris augebat socordia, et aliena invadendi cupiditas, maximeque Romani nomine comitis. 2. Qui venturi<sup>3</sup> providus transferendaeque in alios invidiae artifex, saevitia morum multis erat exosus, hac praecipue causa, quod superare hostes in vastandis provinciis festinabat, affinitate Remigii tunc magistri officiorum confisus, quo prava et contraria referente, princeps (ut prae se ferebat ipse) cautissimus, lacrimosa dispendia diutius ignoravit Afrorum.

3. Gestorum autem per eas regiones seriem plenam, et Ruricii praesidis legatorumque mortem, et cetera luctuosa, cum adegerit ratio, diligentius explicabo.

<sup>1</sup> *perciti*, Momm.; *percitus*, W<sup>2</sup>G; *percitur*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *releuatusque*, Her.; *detectusque*, Pet.; *ei et usque*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *uenturi*, EAG; *uenturi exitii*, sugg. by Clark, c.c.; *uentura*, V.

offer, most returned, and Theodosius, relieved of his anxious cares, asked that Civilis be sent to him to govern Britain as deputy-prefect, a man of somewhat fiery temper, but steadfast in justice and uprightness, and also Dulcitius, a general distinguished for his knowledge of the art of war.

9. *The Moorish tribes devastate Africa. Valens checks the brigandage of the Isaurians. Of the city prefecture of Praetextatus.*

1. This is what was happening in Britain. But 364—8 Africa from the very beginning of Valentinian's reign was sore distressed by the madness of the savages, who made daring forays, and were eager for wholesale bloodshed and robbery. This evil was increased by the slackness of the army and its greed for seizing the property of others; and especially by the conduct of the governor, Romanus by name.

2. He, having an eye to the future and being an adept in shifting odium to others, was hated by many because of his savage disposition, but especially for his haste to outdo the enemy in devastating the provinces. He relied especially on his relationship with Remigius, then chief marshal of the court, who sent in false and contradictory reports; hence the emperor, in spite of the great caution which in his own opinion he exhibited, for a long time remained unaware of the lamentable losses of the people of Africa.

3. The complete series of events in those regions, the death of the governor Ruricius and of the ambassadors and the other mournful occurrences I shall set forth carefully when my plan calls for it.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

4. Et quoniam adest liber locus dicendi quae sentimus, aperte loquemur:<sup>1</sup> hunc imperatorem omnium primum in maius militares fastus ad damna rerum auxisse communium, dignitates opesque eorum sublimius erigentem, et quod erat publice privatimque dolendum, inflexa saevitia punientem gregariorum errata, parcentem potioribus, qui tamquam peccatis indulta licentia, ad labes delictorum immanium consurgebant; qui ex eo altius anhelantes,<sup>2</sup> ex nutu suo indistanter putant omnium pendere fortunas. 5. Horum flatus et pondera inventores iuris antiqui mollientes, etiam insontes quosdam aliquoties suppliciis aboleri censuere letalibus. Quod saepe contingit, cum ob multitudinis crimina non nulli sortis iniquitate plectuntur innoxii; id enim non numquam ad privatorum pertinuit causas.

6. At in Isauria, globatim per vicina digressi praedones, oppida villasque uberes libera populatione vexantes, magnitudine iacturarum Pamphyliam afflictabant et Cilicas. Quos cum nullis arcentibus, inter necive cuncta disperdere, Asiae vicarius ea tempestate Musonius advertisset, Athenis Atticis antehac magister rhetoricus, deploratis novissime rebus, luxuque adiumento militari marcente, adhibitis

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<sup>1</sup> *loquemur*, Her. and Clark, c.c.; *loquamur*, EA; *loquimur*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *altius anhelantes*, C.F.W.M., a. *superbius*, Novák; *anhelantes*, EAG; *annillantes* (second *n* from *h*), V.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., of the officers.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xiv. 2, 1 ff.; xix. 13, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Zos. iv. 20.

<sup>4</sup> The lieutenant-governor was a subordinate of the praetorian prefect. In so far as the latter could not himself

4. But since I have a free opportunity of saying what I think, I shall declare openly that Valentinian was the first of all emperors to increase the arrogance of the military,<sup>1</sup> to the injury of the commonwealth, by raising their rank and power to excess; moreover (a thing equally to be deplored, both publicly and privately), he punished the peccadilloes of the common soldiers with unbending severity, while sparing those of higher rank; so that these assumed that they had complete licence for their sins, and were aroused to shameful and monstrous crimes. In consequence, they are so arrogant as to believe that the fortunes of all without distinction are dependent on their nod. 5. In order to diminish their bluster and self-importance, the lawgivers of old were of the opinion that sometimes even some innocent persons should be punished with death. And this often happens when, because of the wrongdoings of any multitude, through the injustice of fate, some guiltless persons suffer; for that sometimes has applied to the trials of private citizens.

6. Now in Isauria bands of brigands were over- 368 running the neighbouring places,<sup>2</sup> harassing towns and rich villas with unrestrained pillage, and inflicting great losses on Pamphylia and the Cilicians.<sup>3</sup> Musonius, the deputy-governor<sup>4</sup> of Asia at that time, who had formerly been a teacher of rhetoric in Attic Athens, perceived that, since no one resisted them, they were devastating everything with utter destruction; so at last, finding the situation deplorable and that the luxury of the soldiers made their aid administer all the parts (dioceses) of his province, the *vicarius* took his place.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

semermibus paucis, quos Diogmitas appellant, unum grassatorum cuneum (si patuisset facultas), adoriri conatus, per angustum quendam transiens devexitatis anfractum, ad inevitabiles venit insidias, et ibi cum his confossus est quos ducebat. 7. Tali successu latrones praetumidos, palantesque per varia confidentius, interfectis aliquibus, ad latebrosa montium saxa, quae incolunt, excitae tandem copiae contruserunt; ubi cum eis nec quiescendi nec inveniendi ad victum utilia copia laxaretur, per indutias pacem sibi tribui poposcerunt, Germanicopolitanis auctoribus, quorum apud eos ut signiferae manus semper valere sententiae, obsidibusque datis (ut imperatum est), immobiles diu mansere, nihil audentes hostile.

8. Haec inter Praetextatus praefecturam urbis sublimius curans, per integritatis multiplices actus et probitatis, quibus ab adulescentiae rudimentis inclaruit, adeptus est id quod raro contingit, ut cum timeretur, amorem non perderet civium, minus firmari solitum erga iudices formidatos. 9. Cuius auctoritate iustisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum iurgia concitarunt, pulsoque Ursino, alta quies est parta,<sup>1</sup> proposito

<sup>1</sup> *parta est*, Val.; *est parta*, sugg. by Fletcher; *pari iam*, EAG; *pari am*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> From *διωγμός*, "pursuit," so-called because they were employed as light-armed troops to pursue the enemy; cf. Capit., *Ant. Phil.*, 21, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Germanicopolis was the principal city of the free Isaurians; Seleucia, of Roman Isauria.

<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 367; he was formerly proconsular governor in Achaia; cf. xxii. 7, 6.

feeble, he gathered together a few half-armed troops, whom they call *Diogmitæ*,<sup>1</sup> and attempted to attack one band of the marauders, if the opportunity should offer. But in passing down through a narrow and winding pass he came into an ambuscade from which he could not escape, and was slain there with those whom he was leading. When the brigands, highly elated by this success, with greater confidence extended their raids in various directions, at last our troops were called out and after killing some of them drove the rest to the rocky retreats in the mountains where they live. Then, since no opportunity was revealed there for taking rest or finding anything fit for food, they called a truce and asked that peace be granted them, following the advice of the *Germanicopolitani*,<sup>2</sup> whose opinions were always decisive with them, as if they were those of the standard-bearers in battle. Then they gave the hostages that were demanded, and remained quiet for a long time, without venturing on any hostile act.

8. Meanwhile *Praetextatus*, who with high distinction acted as prefect of the city of Rome,<sup>3</sup> through repeated acts of honesty and uprightness, for which he was famous from early youth, attained what rarely falls to a man's lot; for although he was feared by his fellow-citizens, he did not lose their love, which as a rule is apt to be less strong towards officials who are dreaded. 9. Through his authority and his decisions based upon justice and truth the outbreak which was stirred up by the quarrels of the Christians<sup>4</sup> was quelled, and after the banishment of *Ursinus* profound quiet reigned, which

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 3, 11 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

civium Romanorum aptissima, et adulescebat gloria praeclari rectoris, plura et utilia disponentis. 10. Namque et Maeniana sustulit omnia, fabricari Romae priscis quoque vetita legibus, et discrevit ab aedibus sacris privatorum parietes, eisdem inverecunde conexos, ponderaque per regiones instituit universas, cum aviditati multorum, ex libidine trutinas componentium, occurri nequiret. In examinandis vero litibus ante alios id impetravit quod laudando Brutum Tullius refert, ut cum nihil ad gratiam faceret, omnia tamen grata viderentur esse, quae factitabat.

### 10. *Valentinianus A. Rhenum transit, et Alamannos qui in celsissimos montes fugerant, non incruento utrimque certamine fundit fugatque.*

1. Sub idem fere tempus, Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute (ut rebatur ipse) profecto,<sup>1</sup> Alamanus regalis (Rando nomine) diu praestruens quod cogitabat, Mogontiacum praesidiis vacuam cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepsit. 2. Et quoniam casu Christiani ritus invenit celebrari sollemnitatem, impraepedite cuiusce modi fortunae

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<sup>1</sup> rebatur ipse profecto, Eyssen.; rebatur profecto, EAG; rebaturi per profecto, V.

<sup>1</sup> *proposito* = *votis*, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> Balconies on houses, or colonnades, at first constructed for viewing the games in the Forum by a certain Maenius, and named from him; cf. Pseud.-Asconius on Cic. in *Caecilium*, 16, 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Orat.* 10, 34.

XXVII., 9, 9-10—10, 1-2, A.D. 367-8

most suited the wish <sup>1</sup> of the citizens of Rome ; and the fame of this illustrious ruler increased because of his many salutary measures. 10. For he removed all the Maeniana,<sup>2</sup> the building of which in Rome was forbidden by early laws also, and he separated from the sacred buildings the walls of private houses, which had been irreverently built against them. He established standard weights in every quarter of the city, since otherwise the greed of many, who rigged up their balances after their own inclination, could not be dealt with. And in the examination of legal cases he deserved above all others the distinction which Cicero mentions in the commendation of Brutus,<sup>3</sup> that although he did nothing to gain favour, yet everything that he did was looked upon with favour.

10. *Valentinianus Augustus, after crossing the Rhine, 368 routs and puts to flight the Alamanni, who had fled to the mountain heights ; but not, however, without bloodshed on both sides.*

1. At about this same time, Valentinian had begun his campaign with wariness,<sup>4</sup> as he himself thought, when a prince of the Alamanni called Rando, after long preparation for his design, with a light-armed band equipped for plundering, secretly made his way into Mogontiacus,<sup>5</sup> which had no garrison. 2. And since he chanced to find that a festival of the Christian religion <sup>6</sup> was being celebrated, he was not hindered in carrying off defenceless men

<sup>4</sup> The narrative returns to the war with the Alamanni ; see 2. The date is 368.    <sup>5</sup> Mainz.    <sup>6</sup> Perhaps Easter.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

virile et muliebre secus cum supellectili non parva indefensum abduxit.

3. Parvo inde post intervallo, inopina rei Romanae spes laetiorum adfulsit. Cum enim Vithicabius rex, Vadamarii filius, specie quidem molliculus et morbosus, sed audax et fortis, ardores in nos saepe succenderet bellicos, opera navabatur<sup>1</sup> impensior, ut qualibet concideret<sup>2</sup> strage. 4. Et quia temptatus aliquotiens, nullo genere potuit superari vel prodi, fraude citerioris vitae ministri, studio sollicitante nostrorum, occubuit, cuius post necem aliquatenus hostiles torpuere discursus. Interfector tamen prae metu poenarum, quas verebatur si patuisset negotium, ad Romanum solum se celeri transtulit gradu.

5. Parabatur post haec contentioribus<sup>3</sup> curis, et per copias multiformes, in Alamannos expeditio solitis gravior, destinatus id publica tutela poscente, quoniam reparabilis gentis motus timebantur infidi: milite nihilo minus accenso, cui ob suspectos eorum mores nunc infimorum et supplicum, paulo post ultima minitantium, nullae quiescendi dabantur indutiae.

6. Contracta igitur undique mole maxima catervarum, armis et subsidiis rei cibariae diligenter instructa, accitoque Sebastiano comite cum Illyricis<sup>4</sup> et Italicis numeris, quos regebat, anni tempore iam

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<sup>1</sup> *navabatur*, vulgo; *navatur*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *concideret*, G;  
*conrueret*, Novák; *conperet*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *contentioribus*, Pet.;  
*intentioribus*, Corn.; *lentioribus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *Illyricis*, Her.;  
*Illyriis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiv. 1, 7; xxi. 16, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvi. 6, 2.

and women of every kind of station along with no small amount of household goods.

3. Then, after a brief interval, the hope of better fortune unexpectedly dawned upon the Roman state. For since King Vithicabius, son of Vadomarius, who was somewhat weak and sickly in appearance, but valiant and vigorous, again and again kindled the flames of war against us, no efforts were spared to dispose of him by any possible manner of death.

4. And because after several attempts he could in no way be overcome or treacherously surrendered, he was slain by the perfidy of an attendant on his private life<sup>1</sup> through the earnest solicitation of our men; and after his death the enemy's raids slackened somewhat. But the assassin, through fear of the punishment which he dreaded in case the affair should become known, hastened to take refuge on Roman soil.

5. After this, with especially diligent care and with troops of various kinds, a more serious campaign than common was prepared against the Alamanni, since the public safety imperiously demanded it; for from a race that so easily recovered its strength treacherous attacks were to be feared; and the soldiers were equally incensed against them, since the untrustworthy nature of an enemy who was at one time abject and suppliant and soon afterwards threatening the worst, allowed them no rest or cessation from warfare.

6. Therefore a mighty mass of troops was assembled from all quarters and carefully provided with arms and supplies of food, Count Sebastianus<sup>2</sup> was summoned with the Illyrian and Italian legions

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

tepente Valentinianus cum Gratiano Moenum<sup>1</sup> transiit, visoque nemine,<sup>2</sup> divisis agminibus quadratis, ipse medius incedebat, Iovino et Severo, magistris rei castrensis, altrinsecus ordinum latera servantibus, ne repentino invaderentur adsultu.

7. Protinusque inde ductantibus itinerum callidis, exploratis accessibus, per regiones longo situ<sup>3</sup> porrectas, sensim gradiens miles, irritatio ad pugnandum, velut repertis barbaris minaciter infrendebat. Et quoniam aliquot diebus emensis, nullus potuit qui resisteret inveniri, cuncta satorum et tectorum quae visebantur, iniecta cohortium manu, vorax flamma vastabat, praeter alimenta quae colligi dubius rerum eventus adigebat et custodiri. 8. Post haec leniore gressu princeps ulterius tendens, cum prope locum venisset, cui Solicinio nomen est, velut quadam obice stetit, doctus procursantium relatione verissima, barbaros longe conspectos. 9. Qui nullam ad tuendam salutem viam superesse cernentes, ni se celeri defendissent occurso, locorum gnaritate confisi, unum spirantibus animis, montem occupavere praecelsum, per confragosos colles undique praeruptum et invium, absque septentrionali latere (unde facilem habet devexitatem et mollem). Signis ilico fixis ex more, cum undique ad arma

<sup>1</sup> *Menum*, J. Gronov; *Rhenum*, EAG; *inherum*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *transit visoque nemine*, J. F. Gronov; *transiit, ibique nemine viso*, Novák; *transgressus*, G; *tramitibusque Rheni*, EA; *transtibusque neminem diuisis*, V. <sup>3</sup> *situ*, Freinsheim; *itu*, EAG; *nitu*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, p. xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Schwetzingen, near Heidelberg.

<sup>3</sup> In xxviii. 2, 5, Pirus, apparently the Heilige Berg at Heidelberg.

XXVII., 10, 6-9, A.D. 368

which he commanded, and as soon as the warm season began, Valentinian with Gratianus crossed the Main. Seeing no one, the emperor divided his army and advanced in square formation with himself in the centre and the generals<sup>1</sup> Jovinus and Severus guarding the flanks on both sides, in order that they might not be exposed to a sudden attack. 7. Then, guided by men who knew the roads, and carefully reconnoitering the approaches, they at once marched slowly onward, through a widely extended tract of country, while the soldiers, more and more eager for battle, ground their teeth in a threatening way, as if they had already come upon the savages. But since after the lapse of several days no one could be found to oppose them, all the corn-fields and dwellings which they saw were laid waste by devouring flames kindled by a band of the cohorts, with the exception of such foodstuffs as doubt about the outcome of affairs forced them to gather and keep. 8. After this the emperor went on at slower pace, and when he had come near a place called Solicinium,<sup>2</sup> he halted as if checked by some barrier, since he was reliably informed by the scouting troops in the van that the savages had been seen at a distance. 9. And, in fact, the enemy, seeing no way left to save their lives except to defend themselves by a swift onset, trusting to their knowledge of the ground and in general agreement with one another, had stationed themselves on a lofty mountain,<sup>3</sup> surrounded on all sides by rocky and precipitous heights and inaccessible except on the northern side, where it has an easy and gentle slope. At once our standards were planted in the usual



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

conclamaretur, imperio principis et ductorum stetit regibilis miles, vexillum opperiens extollendum : quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae. 10. Ergo quia spatium deliberandi aut exiguum dabatur aut nullum, hinc impatientia militis perterrente, inde horrenda circumsonantibus Alamannis, id consilium ratio celeritatis admisit, ut arctoam montium partem, quam clementer diximus esse proclivem, Sebastianus occuparet cum suis,<sup>1</sup> fugientes Germanos, si fors ita tulisset, levi negotio confossurus : quo ita (ut<sup>2</sup> placuit) maturato, Gratianoque apud signa Iovianorum retro detento, cuius aetas erat etiam tum proeliorum impatiens et laborum, Valentinianus ut dux cunctator et tutus, centurias et manipulos capite intecto collustrans, nullo potentium in conscientiam arcani adhibito, remota multitudine stipatorum, speculatum radices aggerum avolavit cum paucis, quorum industriam norat et fidem, praedicans (ut erat sui arrogans aestimator) inveniri posse aliam viam, ducentem ad arduos clivos, praeter eam quam inspexere procursatores. 11. Per ignota itaque et palustres uligines devius tendens, insidiatricis manus locatae per abdita<sup>3</sup> subito oppetisset accursu, ni necessitatis adiumento postremo, per labilem limum incitato

<sup>1</sup> *occuparet cum suis*, Clark, c.c. ; *occuparet after suis* added by N<sup>2</sup>G ; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *quo ita ut*, Novák ; *quo ut*, Val. ; *quod aut*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *abdita*, Her. ; *obliqua*, W<sup>2</sup> ; *oblita*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 12, 10 ; xix. 6, 3 ; xxiv. 3, 8.

manner, while everywhere the call to arms was sounded; but, at the command of the emperor and his generals, the well-disciplined <sup>1</sup> soldiers stood fast, waiting for the raising of the banner, which was the signal that it was the fit time to begin the battle. 10. Therefore, because little or no time for deliberation was given, since on one side the impatience of our soldiers was alarming, and on the other the Alamanni were yelling dreadfully all round, need for quick action made this plan advisable: that Sebastianus with his men should seize the northern part of the mountains, which (as we have said) had a gentle slope, in order that, if fortune should so decree, they might with little trouble strike down the Germans as they fled. The plan thus agreed upon was hastily carried out, and Gratianus, whose youth was even then unequal to battles and toil, was kept back with the legion of the Joviani, while Valentinian, as a deliberate and cautious leader, with uncovered head surveyed the centuries and maniples; and without taking anyone of the higher officers into his confidence he dismissed his throng of attendants, and with a few companions, known to him for their energy and fidelity, hastened off to inspect the foot of the hills, declaring (for he had a lofty opinion of his own judgment) that another way besides that which the scouts had seen could be found leading to the steep heights. 11. Then, as he was making his way by devious paths over unknown places and marshy bogs, a band of the enemy placed in ambush in a hidden spot would have slain him by a sudden attack, had he not resorted to the last means of safety, put spurs to his horse, ridden away through the slippery mud, and

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

iumento digressus, legionum se gremiis immersisset, post abruptum periculum, cui adeo proximus fuit, ut galeam eius cubicularius ferens, auro lapillisque distinctam, cum ipso tegmine penitus interiret, nec postea vivus reperiretur aut interfectus.

12. Proinde quiete reficiendis corporibus data, signoque erecto, quod solet ad pugnam hortari, tubarum minacium accendente clangore, fidentissimo impetu acies motas, prompte ante alios praeiere duo iuvenes lecti, in principiis adeundi discriminis, Salvius et Lupicinus, scutarius unus, alter e schola gentilium, bellum<sup>1</sup> fragore terribili concitantes: hastasque crispando, cum ad rupium obiecta venissent, trudentibusque Alamannis<sup>2</sup> evadere ad celsiora conarentur, advenit omne pondus armorum, eisdemque antesignanis, per hirta dumis et aspera, magno virium nisu in editas sublimitates erepsit. 13. Acri igitur partium spiritu, conflictus cuspidibus temptatur infestis, et hinc arte belli doctior miles, inde licet feroces sed incauti barbari dexteris coiere collatis, quos latius sese pandens exercitus, infusis utrimque cornibus afflictabat, per fremitus territos, et equorum hinnitus, et tubas. 14. Nihilominus tamen ipsi assumpta fiducia restiterunt, aequataque parumper proeliorum sorte, haud parva mole

<sup>1</sup> *bellum*, added by Pet.; *socios*, Novák; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *trudentibusque Alamannis*, V; *trudentes Alamannos*, Pet.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xiv. 7, 9, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Or: "among the very first to encounter danger."

## XXVII., 10, 11-14, A.D. 368

taken refuge in the bosom of his legions after an imminent danger to which he was so very close that the chamberlain who carried the emperor's helmet, adorned with gold and precious stones, completely disappeared together with the helmet itself, and could be found later neither alive nor dead.

12. Then, after the troops had been given a rest for recovering their strength, and the standard had been raised, which is accustomed to rouse men to battle, urged on by the menacing blare of trumpets they advanced to the attack with bold confidence. Two choice young warriors, Salvius and Lupicinus, the one a targeteer, the other belonging to the troop of gentiles,<sup>1</sup> at the very beginning of the struggle,<sup>2</sup> at once dashed forward before the others, urging on the battle with terrifying shouts. Brandishing their lances, they came to the opposing mass of rocks, and while the Alamanni were trying to push them back and they were striving to mount higher, the whole weight of our army came up, and, led by the same champions through places rough and shaggy with thickets, by a mighty effort scrambled up to the lofty heights. 13. Then with bitterness of spirit on both sides the conflict was essayed with levelled lances ; on one side soldiers more skilled in the art of war, on the other the savages, fierce but reckless, joined in hand-to-hand conflict. Finally, our army, extending its lines and encircling the enemy on both flanks, began to cut them down, terrified as they were by the din, by the neighing of horses, and by the blare of trumpets. 14. Nevertheless, the foe took courage and resisted, and the contest continued with mighty struggles, the fortune of battle

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

certatum est, dum ruinarum<sup>1</sup> funeribus mutuis res gerebatur. 15. Disiecti denique Romanorum ardore, metuque turbati, miscentur ultimis primi, dumque in pedes versi discedunt, verrutis hostilibus forabantur et pilis. Postremo dum anhelii currunt et fessi, pandebant sequentibus poplites et suras et dorsa. Stratis denique multis, lapsorum partem Sebastianus, cum subsidiali manu locatus post montium terga, trucidavit ex incauto latere circumventam: dispersi ceteri silvarum se latebris amendarunt.

16. In hac dimicatione, nostri quoque periire<sup>2</sup> non contemnendi. Inter quos Valerianus fuit domesticorum omnium primus, et Natuspardo quidam scutarius, exsertus ita bellator, ut Sicinio veteri comparetur, et Sergio. Hisque tali casuum diversitate perfectis, milites ad hiberna, imperatores Treveros reverterunt.

### 11. *De Probi nobilitate, opibus, dignitatibus et moribus.*

1. Per haec tempora Vulcacio Rufino absoluto vita, dum administrat,<sup>3</sup> ad regendam praefecturam praetorianam ab urbe Probus accitus, claritudine generis et potentia et opum amplitudine cognitus orbi Romano, per quem universum paene patrimonia sparsa possedit, iuste an secus, non iudicium est

<sup>1</sup> *ruinarum*, V; *turmarum*, EAG.      <sup>2</sup> *periire*, N, Pet.; *oppetiere*, EAG; *petere*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *administrat*, Her.; *administrarat*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxv. 3, 13, notes.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvii. 7, 2.

<sup>3</sup> His full name was C. Ancyus Petronius Probus.

being for a long time undecided, while dire death and mutual destruction accompanied the fighting. 15. But at last the Alamanni were thrown into confusion by the impetuosity of the Romans, and, disordered from fear, the foremost were mingled with the hindmost, and as they turned and fled they were pierced through by our javelins and pikes. At last, in panting and exhausted flight they exposed to their pursuers their hams, calves and backs. Then, after many had been laid low, Sebastianus, who had been posted with his reserve troops at the back of the mountains, surrounded a part of the fugitives on their exposed flank and slaughtered them; the rest in scattered flight took refuge in their haunts in the forests.

16. In this battle some of our fathers also were not insignificant persons. Among them were Valerianus, first officer of all the household troops, and Natuspardo, one of the targeteers, a warrior so distinguished that he may be compared with Sicinius and Sergius<sup>1</sup> of old. After finishing the campaign with these varied fortunes, the soldiers returned to their winter quarters, and the emperors to Treves.

11. *Of the noble birth, wealth, honours, and character of Probus.*

1. In the course of this time Vulcacius Rufinus ended his life while still in office,<sup>2</sup> and Probus<sup>3</sup> was summoned from Rome to fill the office of praetorian prefect, a man known for the distinction of his family, his influence, and his great wealth, throughout the whole Roman world, in almost all parts of which he possessed estates here and there, whether justly or unjustly is not a question for my humble

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

nostri. 2. Hunc quasi genuina quaedam (ut fingunt poetae) fortuna vehens praepetibus pinnis, nunc beneficum ostendebat, et amicos altius erigentem, aliquotiens insidiatorem dirum et per cruentas noxium simultates. Et licet potuit (quoad vixit) ingentia,<sup>1</sup> largiendo et intervallando potestates assiduas, erat tamen interdum timidus ad audaces, contra timidos celsior, ut videretur cum sibi fideret, de cothurno strepere tragico, et ubi paveret, omni humilior socco. 3. Atque ut natantium genus, elemento suo expulsum, haud ita diu spirat in terris, ita<sup>2</sup> ille marcebat absque praefecturis, quas ob iugi<sup>3</sup> familiarum licentia,<sup>4</sup> capessere cogeatur, numquam innocentium per cupiditates immensas, utque multa perpetrarent impune, dominum suum mergentium in rem publicam. 4. Namque fatendum est numquam ille,<sup>5</sup> magnanimitate coalitus, clienti vel servo agere quicquam iussit illicitum, sed si eorum quemquam crimen ullum compererat admisisse, vel ipsa repugnante Iustitia, non explorato negotio, sine respectu boni honestique defendebat. Quod vitium reprehendens, ita pronuntiat Cicero: "Quid enim interest inter suasorem facti et

<sup>1</sup> *ingentia* with comma, Her.; *ingentia*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ita*, EAG; *tam*, N<sup>1</sup>, vulgo; *itam*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *iugi*, Her. (cf. xxi. 5, 3); *ob iurgia*, E<sup>2</sup>AG; *iurgiis*, vulgo; *iurgi*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *licentia*, Her. (cf. xxi. 5, 3); *ingentium*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *ille*, Günther; *illa*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Claud, *in cons. Olyb. et Prob.* 42 f.,

hic non divitias nigrantibus abdidit antris,  
 nec tenebris damnavit opes; sed largior imbre  
 sueverat innumeras hominum ditare catervas.

<sup>2</sup> Of an actor of comedy.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvi. 10, 16.

judgement. 2. This man was carried on the swift wings—as the poets' fancy expresses it—of a kind of congenital good fortune, which showed him to be now generous and ready to advance his friends, but sometimes a cruel schemer, working harm by his deadly jealousies. And although he had great power so long as he lived, because of the sums that he gave away<sup>1</sup> and his constant resumption of offices, yet he was sometimes timid when boldly confronted, though arrogant against those who feared him; so that in his moments of confidence he seemed to thunder from tragic buskin, and when he was afraid, to be more humble than any wearer of the slipper.<sup>2</sup> 3. And as the finny tribe,<sup>3</sup> when removed from its own element, does not breathe very long on dry land, so he pined away when not holding prefectures; these he was compelled to seek because of the constant lawlessness of certain families which on account of their boundless avarice were never free from guilt, and in order to carry out their many evil designs with impunity, plunged their patron into affairs of state.<sup>4</sup> 4. Now it must be admitted that he had such natural greatness of spirit that he never ordered a client or a slave to do anything illegal; but, on the other hand, if he learned that any one of them had committed any crime, even though Justice herself cried out against the man, without investigating the matter and without regard to honour and virtue, he defended him. That is a fault which Cicero<sup>5</sup> censures in the following words: "For what difference

<sup>1</sup> That is, they used their power secretly by controlling a high magistrate; *mergentium* suits the metaphor of "the finny tribe."

<sup>5</sup> *Philipp.* ii. 12, 29.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

probatorem ? aut quid refert utrum voluerim fieri an gaudeam factum ? ” 5. Suspiciosus tamen et munitus suoapte ingenio fuit, et subamarum arridens, blandiensque interdum, ut noceat. 6. Id autem perspicuum est in eius modi moribus malum, tum maxime cum celari posse existimatur ; ita implacabilis et directus, ut si laedere quemquam institisset, nec exorari posset nec ad ignoscendum erroribus inclinari, ideoque aures eius non cera sed <sup>1</sup> plumbo <sup>2</sup> videbantur obstructae. In summis divitiarum et dignitatum culminibus, anxius et sollicitus, ideoque semper levibus morbis afflictus. Hae per occidentales plagas series rerum fuere gestarum.

### 12. *Romani et Persae de Armenia et Hiberia inter se pugnans.*

1. Rex vero Persidis, longaevus ille Sapor, et ab ipsis imperitandi exordiis dulcedini rapinarum addictus, post imperatoris Iuliani excessum, et pudendae pacis icta foedera, cum suis paulisper nobis visus amicus, calcata fide sub Ioviano pactorum, iniectabat Armeniae manum ut eam, velut placitorum abolita firmitate, dicioni iungeret suae. 2. Et primo per artes fallendo diversas, nationem hominum potentem<sup>3</sup> dispendiis levibus afflictabat, sollicitans quosdam

<sup>1</sup> *cera sed*, vulgo ; *ceris ut*, EA ; *erant sed*, G ; *neeraset*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *plumbo*, Novák, Her. ; *plumbis*, vulgo ; *pluribus*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *hominum potentem*, Her. ; *h. potentum*, Pet. ; *omnem renitentem*, G ; *ingentem*, sugg. by Clark ; *hominum tentem*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Odyss.* xii. 47-9.

<sup>2</sup> He was now 70 years old.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxv. 7, 9 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxv. 7, 14.

is there between one who advises an act and one who approves it? Or what does it matter whether I wished anything to happen or rejoice that it has happened?" 5. Yet he was suspicious, and fortified by his own character; he could smile rather bitterly and sometimes resorted to flattery in order to work harm. 6. He had, moreover, what is a conspicuous evil in such characters, especially when one thinks to be able to conceal it, in that he was so merciless and unbending, that if he had made up his mind to injure anyone, he could not be made to relent nor induced to pardon errors; indeed, his ears seemed to be stopped, not with wax,<sup>1</sup> but with lead. At the very height of riches and honours he was worried and anxious, and hence always troubled with slight illnesses. This was the course of events throughout the western regions.

*12. The Romans and the Persians fight with each other over Armenia and Hiberia.*

1. Now the king of the Persians, the famous 368-70 Sapor, now aged,<sup>2</sup> and from the very outset of his reign given over to the pleasure of plunder, after the death of the emperor Julian and the shameful treaty of peace that was struck,<sup>3</sup> for a time appeared with his subjects to be friendly to us. But then, trampling under foot the promise of the pact made under Jovian,<sup>4</sup> he laid his hand on Armenia, with the intention of bringing the country under his sway, as if all force of the agreements that had been made was at an end. 2. At first he tried to accomplish his purpose through various arts of deception, and he inflicted slight losses on this powerfully populous nation, by

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

optimatum et satrapas, alios excursibus occupans improvisis. 3. Dein per exquisitas periuriisque mixtas illecebras, captum regem ipsum Arsacen, adhibitumque in convivium, iussit ad latentem trahi posticam, eumque effossis oculis vinctum catenis argenteis, quod apud eos honoratis vanum suppliciorum aestimatur esse solacium, exterminavit ad castellum Agabana nomine, ubi discruciatu ceciderat<sup>1</sup> ferro poenali. 4. Deinde nequid intemeratum perfidia praeteriret, Sauromace pulso, quem auctoritas Romana praefecit Hiberiae, Aspacurae cuidam potestatem eiusdem detulit gentis, diadema addito, ut arbitrio se monstraret insultare nostrorum. 5. Quibus ita studio nefando perfectis, Cylaci spadoni et Arrabanni, quos olim susceperat perfugas, commisit Armeniam (horum alter ante gentis praefectus, magister alter<sup>2</sup> fuisse dicebatur armorum) eisdemque mandaratum, ut Artogerassam intentiore cura excinderent, oppidum muris et viribus validum, quod thesauros et uxorem cum filio tuebatur Arsacis. 6. Iniere (ut statutum est) obsidium duces. Et quoniam munimentum, positum in asperitate montana, rigente tunc caelo nivibus et pruinis, adiri non poterat, eunuchus Cylaces, aptusque ad muliebria palpamenta, Arrabanne ascito, prope moenia ipsa, fide non amittendae

<sup>1</sup> *ceciderat*, A ; *cecidit*, G ; *deciderat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *alter*, added before *magister*, vulgo ; after *m.*, N<sup>2</sup>, Val. ; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Curtius, v. 12, 20, *ne tamen honos regi non haberetur, aureis compedibus Dareum vinciunt* ; Hdt. iii. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxx. 2, 2, and p. 86, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> She was called Olympias.

soliciting some of the grandees and satraps and surprising others by unexpected forays. 3. Then, by carefully calculated flattery mingled with perjury, King Arsaces himself was tricked ; for after being invited to a banquet he was taken according to orders to a secret rear-door ; there, after his eyes had been gouged out, he was bound in silver chains, which among that people is regarded as a consolation, though an empty one, for the punishment of men of rank,<sup>1</sup> and then he was banished to a fortress called Agabana, where after being tortured he was slain by the penal steel. 4. After this, in order to leave nothing unstained by treachery, Sapor drove out Sauromaces, who by Rome's authority had been given the rule of Hiberia, and appointed a certain Aspacures<sup>2</sup> to govern that same people ; and besides he bestowed on him the crown, in order to show his contempt of our authority. 5. After thus effecting these abominable designs, he entrusted Armenia to Cylaces, a eunuch, and to Arrabannes, both of whom he had long before received as deserters—of these the former was said to have been previously a governor in that nation, the latter, a commander-in-chief—giving them orders to use all care to destroy Artogerassa, a powerful town with strong walls, which guarded the treasury of Arsaces, as well as his son and his wife.<sup>3</sup> 6. These leaders began the siege according to their orders. And since they could not gain access to the fortress, which was situated on a rough mountain, because the weather was then stiff with snow and frost, Cylaces, being a eunuch and skilled in cajoling like a woman, in company with Arrabannes, having first obtained a pledge that

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

salutis accepta, propere venit, et cum socio ad interiora susceptus, ut postulavit, suadebat minaciter defensoribus et reginae, motum Saporis inclementissimi omnium lenire deditione veloci. 7. Multis post haec ultro citroque dictitatis, heulanteque muliere truces mariti fortunas, proditionis acerrimi compulsores, in misericordiam flexi, mutavere consilium, et spe potiorum erecti, secretis colloquiis ordinarunt, hora praestituta nocturna, reclusis subito portis, validam manum erumpere, vallumque hostile caedibus aggredi repentinis, ut lateant id temptantes, polliciti se provisuros.<sup>1</sup> 8. Quibus religione firmatis, egressi, biduumque ad deliberandum quid capessere debeant, sibi concedi clausos petisse asseverantes, in desidiam obsessores traduxerunt, et vigiliis quibus ob securitatem altiore stertitur somno, civitatis aditu reserato iuventus exsiluit velox, passibusque insonis, expeditis mucronibus, repens, cum castra nihil metuentium invasissent, iacentes multos nullis resistentibus trucidarunt. 9. Haec inopina defectio, necesque insperatae Persarum, inter nos et Saporem discordiarum excitavere causas immanes, illo etiam accedente, quod Arsacis filium Papam,<sup>2</sup> suadente matre cum paucis

<sup>1</sup> *provisuros*, Haupt; *prospecturos*, Novák; *prodituros*, EAG; *produros*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Papam*, here and later, Clark; *param*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> From the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> See § 3, above.

their lives would be spared, came quickly up to the very walls ; and when at his request he was allowed to enter with his colleague, he persuaded the defenders and the queen, also using threats, that by a speedy surrender they should try to mollify the violent nature of Sapor, who was a man of unexampled cruelty. 7. After this there was much discussion pro and con and the queen lamented the cruel fate of her husband ; whereupon the most zealous inciters to the act of perfidy were turned to pity and changed their plan. Encouraged by the hope of greater rewards,<sup>1</sup> in secret conferences they arranged that at an appointed hour of the night the gates should suddenly be thrown open and a strong force should sally forth and suddenly attack the enemy's camp with murderous intent ; and they promised to see to it that their attempt should not be known. 8. When this promise had been confirmed by an oath, they left the city, and by asserting that the besieged had asked that two days be allowed them to consider what course they ought to take, they brought over the besiegers into inaction. Then, in the watches of the night when all men, free from care, are in deep sleep, and snoring, the gate of the city was unbarred, young warriors rushed quickly out, with noiseless step and drawn swords crept up to the camp, where men were in no fear of danger, then rushed in, and without opposition butchered a great many as they lay asleep. 9. This unexpected treachery and the unforeseen slaughter of the Persians aroused reasons for frightful hatred between ourselves and Sapor, which was made still worse because Papa, son of Arsaces,<sup>2</sup> at the persuasion of his mother,

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

e munimento digressum, susceptumque imperator Valens apud Neocaesaream morari praecepit, urbem Polemoniaci Ponti notissimam, liberali victu curandum et cultu.

Qua humanitate Cylaces et Arrabannes illecti, missis oratoribus ad Valentem, auxilium eundemque Papam sibi regem tribui poposcerunt. 10. Sed pro tempore adiumentis negatis, per Terentium ducem Papa reducitur in Armeniam, recturus interim sine ullis insignibus gentem, quod ratione iusta est observatum, ne fracti foederis nos argueremur et pacis.

11. Hoc comperto textu gestorum, Sapor ultra hominem efferatus, concitis maioribus copiis, Armenias aperta praedatione vastabat. Cuius adventu territus Papa, itidemque Cylaces et Arrabannes, nulla circumspectantes auxilia, celsorum montium petivere secessus,<sup>1</sup> limites nostros disterrimentantes et Lazicam, ubi per silvarum profunda, et flexuosos colles mensibus quinque delitescens, regis multiformes lusere conatus. 12. Qui operam teri frustra contemplan, sidere flagrante brumali, pomiferis exustis arboribus, castellisque munitis et castris quae ceperat superata vel prodita,<sup>2</sup> cum omni pondere multitudinis Artogerassam circumsaep-tam, et post varios certaminum casus, lassatis

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<sup>1</sup> *secessus*, EAG; *recessus*, W, vulgo; *cessus*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *vel prodita*, added in G; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> Artogerassa; see § 5, above.

<sup>2</sup> A Roman province, a division of the Diocese of Pontus; see Map 1, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxx. 1, 2, 4.

<sup>4</sup> The name given at the time to what was formerly Colchis.

XXVII., 12, 9-12, A.D. 368-70

had departed with a few followers from the fortified town<sup>1</sup> and been received by the emperor Valens, who advised that he stay a while at Neocaesarea, a well-known city of Pontus Polemoniacus,<sup>2</sup> where he was to receive liberal support and education.

This act of clemency encouraged Cylaces and Arrabannes to send envoys to Valens to ask that he aid them and give them the said Papa as their king. 10. The aid, however, was denied them for the time, but Papa was sent back to Armenia through the general Terentius,<sup>3</sup> that he might rule the land for a time, but without any emblems of royal rank; a condition which was complied with for a legitimate reason, namely, that we might not be charged with breaking the treaty and violating the peace.

11. On learning of this course of events, Sapor was filled with superhuman wrath, and mustering greater forces began to devastate Armenia with open pillage. By his coming Papa, as well as Cylaces and Arrabannes, were seized with such fear that, after looking about and seeing no help from any source, they sought the refuge of the high mountains which separate our territory from Lazica.<sup>4</sup> There they remained concealed in the deep woods and defiles of the hills for five months, and eluded the many attempts which the king made to find them. 12. Since Sapor saw, as the winter stars were galling,<sup>5</sup> that he was wasting his labour to no purpose, after burning the fruit-bearing trees and the fortified castles and strongholds that he had taken by force or by betrayal, he blockaded Artogerassa with the whole weight of his forces and after some battles of

<sup>1</sup> With cold; cf. *urentē*, xvi. 12, 15.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

defensoribus patefactam incendit : Arsacis uxorem erutam inde cum thesauris abduxit.

13. Quas ob causas ad eas regiones Arintheus cum exercitu mittitur comes, suppetias laturus Armeniis, si eos exagitare procinctu gemino temptaverint Persae.

14. Inter quae Sapor immensum quantum astutus, et cum sibi conduceret, humilis aut elatus, societatis futurae specie Papam ut incuriosum sui per latentes nuntios increpabat, quod maiestatis regiae velamento, Cylaci serviret et Arrabanni, quos ille praeceps blanditiarum illecebris interfecit, capitaque caesorum ad Saporem ut ei morigerus misit.

15. Hac clade late diffusa, Armenia omnis perisset inpropugnata, ni Arinthei adventu territi Persae, eam incursare denuo distulissent, hoc solo contenti, quod ad imperatorem misere legatos, petentes nationem eandem, ut sibi et Ioviano placuerat, non defendi. 16. Quibus repudiatis, Sauromaces pulsus (ut ante diximus) Hiberiae regno, cum duodecim legionibus et Terentio remittitur, et eum amni Cyro iam proximum, Aspacures oravit, ut socia potestate consobrini regnarent, causatus ideo se nec cedere,

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<sup>1</sup> Called *magister peditum* in 5, 4; cf. *equitum et peditum* in 5, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxv. 7, 12.      <sup>3</sup> xxvii. 12, 4.      <sup>4</sup> Modern Kur.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., Sauromaces and Aspacures.

varying result and the exhaustion of the defenders, forced his way into the city and set it on fire, dragging out and carrying off the wife and the treasures of Arsaces.

13. For these reasons Count Arintheus<sup>1</sup> was sent to those parts with an army, to render aid to the Armenians in case the Persians should try to harass them in a second campaign.

14. Meanwhile Sapor, who was immensely crafty and according to his advantage either humble or arrogant, under pretence of a future alliance, upbraided Papa through secret messengers as regardless of his own interests in being the slave of Cylaces and Arrabannes under the semblance of royal power. Papa, in headlong haste, and using the allurements of flattering blandishments, had the two men killed, and, when they were slain, sent their heads to Sapor as a sign of his submission.

15. The news of this disaster spread widely and all Armenia would have been lost for lack of defenders, had not the Persians, terrified by the coming of Arintheus, postponed a second invasion of the land. For the present they contented themselves with merely sending envoys to the emperor, asking that, in accordance with the agreement that Jovian had made with Sapor,<sup>2</sup> he should not defend that nation. 16. This proposal was rejected, and Sauromaces, who (as I have already said)<sup>3</sup> had been driven from the throne of Hiberia, was sent back there with Terentius and twelve legions. And when he had nearly reached the river Cyrus,<sup>4</sup> Aspacures begged him that they should, being cousins,<sup>5</sup> rule the country with conjoint authority, pleading that

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

nec ad partes posse transire Romanas, quod Ultra eius filius obsidis lege tenebatur adhuc apud Persas.

17. Quae imperator edoctus,<sup>1</sup> ut concitandas ex hoc quoque negotio turbas consilio prudenti<sup>2</sup> molliret, divisioni acquievit Hiberiae, ut eam medius dirimeret Cyrus, et Sauromaces Armeniis finitima retineret et Lazis, Aspacures Albania Persisque contigua.

18. His percitus Sapor, pati se exclamans indigna, quod contra foederum textum iuvarentur Armenii,<sup>3</sup> et evanuit legatio, quam super hoc miserat corrigendo, quodque se non assentiente, nec conscio, dividi placuit Hiberiae regnum: velut obseratis amicitiae foribus, vicinarum gentium auxilia conquirebat, suumque parabat exercitum, ut reserata<sup>4</sup> caeli temperie subverteret omnia, quae ex re sua struxere Romani.

## LIBER XXVIII

1. *Multi, etiam Senatores et Senatorii generis feminae, Romae veneficiorum, stuprorum et adulteriorum accusantur et supplicio afficiuntur.*

1. Dum apud Persas (ut supra narravimus), perfidia regis motus agitat insperatos, et in eo tractibus

<sup>1</sup> *edoctus*, Clark, c.c.; *doctus*, V.  
*prudentiaque*, AG; *prudentia*, V.

*Armeniae et*, AG; *armeniict*, V.

*doctus* (Wagner); *serenata*, E<sup>2</sup>AG; *serata*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *prudenti*, vulgo;

<sup>3</sup> *Armenii et*, vulgo;

<sup>4</sup> *reserata*, H, "vir

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<sup>1</sup> Hiberia lay north of Armenia, between the Lazi and the Albani, allies of the Persians. On the east was Albania; on the west, Colchis, or Lazica. <sup>2</sup> xxvii. 12, 11 ff.

he could not withdraw or go over to the Roman side, for the reason that his son Ultra was still held in the condition of a hostage by the Persians.

17. When the emperor learned of this, in order by a prudent plan to appease the disturbances that would be aroused from this affair also, he consented to a division of Hiberia with the river Cyrus as the boundary line. Sauromaces was to hold the part of that country bordering on Armenia and the Lazi, and Aspacures the part next to Albania and the Persians.<sup>1</sup>

18. At this Sapor was greatly incensed, declaring that he was shamefully treated in that help was given to the Armenians contrary to the provisions of the treaties, and that the deputation which he had sent to remonstrate against this had come to nothing; also, because without his consent or knowledge it had been decided to divide the kingdom of Hiberia. Accordingly, having bolted, as it were, the door to friendship, he sought aid from the neighbouring nations and got his own army ready, in order that with the opening of mild weather he might overturn everything that the Romans had contrived to their own interests.

## BOOK XXVIII

1. *Many people, even senators and women of senatorial families are accused at Rome of poisoning, fornication, and adultery, and executed.*

1. While among the Persians (as I have already related)<sup>2</sup> the perfidy of the king was arousing unexpected disturbances, and in the eastern regions

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

bella rediviva consurgunt, anno sexto decimo et eo diutius post Nepotiani exitium, saeviens per urbem aeternam, urebat cuncta Bellona, ex primordiis minimis ad clades excita luctuosas, quas oblitterasset utinam iuge silentium! Ne forte paria quandoque temptentur, plus exemplis generalibus nocitura quam delictis. 2. Ac licet ab hoc textu cruento gestorum exquisite narrando iustus me retraheret metus, multa reputantem et varia, tamen praesentis temporis modestia fretus, carptim ut quaeque memoria digna sunt explanabo, nec pigebit quid ex his quae apud veteres acciderunt<sup>1</sup> timuerim docere succincte. 3. Bello Medico primo, cum diripuissent Asiam Persae, obsidentes Miletum molibus magnis, minantesque defensoribus cruciales neces, iniecere clausis necessitatem, ut omnes magnitudine malorum afflicti, peremptis caritatibus propriis, proiectoque in ignem mobili censu, arsuros se certatim congererent, in communem pereuntis patriae rogam. 4. Hoc argumentum paulo postea digestum tumore tragico Phrynichus in theatrum induxerat Athenarum, paulisperque iucunde auditus, cum cothurnatus stilus procederet lacrimosus, indignatione damnatus est populi, arbitrati non

<sup>1</sup> *acciderunt*, Clark; *acciderint*, EG; *accidere*, Her.; *acciderit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> He fell in 350. He was the son of Eutropia, and assumed the purple in rivalry with Magnentius. See Vol. I, *Intro.*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

## XXVIII., 1, 1-4

wars were rising with renewed strength, somewhat more than sixteen years after the death of 366 Nepotianus,<sup>1</sup> Bellona, raging throughout the Eternal City, set all ablaze, being aroused from insignificant beginnings to lamentable massacres; and I could wish that everlasting silence had consigned these to oblivion, lest haply at some time similar crimes should be attempted, which might do more harm from their general example and precedent than through the offences themselves. 2. And although, after long consideration of various circumstances, well-grounded dread restrained me from giving a minute account of this series of bloody deeds, yet I shall, relying on the better morals of the present day, set forth briefly such of them as are worthy of notice; and I shall not be sorry to tell concisely what I have feared from events of antiquity. 3. When in the first Medic war the Persians had plundered Asia, they besieged Miletus with mighty forces, threatened the defenders with death by torture, and drove the besieged to the necessity, overwhelmed as they all were by a weight of evils, of killing their own dear ones, consigning their movable possessions to the flames, and each one striving to be first to throw himself into the fire, to burn on the common funeral pyre of their country. 4. Soon after this, Phrynichus composed a play with this disaster as its plot, which he put upon the stage at Athens in the lofty language of tragedy. At first he was heard with pleasure, but as the sad story went on in too tragic style, the people became angry and punished<sup>2</sup> him, thinking that

<sup>2</sup> With a fine of 1000 drachmas. The play was the *Capture of Miletus*, produced soon after 494 B.C.; cf. Herodotus, vi. 21.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

consolandi gratia sed probrose monendi, quae pertulerat amabilis civitas, nullis auctorum adminiculis fulta, hos quoque dolores scaenicis adnumerasse fabulis insolenter. Erat enim Atheniensium colonia Miletus, deducta inter Ionas alios per Nileum filium Codri, qui fertur pro patria bello se Dorico devovisse. 5. Sed ad proposita veniamus.

Maximinus regens quondam Romae vicariam praefecturam, apud Sopianas Valeriae oppidum obscurissime natus est, patre tabulario praesidialis officii, orto a posteritate Carporum, quos antiquis excitos sedibus, Diocletianus transtulit in Pannoniam. 6. Is post mediocre studium liberalium doctrinarum defensionemque causarum ignobilem, et administratas Corsicam itidemque Sardiniam, rexit deinde Tusciam. Unde morato in itinere diutius successore, transgressus<sup>1</sup> ad curandam urbis annonam, etiam provinciae moderamina retinebat, egitque consideratione triplici inter exordia cautius. 7. Primo quod recalebant in auribus eius parentis effata, quid augurales alites vel cantus monerent oscinum adprime callentis, ad usque sublimia regimenta venturum,<sup>2</sup> sed periturum ferro poenali: dein quod nactus hominem Sardum, quem ipse

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<sup>1</sup> *successore, transgressus*, Pet.; *s. progressus*, G; *successoribus gressus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *venturum*, Iuretus, Val.; *scansurum*, Novák; *erigendum*, Pet.; V omits without lac.

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<sup>1</sup> For *auctores* in this sense, cf. Suet., *Claud.* 25, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus' purpose in telling this story is to show that he might dread to give a description of the degeneracy of the Romans, for fear of what befel Phrynichus.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly a part of Pannonia (cf. xix. 11, 4).

XXVIII., 1, 4-7, A.D. 368-70

consolation was not his object but blame and reproach, when he had the bad taste to include among stage-plays a portrayal even of those sufferings which a well-beloved city had undergone, without receiving any support from its founders.<sup>1</sup> For Miletus was a colony of the Athenians founded by Nileus, the son of Codrus (who is said to have sacrificed himself for his country in the Dorian war) and by other Ionians.<sup>2</sup> 5. But let us come to our subject.

Maximinus, who formerly held the office of vice-368  
prefect at Rome, was born at Sopianae, a town of  
Valeria,<sup>3</sup> of very humble parents, his father being  
an accountant in the governor's office<sup>4</sup> and sprung  
from ancestors who were Carpi, a people whom  
Diocletian drove from its ancient abode<sup>5</sup> and trans-  
ferred to Pannonia. 6. Maximinus, after some slight  
study of the liberal arts, and after acting as a pleader  
without acquiring distinction, became governor of  
Corsica, also of Sardinia, and finally of Tuscia.<sup>6</sup>  
Then, because his successor lingered too long on the 369-70  
way, although transferred to the charge of the city's  
grain supply, he retained also the rule of Tuscia,  
and at the beginning acted with moderation, for a  
three-fold reason. 7. First, because the prophecies  
of his father were still warm<sup>7</sup> in his ears, a man  
exceedingly skilful in interpreting omens from the  
flight or the notes of birds, who declared he would  
attain to high power, but would die by the sword of  
the executioner; secondly, because he had got hold  
of a man from Sardinia who was highly skilled in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *praesidialis apparitor*, xvii. 3, 6.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., from Dacia, 294-6.

<sup>3</sup> Etruria (in 366).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxii. 12, 2; xxii. 16, 17.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

postea per dolosas fallacias interemit, ut circumtulit rumor, eliciendi animulas noxias, et praesagia sollicitare larvarum, perquam gnarum : dum superesset ille, timens ne proderetur, tractabilis erat et mollior ; postremo quod tamquam subterraneus serpens, per humiliora reptando, nondum maiores funerum excitare poterat causas.

8. Principium autem unde latius se funditabat, emersit ex negotio tali. Chilo ex vicario, et coniux eius Maxima nomine, questi apud Olybrium, ea tempestate urbi praefectum, vitamque suam venenis petitam asseverantes, impetrarunt ut hi quos suspectati sunt, ilico rapti, compingerentur in vincula, organarius Sericus, et Asbolius palaestrita, et haruspex Campensis. 9. Verum negotio tepescente propter diuturnam morborum asperitatem, qua tenebatur Olybrius, morarum impatientes, hi qui rem detulerunt, libello petiverunt oblato, ut examinandum iurgium praefecto mandaretur annonae, idque studio celeritatis concessum est. 10. Accepta igitur nocendi materia, Maximinus effudit genuinam ferociam, pectori crudo affixam, ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae, diffractis tandem solutae posticis.

Cumque multiformiter quasi in proludiis negotium spectaretur, et quidam sulcatis lateribus, nominassent nobiles aliquos, tamquam usos artificibus

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., while holding offices of minor importance.

<sup>2</sup> Rome in 368. <sup>3</sup> Cf. Suet., *Nero*, 41, 2 ; 44, 1 ; xiv, 6, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Or wrestling-teacher.

XXVIII., 1, 7-10, A.D. 369-70

calling up baneful spirits and eliciting predictions from the ghosts of the dead. This man he himself afterwards put to death, so the rumour went, in a treacherous fashion,—so long as he survived, Maximinus was more yielding and mild, for fear that he might be betrayed—finally, because while creeping through low places like a serpent under ground<sup>1</sup> he could not yet stir up causes for death on a larger scale.

8. The first opportunity to widen the sphere of his operations arose from the following affair. Chilo, a former deputy-governor, and his wife Maxima made complaint before Olybrius, at that time prefect of the city,<sup>2</sup> declaring that their life had been attempted by poison; and they managed that those whom they suspected should at once be seized and put in prison. The accused were an organ-builder<sup>3</sup> Sericus, a wrestler<sup>4</sup> Asbolius, and a soothsayer Campensis. 9. But as the affair languished because of a severe illness with which Olybrius was long affected, those who had brought the charge, impatient of delay, presented a petition, asking that the examination of the dispute should be turned over to the prefect of the grain supply; and from a desire for a speedy decision this was granted. 10. Thus Maximinus gained the power of doing harm and poured out the natural cruelty implanted in his hard heart, as often happens with wild beasts in the amphitheatre, when they break in pieces the back-gates and are at last set free.

And while the business was being looked into in many ways, as if in a kind of preliminary practice, and some persons, whose sides had been torn into furrows, had named certain nobles as having, through their

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

laedendi per clientes aliosque humiles, notos reos et indices, supra plantam (ut dicitur) evagatus, tartareus cognitor, relatione maligna, docuit principem, non nisi suppliciis acrioribus, perniciose facinora scrutari posse vel vindicari, quae Romae perpetrare complures. 11. His ille cognitis, efferatus, ut erat vitiorum inimicus acer magis quam severus, uno proloquio, in huius modi causas, quas arroganter proposito maiestatis imminutae miscebat, omnes quos iuris prisci iustitia, divorumque arbitria, quaestionibus exemere cruentis, si postulasset negotium, statuit tormentis affligi. 12. Utque congeminata potestas, erectaque sublatius, altiores consarcinaret aerumnas, Maximino Romae agere disposito pro praefectis, sociavit ad haec cognoscenda, quae in multorum pericula struebantur, Leonem notarium, postea officiorum magistrum, bustuarium quendam latronem Pannonium, efflantem ferino rictu crudelitatem, etiam ipsum nihilo minus humani sanguinis avidissimum. 13. Auxit obstinatum Maximini ingenium ad laedendum adventus collegae similis et litterarum cum ampla dignitate dulcedo. Ideoque pedes huc et illuc exsultando contorquens, saltare, non incedere

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<sup>1</sup> On *supra plantam* see Val. Max. viii. 12, ext. 3, *artifex (Apelles) qui in opere suo moneri se a sutore de crepida et ansulis passus, de crure etiam disputare incipientem, supra plantam ascendere vetuit*. In the form *supra crepidam*, it became proverbial (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 85). Here it means "beyond the powers which had been given him."

<sup>2</sup> *Suppliciis* refers both to tortures in order to exact information and executions accompanied by torture.

<sup>3</sup> During the illness of Olybrius.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxx. 2, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *tartareus*, xv. 6, 1; *funereus*, xxix. 5, 46; *bustu-*

XXVIII., 1, 10-13, A.D. 369-72

clients and other common people who were notorious as malefactors and informers, made use of men skilled in harmful practices, the hellish judge, "going beyond his last"<sup>1</sup> (as the saying is), in a malicious report to the emperor informed him that the offences which many men had committed at Rome could not be investigated or punished except by severer measures.<sup>2</sup> 11. On hearing this, the emperor, in anger, being rather a cruel than a strict foe of vices, gave one general judicial sentence to cover cases of the kind, which he arbitrarily fused with the design of treason, and ruled that all those whom the justice of the ancient code and the edicts of deified emperors had made exempt from inquisitions by torture should, if circumstances demanded, be examined with torments. 12. And that with doubled power and higher rank Maximinus might patch together a greater heap of calamities, the emperor gave him a temporary appointment as acting prefect at Rome;<sup>3</sup> 371-72 and he associated with him in the investigation of these charges which were being devised for the peril of many the secretary Leo, afterward chief-marshal of the court,<sup>4</sup> a Pannonian and a grave-robber,<sup>5</sup> snorting forth cruelty from the grinning jaws of a wild beast, and no less insatiable in his thirst for human blood than Maximinus. 13. The persistent natural bent of Maximinus to cruel conduct was increased by the coming of a colleague of the same character and by the charm of a commission conferring lofty rank. Therefore, full of joy, he turned his steps this way and that, seeming to dance rather than walk, and

*arius* is also used of a gladiator who fought at funeral games, Cic. *In Pisonem*, 9, 19.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

videbatur, dum studebat inter altaria celsius gradientes (ut quidam memorant) imitari Brachmanas.

14. Iamque lituis cladium concrepantibus internarum, rerum atrocitate torpentibus cunctis, praeter multa cruda et immitia quorum nec diversitas comprehendendi, nec numerus potest, mors Marini causarum defensoris eminuit. Quem ut ausum Hispanillae cuiusdam, artibus pravis, affectasse coniugium, transeunter indiciorum fide discussa, supplicio letali damnavit. 15. Et quoniam existimo, forsitan aliquos haec lecturos, exquisite scrutando notare, strepentes id actum esse prius, non illud, aut ea quae viderint praetermissa : hactenus faciendum est satis, quod non omnia narratu sunt digna, quae per squalidas transiere personas, nec si fieri fuisset necesse, instructiones vel ex ipsis tabulariis suppetere publicis, tot calentibus malis, et novo furore, sine retinaculis imis <sup>1</sup> summa miscente, cum iustitium esse, quod timebatur, non iudicium, aperte constaret.

16. Tunc Cethegus senator, adulterii reus delatus, cervice perit abscisa, et Alypius nobilis adulescens, ob levem relegatus errorem, alique humiles, publica morte oppetiverunt : in quorum miseriis, velut sui

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<sup>1</sup> *retinaculis imis*, A ; *retinaculis*, EG ; *retinaculo imis*, Novák ; *retinaculum missum miscente*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, iii. 15, says that the Brahmins sometimes levitated themselves two cubits high from the ground . . . walking with the sun.

XXVIII., 1, 13-16, A.D. 371-2

seeking to imitate the Brahmins, who march (as some say) above the earth among their altars.<sup>1</sup>

14. And now, as the trumpets sounded the signal for the murder of citizens and all were stupified by the horrible situation, besides many harsh and merciless acts, which because of their variety and number cannot be enumerated, the execution of Marinus, a public advocate, was conspicuous. This man was accused of having dared by forbidden arts to try to gain a certain Hispanilla as his wife, and when the truthfulness of the evidence had been perfunctorily examined, Maximinus condemned him to death.

15. And since I think that perchance some of my readers by careful examination may note and bring it against me as a reproach that this, and not that, happened first, or that those things which they themselves saw are passed over, I must satisfy them to this extent: that not everything which has taken place among persons of the lowest class is worth narrating; and if this were necessary to be done, even the arrays of facts to be gained from the public records themselves would not suffice, when there was such a general fever of evils, and a new and unbridled madness was mingling the highest with the lowest; for it was clearly evident that it was not a judicial trial which was to be feared, but a suspension of legal proceedings.<sup>2</sup>

16. Then Cethegus, a senator, was accused of adultery and beheaded, Alypius, a young man of noble birth, was banished for a trifling fault, and others of lower rank were publicly put to death; and every one, seeing in their unhappy fate the

<sup>2</sup> One of Ammianus' few word-plays; but see Blomgren, pp. 128 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quisque discriminis cernens imaginem, tortorem et vincula somniabat, et deversoria tenebrarum.

17. Eodem tempore etiam Hymetii praeclarae indolis viri, negotium est actitatum, cuius hunc fuisse novimus textum. Cum Africam pro consule regeret, Carthaginensibus victus inopia iam lassatis, ex horreis Romano populo destinatis, frumentum venundedit,<sup>1</sup> pauloque postea, cum provenisset segetum copia, integre sine ulla restituit mora. 18. Verum quoniam denis modis singulis solidis indigentibus venundatis, emerat ipse tricenos, interpretii compendium ad principis aerarium misit. Ideoque Valentinianus, per nundinationem suspicatus parum quam oportuerat missum, eum bonorum parte multavit. 19. Ad cuius cladem exaggerandam, id quoque eisdem diebus acciderat, non minus exitiale. Amantius haruspex, ea tempestate prae ceteris notus, occultiore indicio proditus, quod ob prava quaedam implenda, ad sacrificandum ab eodem esset adscitus Hymetio, inductusque in iudicium, quamquam incurvus sub eculeo staret, pertinaci negabat instantia. 20. Quo infitiente, secretioribus chartis ab eius domo prolatis, commonitorium repertum est, manu scriptum Hymetii, petentis ut obsecrato ritu sacrorum sollemnum numine,<sup>2</sup> erga se imperatores

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<sup>1</sup> *uenundedit*, Her. and Clark, c.c.; *dedit*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *obsecrato . . . numine*, Her.; *obsecrata ritu sacrorum*, G; *obsecratoribus agrorum . . . numina*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Egypt and Africa supplied the Romans with grain until the division of the empire, after which Africa supplied Rome, and Egypt Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> For the same amount; i.e., one gold-piece.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., to the treasury in charge of the praetorian prefect, who had general supervision of the grain-supply; see *Introd.*, Vol. I, pp. xxxi.-xxxii.

XXVIII., 1, 17-20, A.D. 371-2

picture (as it were) of his own danger, dreamt of the torturer and of fetters and lodgings of darkness.

17. At the same time, the case of Hymetius also, a man of distinguished character, was tried, of which we know this to have been the course of events. When he was governing Africa as proconsul he took from the storehouses grain intended for the Roman people<sup>1</sup> and sold it to the Carthaginians, who were by that time worn out from lack of food, and a little later, when the crops were again abundant, without any delay completely restored what he had taken. 18. Moreover, since ten bushels had been sold to the needy for one gold-piece, while he himself now bought thirty,<sup>2</sup> he sent the profit from the difference in price to the emperor's treasury.<sup>3</sup> And so Valentinian, suspecting that he had sent less than he should have sent as the result of his trafficking, punished him with a fine of a part of his property. 19. To add to his calamity, this also had happened at that same time, which was not less fatal. The soothsayer Amantius, at that time especially notorious, was betrayed on secret evidence of having been employed by the said Hymetius, for the purpose of committing certain criminal acts, to perform a sacrifice; but when brought to trial, although he stood bent double upon the rack,<sup>4</sup> he denied it with obstinate insistence. 20. Upon his denial, his secret papers were brought from his house and a memorandum in the handwriting of Hymetius was found, begging him that by carrying out a solemn sacrifice he should prevail upon the deity to make the

<sup>1</sup> Tortured until he was permanently disfigured. For *sub oculis* see xxvi. 10, 13, note.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

delenirentur.<sup>1</sup> Cuius extima parte quaedam invec-  
tiva legebantur in principem ut avarum et truculen-  
tum. 21. Haec Valentinianus relatione iudicum  
doctus, asperius interpretantium facta, vigore nimio  
in negotium iussit inquire. Et quia Frontinus, con-  
siliarius<sup>2</sup> ante dicti minister fuisse conceptae pre-  
cationis arguebatur, concisus virgis, atque confessus,  
ablegatus est in exsilium ad Britannos, Amantius  
vero, damnatus postea rerum capitalium interiit.  
22. Post hanc gestorum seriem Hymetius ad oppi-  
dum ductus Ocriculum, audiendus ab Ampelio urbi  
praefecto, et Maximino vicario, confestimque per-  
dendus (ut apparebat) data sibi copia audentius<sup>3</sup>  
imperatoris praesidium appellavit, nominisque eius  
perfugio tectus, servabatur incolumis. 23. Super hoc  
princeps consultus, senatui<sup>4</sup> negotium dedit. Qui  
cum rem librata iustitia comperisset, eumque ad Boas,  
Delmatae locum, exterminasset, aegre imperatoris  
iracundiam tulit, perciti vehementer, quod hominem  
addictum (ut ipse proposuerat) morti, clementiori  
sententia didicerat plexum.

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<sup>1</sup> *imperatores delenirentur*, N<sup>2</sup>, Clark; *imperatoris deleniret  
furorem*, Her.; *imperatoris delinirent*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *consiliarius*,  
Lind.; *consularius*, N<sup>2</sup>; *consutarius*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *audentius*,  
Novák; *erectius*, C. F. W. M.; *tectius*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *senatui*,  
EAG; *senatu*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Valentinian and Gratian.

<sup>2</sup> For *consiliarius* = *minister*, cf. Suet., *Tib.* 55; *Claud.* 12, 2. He was one of the governor's assistants, appointed to aid him in making judicial decisions, and corresponding to the members of the emperor's *consistorium*; see Index II, Vol. I, s.v. *consiliarius*.

XXVIII., 1, 20-23, A.D. 371-2, 368 ff.

emperors<sup>1</sup> milder towards him; and at the end of the document were read some reproaches of Valentinian as avaricious and cruel. 21. When the emperor learned this from the report of the judges, who gave what had been done a harsh interpretation, he issued orders that the affair should be investigated with excessive strictness. And since Frontinus, an adviser<sup>2</sup> of the said Hymetius, was charged with having drawn up the form of prayer that was made, he was mangled with rods, and having confessed his guilt, was exiled to Britain; but Amantius was later found guilty of a capital crime and executed. 22. After this course of events Hymetius was taken to the town of Otriculum,<sup>3</sup> to be heard by Ampelius, prefect of the city,<sup>4</sup> and Maximinus, the deputy-prefect; and when it was evident that he would immediately be condemned to death, he boldly appealed to the emperor's protection, when the opportunity was given him, and, defended under the refuge of that name, saved his life. 23. When the emperor was consulted 368 ff. about this matter, he referred the business to the senate. And when they had weighed the case in the scales of justice and learned the truth and had exiled the accused to Boae,<sup>5</sup> a place in Dalmatia, they could hardly bear the wrath of the emperor, who was greatly incensed on learning that a man whom he had intended to be condemned to death had been punished with a milder sentence.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Otricoli.

<sup>4</sup> He was city prefect in 371 and 372. Ammianus includes the whole time of the investigation.

<sup>5</sup> An island on the Dalmatian Coast.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

24. Ob haec et huius modi multa, quae cernebantur in paucis, omnibus timeri sunt coepta. Et ne tot malis dissimulatis, paulatimque serpentibus, acervi crescerent aerumnarum, nobilitatis decreto legati mittuntur: Praetextatus ex urbi praefecto, et ex vicario Venustus, et ex consulari Minervius, oraturi ne delictis supplicia sint grandiora, neve senator quisquam, inusitato et illicito more, tormentis exponeretur. 25. Qui cum intromissi in consistorium haec referrent, negantem Valentianum se id statuisset, et calumnias perpeti clamitantem, moderate redarguit quaestor Eupraxius, hacque libertate emendatum est crudele praeceptum, supergressum omnia dicitatis exempla.

26. Circa hos dies Lollianus, primae lanuginis adulescens, Lampadi filius ex praefecto, exploratus causam Maximino spectante, convictus codicem noxiarum artium nondum per aetatem firmato consilio, descripsisse, exsulque mittendus (ut sperabatur) patris impulsu, provocavit ad principem, et iussus ad eius comitatum adduci,<sup>1</sup> de fumo (ut

<sup>1</sup> *adduci*, Clark, c.c.; *duci*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 9, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiii. 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> The punishment should fit the crime. According to Capitolinus, 24, 1, Marcus Aurelius punished all offences with a milder penalty than the laws allowed.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxvii. 6, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxvii. 3, 5.

XXVIII., 1, 24-26, A.D. 368 ff.

24. On account of this occurrence and many others of the same kind, the fate which was seen to overtake a few persons began to be feared by all. And lest, by so many evils that were ignored, and gradually creeping on, the mass of troubles should be increased, by resolution of the nobles envoys were sent to the emperor. These were Praetextatus,<sup>1</sup> former prefect of the city, Venustus, a one-time deputy-prefect,<sup>2</sup> and Minervius, who had been a consular governor. They were to ask that punishments should be inflicted that were not too severe for the offences,<sup>3</sup> and that no senator should, in a fashion neither practised nor permitted, be subjected to torture. 25. When the deputation had been admitted to the council-chamber and had presented their request, Valentinian said that he had never made such a decree, and cried out that he was the victim of calumny. But the quaestor Eupraxius<sup>4</sup> mildly contradicted him, and through his freedom of speech the cruel order, which surpassed all examples of harshness, was rescinded.

26. At about that same time Lollianus, a youth just growing his first beard, son of the ex-prefect Lampadius,<sup>5</sup> as the result of a strict examination by Maximinus, was convicted of having written a book on destructive magic arts, when adult age had not yet endowed him with sound judgment. And when it was feared that he would be exiled, by his father's advice he appealed to the emperor and was ordered to be taken to his court; but he went from the smoke (as the saying is)<sup>6</sup> into the fire; for he was handed over to Phalangius, consular governor

<sup>6</sup> Cf. "from the frying-pan into the fire" and xiv. 11, 12.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

aiunt) in flammam, traditus Phalangio (Baeticae consulari) cecidit funesti carnificis manu.

27. Super his etiam Tarracius Bassus, postea urbi praefectus, et frater eius Camenius, et Marcianus quidam et Eusaphius, omnes clarissimi, arcessiti in crimen, quod eiusdem conscii veneficiis,<sup>1</sup> aurigam fovere dicebantur Auchenium, documentis etiam tum ambiguus, suffragante absoluti sunt Victorino, ut dispersus prodidit rumor, qui erat amicus Maximino iunctissimus.

28. Nec minus feminae quoque calamitatum participes fuere similia. Nam ex hoc quoque sexu, peremptae sunt originis altae complures, adulteriorum flagitiis obnoxiae, vel stuprorum. Inter quas notiores fuere Charitas<sup>2</sup> et Flaviana,<sup>3</sup> quarum altera cum duceretur ad mortem, indumento (quo vestita erat) abrepto, ne velamen quidem secreto membrorum sufficiens retinere permissa est. Ideoque carnifex, nefas admisisse convictus immane, vivus exustus est.

29. Paphius quin etiam et Cornelius, senatores, ambo venenorum artibus pravis se<sup>4</sup> polluisse confessi, eodem pronuntiante Maximino sunt interfecti. Pari sorte etiam procurator monetae extinctus est. Sericum enim, et Asbolium supra dictos, quoniam cum hortaretur passim nominare quos vellent, adiecta religione firmarat, nullum igni vel ferro se

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<sup>1</sup> *ueneficiis*, V, rest. by Her.; *ueneficii*, EAG.    <sup>2</sup> *Charitas* sugg. by Clark; *Claritas*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *Flauiana*, G; *Fulviana*, Her.; *fluviiana*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *pravis se*, Hadr. Val.; *se*, G; *peruersis se*, Pet.; *preuenisse*, V.

<sup>1</sup> In 390.

<sup>2</sup> For the bad repute of charioteers cf. 4, 25, below; xxvi. 3, 3.

of Baetica, and died at the hand of the dread executioner.

27. Besides these also Tarracius Bassus, afterwards prefect of the city,<sup>1</sup> his brother Camenius, a certain Marcianus, and Eusaphius, all men of senatorial rank, were brought to trial on the ground that they were said to be making much of the charioteer<sup>2</sup> Auchenius, and were his accomplices in the use of poisons; but because the evidence was even then doubtful, they were acquitted, as widespread rumour declared, through the influence of Victorinus, who was the closest friend of Maximinus.

28. Not even women were more immune from similar calamities. For many of high birth belonging to this sex too were charged with the disgrace of adultery or of fornication, and put to death. Conspicuous among these were Charitas and Flaviana, of whom the latter, when she was led to death, was stripped of the clothing which she wore, being allowed not even to keep sufficient covering for the secret parts of her body. But for that reason the executioner was convicted of having committed a monstrous crime, and was burned alive.

29. Nay more, two senators, Paphius and Cornelius, both of whom confessed to having disgraced themselves by the wicked practices of poisons, by the sentence of the same Maximinus were put to death. Even the head of the mint<sup>3</sup> perished by a like fate. But Sericus and Asbolius, mentioned above,<sup>4</sup> because when he urged them to name indiscriminately such accomplices as they wished, he had declared on oath that he would order no

<sup>3</sup> Called *monetae praepositus*, xxii. 11, 9.    <sup>4</sup> See 1, 8.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

puniri iussurum, plumbi validis ictibus interemit. Et post hoc flammis Campensem haruspicem dedit, in negotio eius nullo sacramento constrictus.

30. Opportunum est (ut arbitror) explanare nunc causam, quae ad exitium praecipitem Aginatum impulit, iam inde a priscis maioribus nobilem, ut locuta est pertinacior fama; nec enim super hoc ulla documentorum rata est fides. 31. Anhelans flatu superbo, Maximinus etiam tum praefectus annonae, nactusque audaciae incitamenta non levia, tendebat ad usque Probi contemptum, viri summatum omnium maximi, iureque praefecturae praetorianae regentis provincias. 32. Quod Aginatus indignissime ferens, dolensque in examinandis causis Maximinum ab Olybrio sibi praelatum, cum esset ipse vicarius Romae, familiari sermone docuit Probum occulte, facile vanum hominem recalcitrantem sublimibus meritis posse opprimi, si ille id fieri censuisset. 33. Has litteras (ut quidam asseverabant), Probus ad Maximinum eruditorem iam in sceleribus, commendatumque principi pertimescens, nullo conscio praeter baiulum, misit. Hisque recitatis, ita homo ferus exarsit, ut machinas omnes in Aginatum deinde commoveret, velut serpens vulnere ignoti<sup>1</sup> cuiusdam attritus. 34. Accessit his alia potior insidiarum materia, quae eundem Aginatum

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<sup>1</sup> *ignoti*, Her.; *rotae*, Kiessling; *molis*, Corn.; *noti*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Probably with the knout, whips of leather with balls of lead on the ends of each lash; cf. xxix. 1, 40, and Zos. v. 2, *σφαίραις μολιβδίναις αὐτὸν κατὰ τοῦ τένοντος ἐνεκελεύετο παίσθαι*. Cf. also note 1 on page 340.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvii. 11, 1.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., by letter, see § 33.

<sup>4</sup> For this meaning of *baiulus*, cf. xv. 5, 10.

XXVIII., 1, 29-34, A.D. 368 ff.

one to be punished with fire or steel, he killed with heavy blows of lead.<sup>1</sup> And after this he consigned the soothsayer Campensis to the flames, being bound in his case by no oath.

30. It is, I think, fitting now to set forth the cause which drove Aginatus headlong to death, a man of noble descent from his early ancestors, as persistent report declared; for as to this there is no trustworthy documentary evidence. 31. Maximinus, breathing blasts of arrogance, while he was still prefect of the grain supply, and finding no slight incentives to his audacity, went so far as to insult Probus,<sup>2</sup> the most distinguished man among all the highest officials, and governing several provinces with the rank of praetorian prefect. 32. Aginatus, filled with indignation at this, and resentful because Maximinus, in conducting examinations, was preferred to him by Olybrius, although he himself was vice-prefect of Rome, secretly informed Probus in a confidential communication<sup>3</sup> that the worthless man, one who quarrelled with high merits, could easily be brought low, if Probus decided that it should be done. 33. This letter Probus, as some maintained, without the knowledge of anyone except the bearer,<sup>4</sup> sent to Maximinus, fearing him as a man already very highly trained in wickedness and in favour with the emperor. On reading the letter that savage man fell into such a blaze of anger, that from then on he set all devices in motion against Aginatus, after the manner of a serpent crushed by a wound from some unknown person. 34. There was added to this another more powerful impulse to treacherous attacks, which ruined the said Aginatus. For he



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

obruit. Victorinum enim defunctum insimulabat, ut Maximini actus (dum supererat) venditantem, cuius ex testamento legata ipse sumpserat non aspernanda, parique petulantia Anepsiae quoque, eius uxori, lites minabatur et iurgia. 35. Quae haec metuens ut Maximini<sup>1</sup> muniretur<sup>2</sup> auxilio, finxit maritum in voluntate, quam condiderat nuper, argenti tria milia pondo eidem reliquisse. Qui aviditate nimia flagrans (nec enim hoc quoque vitio caruit) petit hereditatis medietatem. Verum etiam hoc (ut parum sufficienti) nequaquam contentus, aliud commentus est (ut arbitrabatur) honestum et tutum, et ne amitteret amplam sibi oblatam lucrandi uberis patrimonii, Victorini privignam, Anepsiae filiam, petit filio coniugem, idque assentiente muliere prompte firmatum est.

36. Per haec et alia simili maerore deflenda, quae decolorabant speciem urbis aeternae, grassabatur per strages multiplices fortunarum, homo cum gemitu nominandus, ultra forenses terminos semet extensans. Namque et resticulam de fenestra praetorii quadam remota, dicitur semper habuisse suspensam, cuius summitas quaedam velut damnosa<sup>3</sup> colligeret,<sup>4</sup> nullis quidem indiciis fulta, sed nocitura insontibus multis: et Mucianum Barbarumque apparitores aliquotiens discretim trudi iubebat, ad fallendum

<sup>1</sup> *Maximini*, Pet., Novák; *M. etiam*, EAG; *maximin* et, V.      <sup>2</sup> *muniretur*, V; *emuniretur*, Pet.      <sup>3</sup> *quaedam*

*velut damnosa*, Pet.; *quaedam velut dam usam*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *colligeret*, Dederichs; *colligaret*, EAG; *collegaret*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., favourable decisions, acquittals.

<sup>2</sup> The text is very uncertain, and probably corrupt; see the crit. note. The general meaning is clear.

accused Victorinus after his death of having sold decisions<sup>1</sup> of Maximinus during his lifetime, although he himself had received no contemptible legacies from Victorinus' will; and with like impudence he threatened Anepsia also, Victorinus's widow, with charges and litigious suits. 35. The woman, fearful of these troubles, and wishing to protect herself by the help of Maximinus, pretended that her husband in a will which he had made shortly before his death had left him 3000 pounds of silver. Maximinus then, enflamed with excessive greed—for he was not free from that vice also—demanded half of her inheritance. But by no means content even with this, which he thought too little, he devised another plan, honourable and safe (as he thought), and in order not to lose the opportunity which was offered him for profiting from rich estate, he asked for the hand of the step-daughter of Victorinus (Anepsia's own child) for his son; and this was quickly secured with the woman's consent.

36. Through these and other equally lamentable crimes, which were a blot on the fair aspect of the Eternal City, this man, to be named only with groans, made his violent way over the ruins of many fortunes, passing beyond the limits afforded by the courts. For he is said to have had a cord hanging from a secluded window of his palace, the lower end of which could pick up certain seemingly incriminating charges, supported, it is true, by no evidence, but nevertheless likely to injure many innocent persons.<sup>2</sup> And sometimes he ordered Mucianus and Barbarus, his attendants, who were most skilled in deception, severally to be cast out of his house.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

aptissimos. 37. Hi tamquam heulando casus quibus se simulabant oppressos, iudicis exaggerando crudelitatem, remedium nullum aliud reis ad obtinendam vitam superesse eadem replicando saepe asseverabant, ni criminibus magnis petissent nobiles viros, quibus ad sui societatem annexis facile eos absolvi posse firmabant.

38. Ob quae implacabilitate ultra apposita iam pergente, manus vinculis sunt artatae complurium, ortuque nobiles inculti videbantur et anxii. Nec eorum culpam quisquam debuit, cum salutantes humum paene curvatis contingentibus membris, persaepe clamantem audirent, spiritus ferini latronem, nullum se invito reperiri posse insontem. 39. Quae verba effectui propere iuncta, terruissent profecto Numae Pompilii similis, et Catonem. Prorsus enim sic agebatur, ut nec in alienis malis quorundam exarescerent lacrimae: quod in variis et confragosis actibus vitae plerumque contingit. 40. A iure tamen iustitiaque crebro discedens, ferreus cognitor erat uno quasi praecipuo tolerabilis. Interdum enim exoratus parcebat aliquibus, quod prope vitium esse, in hoc loco legitur apud Tullium: "Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sunt, summa est acerbitas: sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas; quae tamen (ut in malis) acerbitati anteponenda est."

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<sup>1</sup> *Ad Quint. Frat. i. 1, 13, 39.*

XXVIII., 1, 37-40, A.D. 368 ff.

37. These two then, as if bewailing the fate by which they pretended to be overwhelmed, exaggerated the cruelty of the judge and often repeated the assertion that the accused had no other means of saving their lives than by charging men of high rank with serious crimes ; for they declared that by involving such men in the same accusations with themselves they could easily secure an acquittal.

38. Because of this, with a ruthlessness now passing all bounds, the hands of very many were bound in fetters, and men of noble birth were seen in mourning garb and in distress. And none of them could rightly be blamed, since very often when waiting upon him with bodies bent so as almost to touch the ground, they constantly heard that brigand with the heart of a wild beast shout that no one could be found innocent without his consent.

39. Such words, which accomplishment quickly followed, would surely have terrified men like Numa Pompilius, and a Cato. For, in fact, the business was conducted in such a way that some people could not even contemplate the ills of others with dry eyes, a thing which often happens in the many difficult trials of life. 40. Nevertheless, the iron-hearted judge, often as he deviated from law and justice, was endurable in what may be called one special thing. For at times he could be prevailed upon to show mercy to some ; although this, we read in the following passage in Cicero,<sup>1</sup> is almost a vice : " For," he says, " when anger is implacable, there is extreme severity ; but if it yields to entreaties, the greatest inconstancy : yet the latter, as a choice of evils, is to be preferred to severity."

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

41. Post haec praegresso Leone, acceptoque successore, ad principis comitatum Maximinus accitus, auctusque praefectura praetoriana, nihilo lenior fuit, etiam longius nocens, ut basilisci serpentes. 42. In id tempus aut non multo prius, scopae florere sunt visae, quibus nobilitatis curia mundabatur, idque portendebat, extollendos quosdam despiciatissimae sortis ad gradus potestatum excelsos.

43. Et quamlibet tempestivum est ad ordinem redire coeptorum, tamen nihil impedituri temporum cursus, immorabimur paucis, quae per iniquitatem curantium vicariam praefecturam in urbe, contra quam oportuerat, gesta sunt, quia ad nutum Maximini et voluntatem eisdem ministris velut apparitoribus gerebantur. 44. Post hunc venit Ursicinus ad mitiora propensior, qui quoniam cautus esse voluit et civilis, rettulerat Esaiam cum aliis, ob commissum adulterium in Rufinam detentis, Marcellum maritum eius ex agente in rebus reum imminutae maiestatis deferre conari: <sup>1</sup> ideoque ut cunctator contemptus, et ad haec fortiter exsequenda parum conveniens, <sup>2</sup> e vicaria potestate <sup>3</sup> discessit. 45. Huic successit Hemonensis Simplicius, Maximini

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<sup>1</sup> *conari*, Momm.; *conatos*, Günther; *conatis*, V. <sup>2</sup> *conueniensque*, V; *aptus conueniensque*, Novák. <sup>3</sup> *e vicaria potestate*, G; *efficere testate*, V; *quae efficeret exacte*, Pet.; *quae efficere* (lac.) *abrogata potestate*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> Ursicinus; see § 44, below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1, 12, above.

XXVIII., 1, 41-45, A.D. 368 ff.

41. After this, Maximinus received a successor,<sup>1</sup> and was summoned to the emperor's court, as Leo<sup>2</sup> had been before him ; and there, being promoted to the praetorian prefecture, he was no whit milder, but like the basilisk,<sup>3</sup> was harmful even from a distance.

42. At that time, or not much earlier, the brooms with which the assembly-hall of the nobles was swept were seen to bloom, and this was an omen that some men of the most despised station would be raised to high rank in the offices of state.

43. Although it is high time to return to the course of the history which we have begun, yet, in order not to interfere with the connection of events, I shall linger over a few of the wrongful acts committed by the iniquity of the vice-prefects in the city, since it was according to the nod and wish of Maximinus that they were done by those same subordinates—I might say “attendants”. 44. After him came Ursicinus, inclined to milder measures ; he, wishing to be prudent and kindly, had referred to the Court the information that Esaias (with others who had been imprisoned because of adulterous relations with Rufina) was trying to bring a charge of treason against her husband, Marcellus, a former agent of the state. In consequence, Ursicinus was despised as inactive and unfit for the vigorous prosecution of such matters, and was forced to withdraw from his deputyship. 45. To him succeeded Simplicius<sup>4</sup> of Hemona, a former

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxii. 15, 27, and Spenser, *F.Q.* iv. 8, 39 :

Like as the Basiliske, of serpents seede,  
From powrefull eyes close venom doth convey  
Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away.

<sup>4</sup> In 375.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

consiliarius ex grammatico, per administrationem<sup>1</sup> nec erectus nec tumidus sed obliquo aspectu terribilis, qui compositis ad modestiam verbis acerba meditabatur in multos. Et primo Rufinam, cum universis auctoribus adulterii commissi vel consciis, interfecit, super quibus Ursicinum rettulisse praediximus, alios deinde complures nullo noxiorum discrimine vel insontium. 46. Cruento<sup>2</sup> enim certamine cum Maximino velut antepilano suo contendens, superare eum in succidendis familiarum nobilium nervis studebat, Busirim veterem et Antaeum imitatus et Phalarim, ut taurus ei<sup>3</sup> solus deesse videretur Agrigentinus.

47. His in hunc modum ac talibus actis,<sup>4</sup> Hesychia quaedam matrona, ob intentatum crimen in domo apparitoris, cui custodienda est tradita, multa pertimescens et saeva, fulcro plumeo vultu contracto incubuit, et animam ocluso narium spiramento effudit.

48. Adiunctum est his aliud haut mitius malum. Eumenius enim et Abienus, ambo ex coetu amplissimo, infamati sub Maximino, in Fausianam feminam non obscuram, post Victorini obitum, quo iuvante vivere securius, Simplicii adventu perterrefacti, non

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<sup>1</sup> per administrationem, W. Meyer Spir. ; post administratam without lac., V ; provinciam, added by Lind., praefecturam, by Novák, in lac. indicated by Momm.

<sup>2</sup> cruento, Novák ; in cruento, G ; merciento, V. <sup>3</sup> ut

taurus ei, Val. ; ut aereus taurus ei, Her. ; vitae rusei, V.

<sup>4</sup> actis, Clark ; exactis, EAG ; actitatis, vulgo ; aetatis, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See note on § 21, above.

<sup>2</sup> § 44, above.

<sup>3</sup> Ammianus uses *antipilanus* in the sense of *antesignanus* ; for its usual meaning see xvi. 12, 20, note.

XXVIII., 1, 45-48, A.D. 368 ff.

teacher of literature and later an adviser<sup>1</sup> of Maximinus, a man who during the administration of the prefecture was neither proud nor arrogant, but excited fear by his sidelong glance, and in language of studied moderation plotted severity for many. And first he put to death Rufina, with all who were implicated in, or aware of, the adultery that she had committed, whose case (as we have previously said)<sup>2</sup> Ursicinus had referred to the Court; and then many others, regardless of whether they were guilty or innocent. 46. For vying in bloody rivalry with Maximinus, as his leader,<sup>3</sup> he strove to outdo him in cutting the sinews of distinguished families, imitating Busiris of old, and Antaeus and Phalaris<sup>4</sup> to such a degree that he seemed to lack only the Agrigentine bull of the last-named.

47. Amid these and such acts so perpetrated a matron called Hesychia, who because of an attempted crime was committed to an official's attendant to be guarded at his house, and was in fear of much cruel treatment, pressed her face in the feather bed on which she was lying and so stopped her nose and her breath and gave up the ghost.

48. There was added to these another no less cruel evil. For Eumenius and Abienus, both of senatorial rank, being accused under Maximinus of improper conduct with Fausiana, a woman of position, after the death of Victorinus, under whose protection they lived with less anxiety, terrified by Simplicius' coming who with threats planned no less

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvi. 10, 5; he had a brazen bull constructed, in which he burned his victims alive; the first of these was its inventor Perillus, the last Phalaris himself.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

secus volentis<sup>1</sup> maligna cum minis,<sup>2</sup> ad secreta receptacula se contulerunt. 49. Sed Fausiana damnata, inter reos recepti, vocatique edictis, semet abstrusius amendarunt: quorum Abienus apud Anepsiam diu delitescebat. Sed ut solent insperati casus aggravare miserabilis clades, Sapaudulus<sup>3</sup> nomine, servus Anepsiae, verberatae coniugis dolore percussus, negotium ad Simplicium detulit, nocte progressus, missique apparitores, indicatos e latebris abstraxerunt. 50. Et Abienus quidem, exaggerato crimine stupri, quod intulisse dicebatur Anepsiae, morte multatus est. Mulier vero ut continendae vitae spem firmam dilato posset habere supplicio, appetitam se nefariis artibus, vim in domo Aginati perpersam, asseveravit. 51. Haec (ut gesta sunt) malignius<sup>4</sup> ad principem Simplicius rettulit, agensque ibi Maximinus infestus, ob causam quam supra docuimus, Aginatio, simultate una cum potestate in maius accensa, oravit<sup>5</sup> impense ut rescriberetur eum occidi: et impetravit facile male sanus incitator et potens. 52. Metuensque gravioris invidiae pondus, ne pronuntiante Simplicio, et consiliario suo et amico, periret homo patriciae stirpis, retinuit apud se paulisper imperiale praeceptum, haerens et ambigens quemnam potissimum exsecutorem atrocis

<sup>1</sup> *volentis*, AG; *loquentis*, Novák; *volentes*, V. <sup>2</sup> *magna cum nimis*, V; *volentis magna (maligna, Her.) in animis* Corn.; *volentis, sed magni acuminis*, Pet. <sup>3</sup> *Sapaudulus*, Clark and Her.; *apaudulus*, V. <sup>4</sup> *malignius*, Pet. (*malignus*, Schneider); *auctius*, Hermann; *mugitus* (from *maugitus*), V. <sup>5</sup> *oravit*, added in G; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., by offers of rewards for their arrest

<sup>2</sup> Properly, concubine. <sup>3</sup> See §§ 31 ff.

XXVIII., 1, 48-52, A.D. 368 ff.

cruelty than Maximinus, fled to secret retreats. 49. But after Fausiana had been found guilty, a charge was made against them also; but though summoned by edicts,<sup>1</sup> they kept themselves in still closer concealment, and Abienus remained hidden for a long time in the house of Anepsia. But as unexpected chances often aggravate lamentable disasters, a slave of Anepsia, Sapaudulus by name, seized with resentment because his wife <sup>2</sup> had been flogged, went by night to Simplicius and reported the matter; then attendants were sent and dragged the accused, whose whereabouts had been pointed out, from their hiding-places. 50. And Abienus, assailed with an additional accusation of improper relations which he was said to have had with Anepsia, was punished with death. But the woman, that she might have strong hope of retaining her life by putting off her punishment, declared that she had been worked upon by evil arts and had suffered violence in the house of Aginatus. 51. Simplicius gave the emperor a spiteful account of what had been done, and Maximinus, who was at court, and, for the reason which I have given above,<sup>3</sup> was hostile to Aginatus, while his hatred was set ablaze with his rise in power, strongly urged the emperor to give him a warrant for putting Aginatus to death; and this the mad and powerful instigator easily brought to pass. 52. But Maximinus, fearing the weight of greater hatred, if a man of patrician stock should die by the sentence of Simplicius, who was his adviser and his friend, kept back the emperor's order for some time, in perplexity and doubt as to whom he would find most trustworthy and efficient in carrying out

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

rei fidum inveniret et <sup>1</sup> efficacem. 53. Tandemque, ut solent pares facile congregari cum paribus, Doryphorianus quidam repertus est Gallus, audax ad usque insaniam, cui hanc operam implere brevi pollicito, deferri providit vicariam, et commonitorium cum Augusti litteris tradidit, instruens hominem saevum quidem sed <sup>2</sup> rudem, qua celeritate Aginatium sine ullo deleret obstaculo, dilatione qualibet inventa forsitan evasurum. 54. Festinavit (ut mandatum est) Doryphorianus magnis itineribus Romam, et inter administrandi<sup>3</sup> initia, magna quaeritabat industria, qua vi senatorem perspicui generis interficeret, iuvantibus nullis. Cognitoque eum iam pridem repertum, in villa propria custodiri, ipse tamquam capita<sup>4</sup> sontium Aginatium,<sup>5</sup> pariterque <sup>6</sup> Anepsiam horrore medio<sup>7</sup> tenebrarum audire disposuit, quo tempore hebetari solent obstrictae terroribus mentes: ut inter innumera multa, Ajax quoque Homericus docet, optans perire potius luce, quam pati formidinis augmenta nocturnae. 55. Et quoniam iudex, quin immo praedo nefandus, ad id solum quod promisit intentus, cuncta extollebat in maius, iusso sub quaestione<sup>8</sup> Aginatio statui,

<sup>1</sup> *et*, added in G; V omits.

<sup>2</sup> *sed*, V; *et*, Gardt.

<sup>3</sup> *administrandi*, Val.; *scrutandi*, Pet.; *minandi*, Brackman; *interandi*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *capita*, V, rest. by Her.; *caput*, G.

<sup>5</sup> *Aginatium*, added by Her.; V omits.

<sup>6</sup> *pariterque*,

Val.; *perque*, VA.

<sup>7</sup> *horrore medio*, Val.; *horrorem*, G;

*horrorem et*, V.

<sup>8</sup> *quaestione*, added by Her. (cf. xv. 5, 13); *sub aginatio*, V.

XXVIII., 1, 52-55, A.D. 368 ff.

the cruel design. 53. At last, since like and like readily flock together,<sup>1</sup> a Gaul called Doryphorianus was found, reckless to the point of insanity, on whom, since he promised to accomplish the business in a short time, he arranged to have the post of deputy conferred. Accordingly, he gave him with the epistle of Augustus<sup>2</sup> a letter of advice instructing the savage but inexperienced man how he might quickly and without any hindrance destroy Aginatus, who, if he gained any possible respite, would perhaps make his escape. 54. Doryphorianus, as had been ordered, hastened to Rome by long days' journeys, and at the beginning of his administration<sup>3</sup> cast about with great energy, to see by what act of violence he could without anyone's help destroy a senator of conspicuous lineage. And on learning that Aginatus had long since been found, and was under guard in his own villa, he arranged personally to examine him, and Anepsia as well, as the chief of the guilty persons, in the midst of the horrors of night, when men's minds are commonly dulled in the bonds of terrors: as among countless other instances is shown by Homer's Ajax,<sup>4</sup> who wished rather to die by daylight than endure the additional suffering of dread by night. 55. And since the judge, nay, rather the godless brigand, intent only on keeping his promise, carried everything to excess, having ordered Aginatus to be put to the question, he caused

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Homer, *Od.* xvii. 218; Plato, *Sym.* 195 b, which Cicero, *De Sen.* 3, 7, renders by *pares vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur*.

<sup>2</sup>I.e., the warrant conferring the office. According to Wagner *commonitorium* is the warrant, but the meaning given in the text seems more natural.

<sup>3</sup>As *vicarius*.

<sup>4</sup>*Iliad*, xvii. 645 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

agmina fecit introire carnificum, catenisque sonantibus triste, mancipia squalore diuturno marcentia, in domini caput ad usque ultimum lacerabat exitium, quod in stupri quaestione fieri vetuere clementissimae leges. 56. Denique cum iam contigua morti tormenta ancillae voces expressissent obliquas, indicii fide parum plene discussa, Aginatus ad supplicium duci pronuntiatur<sup>1</sup> abrupte, nec auditus cum magnis clamoribus appellaret nomina principum, sublimis raptus occiditur, pari sententia Anepsia interfecta. Haec agitante (cum adesset) perque emissarios (cum procul ageret) Maximino, funera urbs deploravit aeterna.

57. Sed vigilarunt<sup>2</sup> ultimae dirae caesorum. Namque ut postea tempestive dicetur, et idem Maximinus sub Gratiano intoleranter se efferens, damnatorio iugulatus est ferro, et Simplicius in Illyrico truncatus,<sup>3</sup> et Doryphorianum pronuntiatum capitis reum, trusumque in carcerem Tullianum,<sup>4</sup> matris consilio, princeps exinde rapuit, reversumque ad lares per cruciatus oppressit immensos. Verum unde<sup>5</sup> huc fleximus revertamur. Is urbanarum rerum status, ut ita dixerim, fuit.

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<sup>1</sup> *pronuntiatur*, EA; *pronuntiatus*, Lind.; *pronuntiatum*, VG. <sup>2</sup> *vigilarunt*, Her. (cf. 6, 25); *accelerarunt*, G; *ut celarunt*, V. <sup>3</sup> *truncatus*, EA; *trucidatus*, W<sup>2</sup>G; *trunnatus*, V; *truonatus*, V<sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> *in carcerem Tullianum*, Haupt; *in carcere Tulliano*, G; *trusum queret tulliano*, V. <sup>5</sup> *uerum unde*, Her., Novák (cf. xxx. 4, 22); *mundē*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xv. 3, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Florus, ii. 6, 8 (i. 22, 8, L.C.L.).

<sup>3</sup> Ammianus does not say more about him, except for a casual reference in xxix. 3, 1. His death was in 376.

a whole train of executioners to enter, and amid the gloomy clanking of chains had the slaves, who were already drooping through long continued filth and neglect, tortured to the very verge of death, to give evidence to endanger their master's life: a thing which our merciful laws forbade to be done in a trial for fornication. 56. Finally, when tortures already almost mortal had extorted from a maid-servant a few ambiguous words, without fully examining the trustworthiness of the testimony, he ordered Aginatus to be led off to execution, hastily and without a hearing, although with loud cries he called upon the emperors' names. Accordingly he was hoisted up<sup>1</sup> and put to death; and Anepsia was executed on a like sentence. While Maximinus was thus busied in person when he was in Rome and through his emissaries when he acted from a distance, the Eternal City wept bitterly for its dead.

57. But the final curses of his victims did not sleep. For, under Gratian, as shall be told later at the proper time,<sup>3</sup> not only did this same Maximinus, because of his intolerable arrogance, fall victim to the executioner's sword, but Simplicius also was beheaded in Illyricum. Doryphorianus, too, was charged with a capital crime and thrown into the prison called Tullianum,<sup>4</sup> but Gratian, at the suggestion of his mother, had him taken from there, and on his return home put him to death with tremendous tortures. But let us return to the point from which we made this digression. This, if I may say so, was the state of affairs in Rome.

<sup>4</sup> The dungeon at Rome; cf. Sall., *Cat.* 55, 3 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

2. *Valentinianus Aug. totam Rheni ripam Gallicam castris, castellis et turribus munit; Alamanni Romanos trans Rhenum munimentum exstruentes interficiunt. Maratocupreni grassatores in Syria iussu Valentis A. cum liberis et vico suo deleti.*

1. At Valentinianus magna animo concipiens et utilia, Rhenum omnem a Raetiarum exordio, ad usque fretalem Oceanum, magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius et castella, turresque assiduas per habiles locos et opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo: non numquam etiam ultra flumen aedificiis positis, subradens barbaros fines. 2. Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum et tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, praeterlabente Nicro nomine fluvio, paulatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorum vertere cogitavit, et quaesitis artificibus peritis aquariae rei, copiosaque militis manu arduum est opus aggressus. 3. Per multos enim dies compaginatae formulae e<sup>1</sup> roboribus, coniectaeque in alveum, fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis, fluctibus erectis confundebantur, avulsaeque vi gurgitis interibant. 4. Vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura, et morigeri

<sup>1</sup> formulae e, Her.; formae e, G (c.c.); formosae, cone-  
teque, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The Belgic Channel, a part of the North Sea at the mouth of the Rhine.

<sup>2</sup> The Rhine.

<sup>3</sup> The Neckar.

<sup>4</sup> In the form of a chest or coffer-dam.

2. *Valentinian Augustus fortifies the entire Gallic bank of the Rhine with fortresses, castles, and towers. The Alamanni kill some Romans who were building a fortification on the far side of the Rhine. Maratocuprenian freebooters, by order of Valens Augustus, were destroyed in Syria with their children and their village.*

1. But Valentinian, meditating important and <sup>369</sup> useful plans, fortified the entire Rhine from the beginnings of Raetia as far as the strait of the Ocean <sup>1</sup> with great earthworks, erecting lofty fortresses and castles, and towers at frequent intervals, in suitable and convenient places as far as the whole length of Gaul extends; in some places also works were constructed even on the farther bank of the river,<sup>2</sup> which flows by the lands of the savages. 2. Finally, when he considered that a lofty and secure fortification (which he himself had built from its very foundations) since a river called the Nicer<sup>3</sup> flowed at its foot could gradually be undermined by the immense force of the waters, he even thought of turning the course of the stream in a different direction; and after he had hunted up men skilled in hydraulic work, the difficult task was begun with a great force of soldiers. 3. For during many days beams of oak were bound together<sup>4</sup> and placed in the bed of the river; but although they were fastened again and again by great piles driven close to them on both sides, they were forced from their place by the rising waters, and finally were swept away by the force of the current and lost. 4. Yet finally the day was won by the efficient supervision of the emperor



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

militis labor, mento tenus (dum operaretur) saepe demersi: tandem non sine quorundam discrimine, castra praesidiaria, inquietudini<sup>1</sup> ringentis<sup>2</sup> annis exempta, nunc valida sunt.<sup>3</sup>

5. His ac<sup>4</sup> talibus laetus exsultansque exin, quae<sup>5</sup> pro anni et temporis statu utilia<sup>6</sup> conducerent<sup>7</sup> rei publicae studium<sup>8</sup> habuit, ut officio principis congruebat.<sup>9</sup> Ratusque aptissimum ad id quod deliberabat implendum, trans Rhenum in monte Piri (qui barbaricus locus est) munimentum exstruere disposuit raptim. Utque celeritas effectum negotii faceret tutum, per Syagrium tunc notarium, postea praefectum et consulem, Aratorem monuit ducem, ut dum undique altum<sup>10</sup> esset silentium, id arripere conaretur. 6. Transiit cum notario dux (ut iussum est) statim, fodereque per militem quem duxit fundamenta exorsus, Hermogenen susceperat successorem, eodemque puncto quidam optimates Alamanni venire, obsidum patres,<sup>11</sup> quos lege foederis mansuraeque diutius pacis haut aspernanda pignora tenebamus. 7. Qui flexis poplitibus supplicabant, ne Romani securitatis improvidi, quorum fortunam sempiterna fides caelo contiguam fecit, pravo

<sup>1</sup> *inquietudini*, Momm.; *inquietudine*, E<sup>2</sup>AG; *inruī etudiner*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *ringentis*, V, est. by Gronov; *urgentis*, Hadr. Val.; *ruentis*, Novák. <sup>3</sup> *lac.* indicated by Clark and Her., c.c.

<sup>4</sup> *His ac*, C. F. W. M.; *ac*, V. <sup>5</sup> *exin*, quae, Pet.; *exultansque*, EAG; *lac.* indicated by Her. (cursu pravo); *exsul quae*, V.

<sup>6</sup> *statu utilia*, Pet. (*statu*, G); *tutela*, EA; *tudila*, V. <sup>7</sup> *conducerent*, Pet.; *conducens*, V.

<sup>8</sup> *studium*, Gronov; *studio*, Pet.; *trudium*, V.

<sup>9</sup> *congruebat*, V; *congrue agebat*, Pet.

<sup>10</sup> *altum*, Gronov ex cod. Fauchetii; *actum*, V. <sup>11</sup> *obsidum patres*, Lind.; *obsides imperatoris*, G; *uenire obsidem*, V.

and the labour of his obedient soldiers, who as they worked were often sunk chin-deep in the water ; and at last, though not without danger to some of the men, the defensive works, relieved of the pressure of the snarling river, are now strong.

5. Being joyful and exultant because of these and similar successes, the emperor then, considering the time of year and the state of the season, as became a dutiful prince devoted himself to those matters which would be helpful to the commonwealth. And thinking it most suitable for accomplishing what he had in mind, he planned hastily to build a fortification on the farther side of the Rhine on Mount Pirus,<sup>1</sup> which is in the country of the savages. And in order that speed might make the accomplishment of the work secure, through Syagrius, at that time a secretary, afterwards prefect and consul,<sup>2</sup> he ordered the general Arator to try to speed that work, while deep quiet reigned everywhere. 6. The general at once crossed the river with the secretary, as was ordered, and, with the soldiers under his command, had begun to dig the foundations, when Hermogenes was appointed as his successor. At the same moment<sup>3</sup> some chiefs of the Alamanni arrived, fathers of the hostages whom we were holding in accordance with the treaty as important pledges of the continued permanence of peace. 7. They on bended knees begged that the Romans, whose fortune consistent trustworthiness had raised to skies, should not, regardless of their security, be led astray by a perverse

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 10, 9, note.

<sup>2</sup> In 381.      <sup>3</sup> Cf. *temporis brevi puncto*, xxvii. 2, 1.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

deciperentur errore, pactisque calcatis, rem adorerentur indignam. 8. Verum haec et similia loquentes in cassum, cum nec audirentur, nec quietum aliquid vel mite referri sentirent, filiorum flentes exitium discesserunt, eisdemque aegre digressis,<sup>1</sup> ex abdito collis propinqui sinu,<sup>2</sup> barbaricus prosiluit globus, optimatibus tum danda responsa (ut intellegi dabatur) opperiens : et <sup>3</sup> adortus milites seminudos, humum etiam tum gestantes, expeditis agiliter gladiis, obtruncabant, inter quos etiam duces ambo sunt caesi. 9. Nec indicaturus gesta superfuit quisquam, praeter Syagrium, qui deletis omnibus ad comitatum reversus, irati sententia principis sacramento exutus, abiit ad lares, id commeruisse saevo iudicatus arbitrio, quod evaserit solus.

10. Haec inter per Gallias latrociniorum rabies saeva scatebat in perniciem multorum, observans celebres vias, fundensque indistanter<sup>4</sup> quidquid inciderat fructuosum.<sup>5</sup> Denique praeter complures alios quos absumpserunt insidiae tales, Constantianus tribunus stabuli impetu est clandestino exceptus, moxque interfectus, Valentiniani affinis, Cerealis et Iustinae germanus.

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<sup>1</sup> *aegre digressis*, Momm. ; *digressis*, G ; *agri gressis*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *propinqui sinu*, Her. (cf. xxxi. 3, 8) *cursu pravo*, W<sup>2</sup>AG ; *propinquis in*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *et*, added by Clark ; *adortusque*, vulgo ; *odortus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *indistanter*, C. F. W. M. ; *indubitanter*, W<sup>2</sup>AG ; *indutanter*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *fructuosum*, Wagner ; *fructus*, G ; *fructus subdenique*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> As they worked on the fortification on Mount Pirus (see § 5, above).

error, and, treading their promises under foot, enter upon an unworthy undertaking. 8. But, since they said these and similar things to no purpose, as they were not listened to, and perceived that they would receive no peaceful nor mild reply, they withdrew, weeping at the fate of their sons. Scarcely had they left the place, when a band of barbarians who were awaiting the reply to be made (as they were given to understand) at that time to their chiefs, dashing forth from the hollow defile of a neighbouring hill, attacked our soldiers, who were half-nude and still carrying earth,<sup>1</sup> and quickly drawing their swords were cutting them down; and with them also both leaders were slain. 9. Not a single man survived to tell what had happened, except Syagrius. He, after all the others had been slain, returned to the court, but by sentence of the angry emperor he was cashiered and went to his home, being considered by a cruel judgment to have deserved this because he alone had escaped.

10. Meanwhile throughout Gaul there spread, to the ruin of many, a savage frenzy for brigandage, which kept watch of the frequented roads and fell indiscriminately upon everything profitable that fell in its way. Finally, in addition to many others who fell victim to such ambuscades, Constantianus,<sup>2</sup> chief of the imperial stables, a relative by marriage of Valentinian and own brother to Cerealis and Justina,<sup>3</sup> was surprised by an unexpected attack and presently slain.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the one mentioned in xxiii. 3, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Wife of Valentinian, previously married to Magnentius; cf. xxx. 10, 4.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

11. At procul, tamquam horum similia cientibus<sup>1</sup> furiis, per omne latus Maratocupreni grassatores acerrimi vagabantur, vici huius nominis incolae, in Syria prope Apamiam positi, nimium quantum numero et exquisitis fallaciis abundantes, ideoque formidati, quod mercatorum militumque honoratorum specie sine strepitu ullo diffusi, opimas domos et villas et oppida pervadebant. 12. Nec quisquam adventum eorum cavere poterat inopinum, non destinata, sed varia petentium et longinqua, et quocumque<sup>2</sup> ventus duxerat, erumpentum:<sup>3</sup> quam ob causam prae ceteris hostibus Saxones timentur ut repentini. Et quamlibet coniurati<sup>4</sup> multorum opes attriverint, oestroque concepti furoris exagitati, strages<sup>5</sup> edidere luctificas, sanguinis nihilo minus avidi quam praedarum, tamen<sup>6</sup> ne per minutias gesta narrando, rectum aliquatenus<sup>7</sup> operis impediam cursum, id unum sufficiet, eorum exitiale poni commentum. 13. Quaesitus in unum impiorum hominum globus, imitatus rationalis officium, ipsumque iudicem, vespertinis tenebris lugubre clamante praecone, civitatem ingressi, ambitiosam domum cuiusdam primatis, ut proscripti iussique interfici, cum gladiis obsederunt, raptaque

<sup>1</sup> *cientibus*, Hadr. Val.; *agitantibus*, G; *actentibus*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *quocumque*, Novák; *quoquo*, G; *quaque*, V. <sup>3</sup> *erumpentum*, Löfstedt; *perrumpentum*, Pet.; *torum pentum*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *coniurati*, Lind.; *coniuratis*, G; *coniuratus*, V. <sup>5</sup> *strages*

*edidere*, Val.; *caedes dedere*, G; *exagitatis* r (lac. 2 letters)

*ese dedere*, V. <sup>6</sup> *tamen*, vulgo: lac. 3 letters, *reme*, V.

<sup>7</sup> *rectum aliquatenus*, Brakman, Novák; r (lac. 10 letters)

*enus*, V.

11. But at a distance from there, as if the furies were stirring up similar troubles, the Maratocupreni, a fierce race of brigands, were ranging about on every side; they dwelt in a village of the same name situated near Apamia in Syria, were exceedingly numerous, skilled in crafty wiles, and dreaded because they roamed about quietly under the guise of honourable traders and soldiers, and fell upon rich houses, estates, and towns. 12. No one could guard against their unexpected coming, since they did not assail previously chosen places, but various quarters and those that were far removed, breaking out wherever the wind took them—the same reason that makes the Saxons feared before all other enemies for their sudden raids.<sup>1</sup> But although these confederate bands destroyed the property of many, and, driven by the gadfly of the madness which they had conceived, caused lamentable slaughter, being no less greedy for blood than for booty, yet for fear that by giving a minute account of their deeds I may somewhat delay the direct course of my project, it will suffice to tell of this one destructive and well-devised stroke of theirs. 13. A united<sup>2</sup> body of these godless men, disguised as the retinue of a state treasurer, and one of them as that official himself, in the darkness of evening, preceded by the mournful cry of a herald, entered a city and beset with swords the fine house of a distinguished citizen, as if he had been proscribed and condemned to death. They seized all his valuable furniture, and since the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxx. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *quaesitus in unum*, cf. xv. 7, 7; xxvi. 7, 9, note.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

supplectili pretiosa, quia subito percussi familiares, hebetatis sensibus non defenderant dominum, caesis pluribus ante revolutam lucem gressu discessere veloci. 14. Verum cum exuviis referti multorum, rapiendi dulcedinem<sup>1</sup> praetermitterent, interceptam<sup>2</sup> imperiali motu, oppressi interiere omnes ad unum, eorumque suboles parva etiam tum, ne ad parentum exempla subcresceret, pari sorte deleta est, et lares versi, quos ambitiose luctuosis aliorum dispendiis construxerunt. Et haec quidem textu processere narrato.

### 3. *Theodosius urbes Britanniae a barbaris vastatas restituit, castella reparat, et provinciam insulae recipit, quae Valentia est appellata.*

1. Theodosius vero dux nominis incluti, animi vigore collecto, ab Augusta profectus, quam veteres appellavere Lundinium, cum milite industria comparato sollerti, versis turbatisque Britannorum fortunis opem maximam tulit, opportuna ubique ad insidiandum barbaris praeveniens loca, nihilque gregariis imperans, cuius non ipse primitias alacri capesseret mente. 2. Hocque genere cum strenui militis munia et praeclari ducis curas expleret, fuis

<sup>1</sup> *dulcedinem*, Clark; *dulcedine nihil praetermitterent intercepti*, G; *dulcedine praetermitteret at interceptam*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *interceptam*, restored by Clark; *intercepta*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., in 369.

<sup>2</sup> Here Ammianus takes up his narrative from xxvii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Through the raids of the Picts and Scots.

servants were struck with sudden fear, and in their bewilderment did not defend their master, they killed many of them, and before the return of daylight departed at quick step. 14. But when, after being enriched by the booty of many men, they abandoned the sweet pleasure of robbery, which was interrupted by a movement of the emperor's forces, they were crushed, and perished to the last man. Even their children, who were still small, in order that they might not grow up to follow the example of their fathers, were destroyed in the same fate; and the houses which they had built in showy fashion at the sorrowful expense of others were torn down. These things, then, happened in the connection in which they have been told.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Theodosius restores the cities of Britain which had been devastated by the savages, repairs the fortresses, and recovers for the island the province which was called Valentia.*

1. But Theodosius,<sup>2</sup> that leader of celebrated name, filled with courageous vigour sallied forth from Augusta, which was earlier called Lundinium, with a force which he had mustered with energy and skill, and rendered the greatest aid to the troubled and confused<sup>3</sup> fortunes of the Britons. He secured beforehand everywhere the places suitable for ambushing the savages, requiring nothing of the common soldiers in which he himself did not smartly take the first tasks. In this way, while he performed the duties of an active common soldier and observed the care of a distinguished general, after having routed and put



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

variis gentibus et fugatis, quas insolentia nutriente securitate, aggredi Romanas res inflammabat, in integrum restituit civitates et castra, multiplicibus quidem damnis afflicta, sed <sup>1</sup> ad quietem temporis longi fundata.

3. Evenerat autem eodem haec agente <sup>2</sup> facinus dirum, erupturum in periculum grave, ni inter ipsa conatus principia fuisset extinctum. 4. Valentinus quidam natus <sup>3</sup> in Valeria Pannoniae, superbi spiritus homo, Maximini illius exitialis vicarii, postea praefecti coniugis frater, ob grave crimen actus in Britannias exsul, quietis impatiens ut <sup>4</sup> malefica bestia, ad res perniciosas consurgebat et novas, in Theodosium tumore quodam, quem solum resistere posse nefandis cogitationibus advertebat. 5. Multa tamen clam palamque circumspiciens, crescente flatu cupiditatis immensae, exsules sollicitabat et milites, pro temporis captu ausorum illecebrosas <sup>5</sup> pollicendo mercedes. 6. Iamque propinquante temptatorum effectum, doctus haec unde convenerat, dux alacrior ad audendum, et corde celso ad vindictam compertorum erectus, Valentinum quidem cum paucis arta ei societate <sup>6</sup> iunctissimis, letali poena plectendae, Dulcitio dederat duci: militari scientia vero, qua superabat praesentes, futura coniciens, de coniuratis quaestiones agitari prohibuit, ne formidine

<sup>1</sup> *afflicta sed*, Val.; *afflictis et*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *corrigente*, sugg. by Clark, c.c.; *agente*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *natus*, added by Momms.; *quidam in*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *ut*, added by Kellerbauer; V omits.      <sup>5</sup> *illecebrosas*, Lind.; *illecebras*, E<sup>1</sup>G; *inlecebricas*, V.      <sup>6</sup> *arta ei societate*, E<sup>2</sup>A; *arta societate*, E<sup>1</sup>G; *artaci societatem*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Theodosius.      <sup>2</sup> From those ordered to watch Valentinus.  
<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvii. 8, 10.

to flight various tribes which an insolence fostered by impunity was inflaming with a desire to attack the Romans, he completely restored the cities and strongholds which had been founded to secure a long period of peace, but had suffered repeated misfortunes.

3. But while he was thus engaged, a dread event had taken place, which would have resulted in grave danger, if it had not been crushed in the very beginning of its attempt. 4. A certain Valentinus, born in Valeria, a part of Pannonia, a man of haughty spirit, brother-in-law of that pernicious vice-governor Maximinus, who was afterwards prefect, had been exiled to Britain because of a serious crime. There, impatient of quiet like a noxious beast, he roused himself to new and destructive plans, nursing a certain grudge against Theodosius, since he perceived that he was the only one who could resist his abominable designs. 5. However, after a good deal of looking about secretly and openly, driven by the swelling gale of his vast ambition, he began to tempt exiles and soldiers by promising for bold deeds as enticing rewards as his circumstances at the time permitted. 6. And already the time for carrying out the plans was near at hand, when that leader,<sup>1</sup> eager for deeds of daring, learning of this from a prearranged source,<sup>2</sup> resolved with lofty heart to punish those who were found guilty: Valentinus indeed, along with a few of his closest associates, he had consigned to the general Dulcitus,<sup>3</sup> to be punished with death; but with the military knowledge in which he surpassed all his contemporaries, he divined future dangers, and as to the rest of the conspirators forbade the carrying on of investigations,

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

sparsa per multos, reviviscerent provinciarum turbines consopiti.<sup>1</sup>

7. Hinc ad corrigenda plura conversus et necessaria, periculo penitus dempto, cum aperte constaret, nulla eius propitiam<sup>2</sup> deseruisse fortunam, instaurabat urbes et praesidiaria (ut diximus) castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et praetenturis, recuperatamque provinciam, quae in dicionem concesserat hostium, ita reddiderat statui pristino, ut eodem referente et rectorem haberet legitimum, et Valentia deinde vocaretur arbitrio principis, velut ovantis gaudio nuntio inaestimabili cognito.<sup>3</sup>

8. Inter haec tam praecipua, Arcanos<sup>4</sup> genus hominum a veteribus institutum, super quibus aliqua in actibus Constantis rettulimus, paulatim prolapsos in vitia a stationibus suis removit: aperte convictos, acceptarum promissarumque magnitudine praedarum allectos, quae apud nos agebantur, aliquotiens barbaris prodidisse. Id enim illis erat

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<sup>1</sup> *consopiti*, Val. c.c.; *conpositi*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *propitiam*, A; *coepta propitiam*, G; *proposita*, Gardt.; *propitia*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *ouantis* . . . *cognito*. *Inter haec tam*, Her.; *velut* . . . *praecipua*, G omits; *ouantis*: *Inter eius dispositiones est*, Val.; *velut oua* (lac. 2 letters) *t* (lac. 5 letters) *tudio nuntio inest haetiam*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *Arcanos*, Her.; *areanos*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> This was a fifth province, added to the four into which Britain was originally divided; these were Maxima Caesariensis, Flavia Caesariensis, Britannia Prima, and Britannia Secunda. Valentia means "Health and Strength."

<sup>2</sup> This word occurs nowhere else; the Arcani would seem to be connected with the secret service (*agentes in*

XXVIII., 3, 6-8, A.D. 369, 368 ff.

lest by spreading fear among many the disturbances in the provinces, which had just been lulled to sleep, should be revived.

7. Then, after the danger had been wholly removed, since it was common knowledge that propitious fortune had failed him in none of his undertakings, he turned his attention to making many necessary improvements, restoring the cities and defences, as we have said, and protecting the frontiers by sentinels and outposts. And so completely did he recover a province which had passed into the enemy's hands and restore it to its former condition, that, in the words of his report, it had a legitimate governor; and it was henceforth called Valentia,<sup>1</sup> in accordance with the emperor's wish, who, one might almost say, celebrated an ovation in his joy on hearing the price- 369 less news.

8. In the midst of such important events the 368 ff. Arcani,<sup>2</sup> a class of men established in early times, about which I said something in the history of Constans,<sup>3</sup> had gradually become corrupted, and consequently he removed them from their posts. For they were clearly convicted of having been led by the receipt, or the promise, of great booty at various times to betray to the savages what was going on among us. For it was their duty to hasten

*rebus*), to judge from the name and the description of their duties. They were perhaps the same as the *Angarii*, so called from *ἀγγαρος*, an old Greek word for a Persian mounted courier, and were in charge of the Roman courier-service; see *Cod. Theod.* viii, *de cursu publico*, tit. 5.

<sup>1</sup> In a lost book.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

officium, ut <sup>1</sup> ultro citroque, per longa spatia discurrerentes, vicinarum gentium strepitus nostris ducibus intimarent.

9. Ita spectatissime ante dictis rebus aliisque administratis similibus, ad comitatum accitus, tripudiantesque relinquens provincias, ut Furius Camillus vel Cursor Papirius, victoriis crebris et salutaribus erat insignis. Et favore omnium ad usque fretum deductus, leni vento transgressus, venit ad commilitium principis, cumque gaudio susceptus et laudibus, in locum Iovini ut lenti <sup>2</sup> successit, qui equorum copias tuebatur.

### 4. *De Olybrii et Ampelii Praefectura Urbana ; et de vitiis Senatus populi Romani.*

1. Diu multumque a negotiis discussus <sup>3</sup> urbanis, adigente cumulo foris gestorum, ad ea strictim exsequenda regrediar, exorsus ab Olybrii praefectura, tranquilla nimis et leni, qui numquam ab humanitatis statu deiectus, sollicitus erat et anxius, nequid usquam factum eius asperum inveniretur aut dictum, calumniarum acerrimus insectator, fisci lucra unde poterat circumcidens, iustorum iniustorumque <sup>4</sup> distinctor, et arbiter plenus, in subiectos admodum

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<sup>1</sup> *ut*, added in G ; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *ut lenti*, Momm., before *Iovini* (put after *Iovini* by Her.) ; *Valentis* (before *Iovini*) H<sup>2</sup>AG ; *ut lentis iovini*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *discussus*, G ; *discretus*, Novák ; *discursus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *iustorum iniustorumque*, Val. ; *distinctor*, G ; *iustorumque disiunctor*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 2, 1, 4. He later, at Rheims, built the *basilica Ioviana*, in honour of the Holy Agricola.

about hither and thither over long spaces, to give information to our generals of the clashes of rebellion among neighbouring peoples.

9. After the above-mentioned affairs and other similar ones had been so brilliantly managed, Theodosius was summoned to the court, leaving the provinces dancing for joy, after distinguishing himself by many helpful victories like Furius Camillus or Papirius Cursor. And because of his general popularity he was escorted as far as the strait. where he crossed with a light wind, and came into 369 the emperor's company. He was received with joy and words of praise, and succeeded to the position of Jovinus,<sup>1</sup> commander of the cavalry forces, whom the emperor Valentinian considered to be lacking in energy.

4. *Of the city-prefecture of Olybrius and Ampelius ; and of the faults of the senate and people of Rome.*

1. After long lasting and serious dispersion from 368 ff. affairs in Rome, constrained by the great mass of foreign events, I shall return to a brief account of these, beginning with the prefecture of Olybrius,<sup>2</sup> which was exceedingly peaceful and mild ; for he never allowed himself to be turned from humane conduct, but was careful and anxious that no word or act of his should ever be found harsh. He severely punished calumny, cut down the profits of the privy-purse wherever it was possible, fully and impartially distinguished justice from injustice, and showed himself most lenient towards those whom he

<sup>2</sup> 368-370.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

temperatus. 2. Sed obnubilabat haec omnia vitium, parum quidem nocens rei communi,<sup>1</sup> sed in alto iudice maculosum, quod citeriorem vitam paene omnem vergentem in luxum, per argumenta scaenica amoresque peregerat, nec vetitos nec incestos.

3. Post hunc urbem rexit Ampelius, cupidus ipse quoque voluptatum, Antiochiae genitus, ex magistro officiorum, ad proconsulatum geminum, indeque multo postea ad praefecturae culmen evectus, lectus alia et ad <sup>2</sup> populi favorem adipiscendum aptissimus, non numquam tamen rigidus, atque utinam in proposito perseverans. Correxisset enim ex parte, licet exigua, irritamenta gulae et ganeas taetras, ni flexus in molliora, amisisset gloriam diu victuram.

4. Namque statuerat, ne taberna vinaria ante horam quartam aperiretur, neve aquam vulgarium calefaceret quisquam, vel usque ad praestitutum diei spatium lixae coctam proponerent carnem, vel honestus quidam mandens videretur in publico.

5. Quae probra aliaque his maiora, dissimulatione iugi neglecta, ita effrenatius exarserunt, ut nec Epimenides ille Cretensis, si fabularum ritu ab inferis

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<sup>1</sup> *communi*, A; G omits; *communis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et ad*, AG; *ad*, Gardt.; V omits *ad*.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., the citizens of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> 371—372.

<sup>3</sup> In Achaia and in Africa.

<sup>4</sup> About nine o'clock in the morning.

<sup>5</sup> For mixing with wine.

<sup>6</sup> Such laws were passed first by Tiberius; cf. Suet., *Tib.* 34. They were renewed by Claudius (Dio, lx. 6, 7) and Nero (Suet., *Nero*, 16, 2).

<sup>7</sup> He lived in the sixth century B.C., and according to the myth, lived in a cave for a time variously given as 40, 50 or 78 years. Later, called to the help of the

XXVIII., 4, 2-5, A.D. 368 ff.

governed.<sup>1</sup> 2. But a cloud was thrown over all these merits by a fault which indeed was not harmful to the community, but yet was a stain on a high official; for almost his whole private life, since he was inclined to luxury, he spent in playhouses and love affairs, though the latter were neither unlawful nor incestuous.

3. After him Ampelius<sup>2</sup> governed the city, a man who himself also lusted after pleasures. Born at Antioch, he had been formerly marshal of the court, was twice raised to the rank of proconsul,<sup>3</sup> and then, long afterwards, to the high honour of the prefecture. Although admirable in other respects and well suited to gaining the favour of the people, he was nevertheless sometimes hard, and I wish he had been steadfast of purpose; for he could have corrected in part, even though to a small extent, the incitements of appetite and gross gluttony, if he had not let himself be turned to laxity and thus lost enduring fame. 4. For he gave orders that no wine-shop should be opened before the fourth hour,<sup>4</sup> that no one of the common people should heat water,<sup>5</sup> that up to a fixed hour of the day no victualler should offer cooked meat for sale,<sup>6</sup> and that no respectable man should be seen chewing anything in public. 5. These shameful acts, and others worse than these, had, by being constantly overlooked, blazed up to such unbridled heights that not even that celebrated Cretan Epimenides,<sup>7</sup> if,

Athenians when they were in trouble, he carried out many reforms. He actually came to Athens in 596 B.C., to purify the city from the pestilence caused by the crimes of Cylon, a generation before.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

excitatus redisset ad nostra, solus purgare sufficeret Romam: tanta plerosque labes insanabilium flagiti-  
orum oppressit.

6. Et primo nobilitatis, ut aliquotiens pro locorum copia fecimus, dein plebis digereamus errata, incidentia veloci constringentes excessu. 7. Praenominum claritudine conspicui quidam (ut putant) in immensum semet extollunt, cum Reburri et Flavonii<sup>1</sup> et Pagonii Gereonesque appellentur, ac Dalii cum Tarraciis et Ferasiis,<sup>2</sup> aliisque ita decens sonantibus originum insignibus multis. 8. Non nullos fulgentes sericis indumentis, ut duceudos ad mortem, vel ut sine dritate ominis loquamur, praegresso exercitu, arma cogentes,<sup>3</sup> manipulatim concitato fragore sequitur multitudo servorum. 9. Tales ubi comitantibus singulos quinquaginta ministris, tholos introierint balnearum, "Ubi ubi<sup>4</sup> sunt nostri?" minaciter clamant: si apparuisse subito ignotam compererint meretricem, aut oppidanae quondam prostibulum plebis, vel meritorii corporis veterem lupam, certatim concurrunt, palpantesque advenam, deformitate magna blanditiarum ita extollunt, ut Samiramim Parthi vel Cleopatras Aegyptus aut

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<sup>1</sup> *Flauonii*, Her.; *flabunii*, V<sup>2</sup> (*flabianii*, V). <sup>2</sup> *Ferasiis*, Her.; *Perrasiis* aliisque, G; *perrasusque*, V. <sup>3</sup> *progressae exercitu arma cogites*, V (*praegresso*, G; *cogentes*, W<sup>2</sup>G); *ut progressos exercitu armato duces*, Pet. <sup>4</sup> *ubi ubi*, V; *ubiubi*, G; *ubi*, V<sup>3</sup>WA.

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<sup>1</sup> Or possibly, "so far as space allowed."

after the manner of myth, he had been called up from the lower world and returned to our times, would have been able single-handed to purify Rome; such was the stain of incurable sins that had overwhelmed most people.

6. And first, as often, according to the quantity of topics,<sup>1</sup> I shall give an account of the delinquencies of the nobles and then of the common people, condensing the events in a rapid digression. 7. Some men, distinguished (as they think) by famous fore-names, pride themselves beyond measure in being called Reburri, Flavonii, Pagonii, Gereones, and Dalii, along with Tarracii and Pherrasii, and many other equally fine-sounding indications of eminent ancestry. 8. Others, resplendent in silken garments, as though they were to be led to death,<sup>2</sup> or as if (to speak without any evil omen) they were bringing up the rear<sup>3</sup> preceded by an army, are followed by a throng of slaves drawn up in troops, amid noise and confusion. 9. When such men, each attended by fifty servants, have entered the vaulted rooms of a bath, they shout in threatening tones: "Where on earth are our attendants?" If they have learned that an unknown courtesan has suddenly appeared, some woman who has been a common prostitute of the crowd of our city, some old strumpet, they all strive to be the first to reach her, and caressing the new-comer, extol her with such disgraceful flattery as the Parthians do Samiramis, the Egyptians their Cleopatras, the Carians Artemisia, or the people of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 5, 5, where Lind. cites *reflabilis tori plumeo sepulcro superba* from Zeno Veronensis, *Orat. de Spiritu et Corp.*, p. 367. <sup>2</sup> As commanders of the army; see xxv. 1, 5.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Artemisiam Cares vel Zenobiam Palmyreni. Et haec admittunt hi quorum apud maiores censoria nota senator afflicta est, ausus dum adhuc non deceret, praesente communi filia coniugem osculari.

10. Ex his quidam cum salutari pectoribus oppositis coeperint,<sup>1</sup> osculanda capita in modum tauro-rum minacium obliquantes, adulatoribus offerunt genua savianda,<sup>2</sup> vel manus, id illis sufficere ad beate vivendum existimantes, et abundare omni cultu humanitatis peregrinum putantes, cuius forte etiam gratia sunt obligati, interrogatum, quibus thermis utatur aut aquis, aut ad quam successerit domum.

11. Et cum ita graves sint et cultores virtutum, (ut putant) si venturos undelibet equos aut aurigas quendam didicerint nuntiasse, ita sollerter imminent eidem et<sup>3</sup> percunctantur, ut Tyndaridas fratres eorum suspexere maiores, cum priscis illis victoriis indicatis gaudio cuncta complerent.

12. Horum domus otiosi quidam garruli frequentant, variis assentandi figmentis, ad singula ulterioris<sup>4</sup> fortunae verba plaudentes, parasitorum in comoediis facetias<sup>5</sup> affectando. Ut enim illi sufflant milites

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<sup>1</sup> *coeperint*, Novák; *coeperunt*, V (first *e* from *p*).  
<sup>2</sup> *genua suavianda*, AG; *genas saviandas*, Niemeyer; *genia etuianda*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ita sollerter imminent eidem et*, Her., *velociter imminent, uident*, Val.; *italos terhiminent uident*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *ulterioris*, Haupt; *altioris*, G; *uiterieris*, V.  
<sup>5</sup> *facetias*, Val.; *adsentationes facetas*, Haupt; *comoediis* (lac. 8 letters) *etas*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Maior*, 17, 7, says that Manilius, who was thought to have good prospects of the consulship, was expelled from the senate for similar conduct.

<sup>2</sup> Castor and Pollux, who were present at the battle at Lake Regillus, 496 B.C., and brought news of victory to

## XXVIII., 4, 9-12

Palmyra Zenobia. And those who stoop to do such things are men in the time of whose forefathers a senator was punished with the censor's brand of infamy, if he had dared, while this was still considered unseemly, to kiss his wife in the presence of their own daughter.<sup>1</sup>

10. Some of these men, when one begins to salute them breast to breast, like menacing bulls turn to one side their heads, where they should be kissed, and offer their flatterers their knees to kiss or their hands, thinking that quite enough to ensure them a happy life; and they believe that a stranger is given an abundance of all the duties of courtesy, even though the great men may perhaps be under obligation to him, if he is asked what hot baths or waters he uses, or at what house he has been put up.

11. And although they are so important and, in their own opinion, such cultivators of the virtues, if they learn that someone has announced that horses or chariots are coming from anywhere whatever, they hover over this same man and ask him questions as anxiously as their ancestors looked up to the two sons of Tyndareus,<sup>2</sup> when they filled everything with joy by announcing those famous victories of olden days.

12. Their houses are frequented by idle chatter-boxes, who with various pretences of approval applaud every word of the man of loftier fortune, emulating the witty flatteries of the parasites in the comedies. For just as the parasites puff up boastful

Rome; cf. Florus, i. 5, 4; Val. Max. i. 8, 1-2. They are said also to have announced the victories over Perseus at Pydna (Flor. i. 28, 15) and over the Cimbri (i. 38, 20).

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

gloriosos, obsidiones et pugnas contra <sup>1</sup> milia hostium, eisdem ut heroicis aemulis assignantes, ita hi quoque columnarum constructiones, alta fronte suspensas mirando, atque parietes lapidum circumspectis coloribus nitidos, ultra mortalitatem nobiles viros extollunt. 13. Poscuntur etiam in conviviis aliquotiens trutinae, ut appositi pisces et volucres ponderentur, et glires, quorum magnitudo saepius replicata,<sup>2</sup> non sine taedio praesentium, ut antebac inusitata, laudatur assidue, maxime cum haec eadem numerantes, notarii triginta prope assistant, cum thecis et pugillaribus tabulis, ut deesse solus magister ludi litterarii videretur.

14. Quidam detestantes ut venena doctrinas, Iuvenalem et Marium Maximum curatiore studio legunt, nulla volumina praeter haec in profundo otio conrectantes, quam ob causam non iudicioli est nostri. 15. Cum multa et varia pro amplitudine gloriarum et generum lectitare deberent, audientes destinatum poenae Socratem, coniectumque in carcerem, rogasse

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<sup>1</sup> *et pugnas contra*, Clark; *urbium et pugnas et*, G; *et pugnas aduersum*, Pet.; *et pugnas uirum milia*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *re-*  
*plicata*, Val.; *delicata*, G; *saepius* (lac. 2 letters) *licata*, V.

<sup>1</sup> These were considered a delicacy; cf. Apicius, viii. 9; cf. Pliny, N.H. viii. 223.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is not clear. Perhaps it is that only a schoolmaster is lacking to make the place look like a school; or to praise the host in eloquent language. The former seems more probable; the secretaries (and the guests?) would be the pupils.

<sup>3</sup> City prefect under Macrinus (Dio, lxxix. 14, 3) who wrote biographies of the Caesars. On him see Vopiscus,

## XXVIII., 4, 12-15

soldiers by attributing to them the sieges and battles against thousands of enemies, comparing them with the heroes of old, so these also, admiring the rows of columns hanging in the air with lofty façade, and the walls gleaming with the remarkable colours of precious stones, raise these noble men to the gods. 13. Sometimes at their banquets the scales are even called for, in order to weigh the fish, birds, and dormice<sup>1</sup> that are served, whose great size they commend again and again, as hitherto unexampled, often repeating it to the weariness of those present, especially when thirty secretaries stand near by, with pen-cases and small tablets, recording these same items, so that the only thing lacking seems to be a schoolmaster.<sup>2</sup>

14. Some of them hate learning as they do poison, and read with attentive care only Juvenal and Marius Maximus,<sup>3</sup> in their boundless idleness handling no other books than these, for what reason it is not for my humble mind to judge.<sup>4</sup> 15. Whereas, considering the greatness of their fame and of their parentage, they ought to pore over many and varied works; they ought to learn that Socrates,<sup>5</sup> when condemned to death and thrown into prison, asked a musician, who was skilfully rendering a song

*Firmus*, 1, 2: *homo omnium verbosissimus, qui et mythistoricis se voluminibus implicavit*. The association of Juvenal with this writer is a strange one, if the poet is meant.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 11, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Val. Max. viii. 7, Ext. 8; Cic., *De Senec.* 8, 26; Socrates' reply is in the words of Solon, about whom a somewhat similar story is told (*ἵνα μάθῶν αὐτὸ ἀποθάνω*), and perhaps Ammianus confused the two, as Valesius thought.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quendam scite lyrici carmen Stesichori modulantem, ut doceretur id agere, dum liceret : interroganteque musico, quid ei poterit hoc prodesse, morituro postridie, respondisse, " Ut aliquid sciens amplius e vita discedam."

16. Ita autem pauci sunt inter eos severi vindices delictorum ut, si aquam calidam tardius attulerit servus, trecentis affligi verberibus iubeatur : si hominem sponte occiderit propria, instantibus plurimis, ut damnetur ut reus,<sup>1</sup> dominus hactenus exclamabit :<sup>2</sup> " Quid faciat male factis famosus<sup>3</sup> et nequam ? et siquid aliud eius modi<sup>4</sup> deinceps ausus fuerit, corrigetur."<sup>5</sup>

17. Civilitatis<sup>6</sup> autem hoc apud eos est nunc summum,<sup>7</sup> quod expedit peregrino fratrem<sup>8</sup> interficere cuiuslibet, quam cum rogatus sit<sup>9</sup> ad convivium excusare : defectum enim patrimonii se opimi<sup>10</sup> perpeti senator existimat, si is defuerit quem aliquotiens libratīs sententiis, invitaverit semel.

18. Pars eorum si agros visuri processerunt longius, aut alienis laboribus venaturi, Alexandri Magni itinera se putant aequiperasse, vel Caesaris : aut si a lacu Averni lembis invecti sunt pictis

<sup>1</sup> *ut reus*, Clark ; *iremus*, V, deleted by Novák ; *iratus*, Kiess.

<sup>2</sup> *exclamabit*, Clark, c.c. ; *exclamet*, Val., C. F. W. M., Kiessling ; *exclamat*, V. <sup>3</sup> *male factis famosus*, Novák ; *ma* (lac. 8 letters) *mosus*, V. <sup>4</sup> *siquis aliud eiusmodi*, Val. (*si quid*, Clark) ; *siquis* (lac. 15 letters) *di*, V.

<sup>5</sup> *corrigetur*, Val. ; *curetur*, Pet. ; *cortu* (lac. 11 letters) *tis*, V. <sup>6</sup> *civilitatis*, G ; for V see note 5. <sup>7</sup> *summum*, added by Eyssen. ; *vel maximum*, Novák ; G omits ; (lac. 8 letters) *m*, V.

<sup>8</sup> *fratrem*, Val. ; *fratres iure*, G ; *frure*, V. <sup>9</sup> *quamquam rogatus* (lac. 5 letters), V ; *quam cum rogatur*, Val. ; *quam cum rogatus sit*, Eyssen. <sup>10</sup> *opimi*, Her. (cf. xxix. 1, 43) ; *oppido*, Lind. ; G omits ; *oppidi*, V.

## XXVIII., 4, 15-18

of the lyric poet Stesichorus, that he might be taught to do this while there was still time. And when the musician asked of what use that could be to him, since he was to die on the following day, Socrates replied: "In order that I may know something more before I depart from life."

16. But a few among them are so strict in punishing offences, that if a slave is slow in bringing the hot water, they condemn him to suffer three hundred lashes; if he has intentionally killed a man, although many people insist that he be condemned to death, his master will merely cry out: "What should a worthless fellow do, notorious for wicked deeds? But if he dares to do anything else like that hereafter, he shall be punished."

17. But the height of refinement with these men at present is, that it is better for a stranger to kill any man's brother than to decline his invitation to dinner. For a senator thinks that he is suffering the loss of a rich property, if the man whom he has, after considerable weighing of pros and cons, invited once, fails to appear at his table.

18. Some of them, if they make a longish journey to visit their estates, or to hunt by the labours of others,<sup>1</sup> think that they have equalled the marches of Alexander the Great or of Caesar; or if they have sailed in their gaily-painted boats from the Lake of Avernus to Puteoli, it is the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., their slaves do the hunting; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxix. 19; Pliny the younger, *Epist.* i. 6.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Puteolos, velleris<sup>1</sup> certamen, maxime cum id vaporato audeant tempore. Ubi si inter aurata flabella laciniis sericis insederint muscae, vel per foramen umbraculi pensilis radiolus irruerit solis, queruntur quod non sunt apud Cimmerios nati. 19. Dein cum a Silvani lavacro vel Mamaeae aquis ventitant sospitalibus, ut quisquam eorum egressus, tenuissimis se terserit linteis, solutis<sup>2</sup> pressoriis, vestes luce nitentes ambigua diligenter explorat, quae una portantur sufficientes ad induendos homines undecim: tandemque electis aliquot involutus, receptis anulis quos (ne violentur humoribus) famulo tradidit,<sup>3</sup> digitis ut metatis abit.<sup>4</sup>

20. Enim vero siqui vetus in commilitio<sup>5</sup> principis recens digressus fuerit in otium ut aevi pro-  
vecti, ille<sup>6</sup> tali praesente coetu . . . mirionum . . .  
cantilenae<sup>7</sup> praesul existimatur: ceteri taciturni  
audiunt dicta . . . solus<sup>8</sup> pater familias textui<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> uelleris, O. Hirschfeld; Duilli, Kellerbauer; uelle, V.  
<sup>2</sup> solutis, Lipsius; politas, Pet.; solitis, V.      <sup>3</sup> tradidit,  
Clark, c.c.; tradiderat, G; tradeat, V.      <sup>4</sup> ut metatis abit  
(abiiit, Clark), G; et metatis ne id ue id (ne id V<sup>3</sup>) V.  
<sup>5</sup> si qui . . . commilitio, Her. (also Horum de numero);  
sicuibus in mil (lac. 7 letters), V; enim. . . fallendo,  
G omits.      <sup>6</sup> fuerit . . . prouecti, Her.; ille and coetu  
mirionum scripsi (mirio suggested by Warmington) (lac.  
14 letters) rit m (lac. 7 letters) aent prouectibus, V.  
<sup>7</sup> cantilenae, scripsi; silentiis, Eyssen.; lenii, V.      <sup>8</sup> taci-  
turni audiant dicta solus, Val.; tacitur (lac. 6 letters) dicta  
solias, V.      <sup>9</sup> textui narrans, Her.; tectus, Val.; tectu  
(lac. 2 letters) rant, V.

adventure of the golden fleece, especially if they should dare it in the hot season. And if amid the gilded fans flies have lighted on the silken fringes, or through a rent in the hanging curtain a little ray of sun has broken in, they lament that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians.<sup>1</sup> 19. Then when they come from the bath of Silvanus or from the healing waters of Mamaea,<sup>2</sup> as any one of them emerges he has himself dried with the finest linens, opens the presses and carefully searches amongst garments shimmering with shifting light, of which he brings enough with him to clothe eleven men. At length, some are chosen and he puts them on; then he takes back his rings, which, in order that the dampness may not injure them, he has handed to a servant, and after his fingers have been as good as measured to receive them, he departs.

20. And, indeed, if any veteran has recently retired because of his years from service with the emperor, such a company of admirers attend him that . . . is considered to be the leader of the old song; the others quietly listen to what he says. He alone, like the father of a family, tells irrelevant

<sup>1</sup> In the extreme north, on the Dnieper; also a fabled people of Italy, near Baiae, who hid by day in dark caves: hence the land of perpetual darkness, the home of Somnus, *Odyss.* xi. 14 ff.; cf. xxix. 2, 4, below.

<sup>2</sup> No such places are known in Rome. There was a pool of Mamaea at Baiae; see Lamprid., *Alex. Sev.* 26, 10, *et in Baiano palatium cum stagno, quod Mamaeae nomine hodieque censetur* ("officially listed"); hence the *Silvani lavacrum* also was probably in Campania.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

narrans aliena, et placentia referens, et erudite<sup>1</sup> pleraque fallendo.<sup>2</sup>

21. Quidam ex his (licet rari) aleatorum vocabulum declinantes, ideoque se cupientes appellari potius<sup>3</sup> tesserarios<sup>4</sup>: inter quos tantum differt, quantum inter fures atque<sup>5</sup> latrones. Hoc tamen fatendum est, quod cum omnes amicitiae Romae tepescant, aleariae solae, quasi gloriosis quaesitae sudoribus, sociales sunt et affectus nimii<sup>6</sup> firmitate plena conexas: unde quidam ex his gregibus inveniuntur ita concordēs, ut Quintilios esse existimes fratres. Ideoque videre licet ignobilem artis tesserariae callentem arcana, ut Catonem Porcium ob repulsam praeturae, nec suspectam antea nec speratam, incedere gravitate composita maestiores, quod<sup>7</sup> ei in maiore convivio vel consessu proconsularis quidam est antelatus.

22. Subsident aliqui copiosos<sup>8</sup> homines senes aut iuvenes, orbos vel caelibes, aut etiam uxores habentes seu<sup>9</sup> liberos (nec enim hoc titulo discrimen aliquod observatur), ad voluntates condendas allicientes eos

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<sup>1</sup> *erudite*, Her.; *et utile*, A; *et urile* V., <sup>2</sup> *fallendo* (lac. 5 letters) *quaedam*, V. <sup>3</sup> *potius*, addidi, c.c.  
<sup>4</sup> *tesserarios*, G; *tablistas*, Her.; *appellarit* (lac. 9 letters) s, V. <sup>5</sup> *atque*, Novák, c.c.; *est et*, Her.; *et*, V.  
<sup>6</sup> *adfectus nimii*, Her.; *adfectu nimio*, G; *adfecti nimis*, V.  
<sup>7</sup> Frag. M begins here; see Clark's ed. for numerous variants; also cf. Robinson (see Preface). <sup>8</sup> *copiosos*, Gruter ex cod. Fauchetii; *curio sos*, MV. <sup>9</sup> *seu*, Momm.; *si. u.*, T; *sine liberis*, W<sup>2</sup>HN<sup>2</sup>; *se*, MV.

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<sup>1</sup> The text of this section is corrupt, and there are several lacunae; see crit. notes, p. 148.

## XXVIII., 4, 20-22

stories and entertaining tales, and in most of them cleverly deceiving his hearers.<sup>1</sup>

21. Some of these, though few in number, shrink from the name of gamblers, and therefore desire to be called rather *tesserarii*,<sup>2</sup> persons who differ from each other only as much as thieves do from brigands. But this must be admitted, that while all friendships at Rome are lukewarm, those alone which are formed at the gambling table, as if they were gained by glorious toil, have a bond of union and are united by complete firmness of exceeding affection; whence some members of these companies are found to be so harmonious that you would take them for the brothers Quintilius.<sup>3</sup> And so you may see a man of low station, who is skilled in the secrets of dice-playing, walking abroad like Porcius Cato<sup>4</sup> after his unexpected and unlooked-for defeat for the praetorship, with a set expression of dignity and sorrow because at some great banquet or assemblage a former proconsul was given a higher place of honour.

22. Some lie in wait for men of wealth, old or young, childless or unmarried, or even for those who have wives or children—for no distinction is observed in this respect—enticing them by wonderful

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a word-play on the two meanings of *tesserarii*, "players with dice" and "keepers of the watchword." According to Wagner, there was somewhat more skill called for with the *tesserae*, while with the *aleae* it was mainly luck.

<sup>2</sup> Condiannus and Maximus. They lived under the reign of Commodus, held office together, and were executed together by his order; cf. Dio, lxxiii. 5, 3; Lamprid., *Comm.* 4, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cato Uticensis is meant.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

praestrigiis<sup>1</sup> miris : qui cum, supremis iudiciis ordinatis, quaedam<sup>2</sup> reliquerint his quibus morem gerendo testati sunt, ilico pereunt, ut id impleri sorte fatorum operante<sup>3</sup> nec putes, nec facile possit aegritudo testari nec funus comitatur his quisquam.

23. Alius cum dignitate (licet mediocri), cervice tumida gradiens, notos antea obliquato contuetur aspectu, ut post captas Syracusas existimes reverti<sup>4</sup> Marcellum.

24. Multi apud eos negantes esse superas potestates in caelo, nec in publicum<sup>5</sup> prodeunt nec prandent nec lavari arbitrantur se cautius posse, antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didicerint, ubi sit verbi gratia signum Mercurii, vel quotam Cancrī sideris partem polum discurrens obtineat luna.

25. Alius si creditorem suum flagitare molestius adverterit debitum, ad aurigam confugit, audentem omnia praelicenter, eumque ut veneficum curat urgeri : unde non nisi reddita cautione, dispendioque afflictus gravi discedit. Et additur huic,

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<sup>1</sup> *praestrigiis*, Löfstedt ; *eos praestigiis*, Val. ; *potest regns (-nis, M<sup>2</sup>)*, M ; *p. regiis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *quaedam*, Her. ; *quae bant*, M ; *quae bant*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *operante . . . nec facile possit . . . testari (operientem, YT<sup>1</sup>, del. Novák)*, Pet. ; *putes*, Eyssen. omitting *nec.* ; *puteos*, MV.      <sup>4</sup> *reueri*, Novák ; *reueri M. (Marcellum)*, G ; *reuertimus marcellum*, MV.      <sup>5</sup> *publicum*, C. F. W. M. ; *publico*, MV.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., an astronomical calendar ; see Juvenal, vi, 573 ff., which Lindenbrog thought that Ammianus had in mind.

## XXVIII., 4, 22-25

trickeries to make their wills ; and when they have set their last decisions in order and left some things to these men, to humour whom they have made their wills in their favour, they forthwith die ; so that you would not think that the death was brought about by the working of the allotment of destiny, nor could an illness easily be proved by the testimony of witnesses ; nor is the funeral of these men attended by any mourners.

23. Another, who attained some rank, moderate though it be, walking with neck puffed up, looks askance at his former acquaintances, so that you might think that a Marcellus was returning after the taking of Syracuse.

24. Many of them, who deny that there are higher powers in heaven, neither appear in public nor eat a meal nor think they can with due caution take a bath, until they have critically examined the calendar<sup>1</sup> and learned where, for example, the planet Mercury is, or what degree of the constellation of the Crab the moon occupies in its course through the heavens.

25. Another, if he finds a creditor of his demanding his due with too great urgency, resorts to a charioteer<sup>2</sup> who is all too ready to dare any enterprise, and causes the creditor to be charged with being a poisoner ; and he is not let off until he has surrendered the bill of indebtedness and paid heavy costs. And besides, the accuser has the voluntary

<sup>1</sup> Charioteers were notorious for the use of magic arts against their rivals, and in general ; see xxvi. 3, 3, note ; xxviii. 1, 27.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

debitorem voluntarium includit ut proprium, nec ante eius professionem absolvit.

26. Parte alia uxor, ut proverbium loquitur vetus, eandem incudem diu noctuque tundendo, maritum testari compellit, hocque idem ut faciat uxor, urget maritus instanter: et periti iuris altrinsecus assciscuntur, unus in cubiculo alter eius aemulus in triclinio, repugnantia tractaturi: eisdemque subseruntur genitalium factorum<sup>1</sup> interpretes controversi, hinc praefecturas profusius largientes, et sepulturas divitum matronarum; inde ad exsequias virorum iam<sup>2</sup> adventantes necessaria parari oportere iubentes<sup>3</sup>: et testatur<sup>4</sup> ancilla suapte natura pallidior, spiritu<sup>5</sup> pridie consumpto defuncta . . . um Roma atque,<sup>6</sup> ut Tullius ait: "Nec in rebus humanis quicquam bonum<sup>7</sup> norunt nisi quod fructuosum sit: amicos tamquam pecudes eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus se sperant maximum fructum esse capturos."

27. Cumque mutuum illi quid petunt, soccatos ut<sup>8</sup> Miconas videbis et Lachetas: cum adiguntur ut

<sup>1</sup> *fatorum interpretes*, Her.; *extorum interpretes*, G; *extoruiith* (lac. 4 letters, M, of 7, V) *terpraeter*, MV.

<sup>2</sup> *iam*, added by Novák; *iam iam*, Val.; *insignium*, Clark; *fama*, MV.

<sup>3</sup> *iubentes*, Gardt.; *inuentes*, MV.

<sup>4</sup> *testatur ancilla*, Her.; *testatura* (lac. 4 letters, M; 11, V) *ancillas*, MV.

<sup>5</sup> *pallidior, spiritu*, Her.; *pallidi* (lac. at end of line, M) *aspirati*, MV.

<sup>6</sup> *atque*, Her. (lac. 9 letters, M; 15, V) *um romaque*, MV.

<sup>7</sup> *bonum*, G (M in margin); *bos* (lac. 2 letters at end of line, M; no lac. in V) *nouunt*, MV.

<sup>8</sup> *soccatus ut*, C. F. W. M.; *soccos et*, MV.

## XXVIII., 4, 25-27

debtor<sup>1</sup> put in prison as if he were his property, and does not set him free until he acknowledges the debt.

26. In another place a wife by hammering day and night on the same anvil—as the old proverb has it<sup>2</sup>—drives her husband to make a will, and the husband insistently urges his wife to do the same. Skilled jurists are brought in on both sides, one in a bedroom, the other, his rival, in the dining-room to discuss disputed points. These are joined by opposing interpreters of horoscopes,<sup>3</sup> on the one side making profuse promises of prefectures and the burial of rich matrons, on the other telling women that for their husbands' funerals now quietly approaching they must make the necessary preparations. And a maid-servant bears witness, by nature somewhat pale, . . .<sup>4</sup> As Cicero says: <sup>5</sup> "They know of nothing on earth that is good unless it brings gain. Of their friends, as of their cattle, they love those best from whom they hope to get the greatest profit."

27. When these people seek any loan, you will see them in slippers like a Micon or a Laches; <sup>6</sup> when

<sup>1</sup> The "voluntary debtor" is one who, to avoid a criminal charge, promises his accuser a sum of money; see Sen., *De Benef.* v. 19, 6, *dico me tibi obligatum pro filio; non quia sum, sed quia volo me offerre tibi debitorem voluntarium*. He thus becomes a debtor, and is put in prison.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic., *De Orat.* ii. 39, 162, and xviii. 4, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.*, 11, 1.

<sup>4</sup> The rest of this sentence seems hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible.

<sup>5</sup> *De Amic.* 21, 79.

<sup>6</sup> Characters in comedy; i.e., they are humble and obsequious.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

reddant, ita coturnatos et turgidos, ut Heraclidas illos Cresphontem et Temenum putes. Hactenus de senatu.

28. Nunc ad otiosam plebem veniamus et desidem. In qua nitent, ut nominibus cultis, quidam calceorum expertes, ut Messores<sup>1</sup> Statarii Semicupae et Serapini, et Cicymbricus cum Gluturino et Trulla, et Lucanicus cum Porclaca<sup>2</sup> et Salsula, similesque innumeri. 29. Hi omne quod vivunt, vino et tesseris impendunt et lustris, et voluptatibus et spectaculis: eisque templum et habitaculum et contio et cupitorum spes omnis Circus est maximus: et videre licet per fora et compita et plateas et conventicula, circulos multos collectos in se controversis iurgiis ferri, aliis aliud (ut fit) defendentibus. 30. Inter quos hi qui ad satietatem vixerunt, potiores auctoritate longaeva, per canos<sup>3</sup> et rugas<sup>4</sup> clamitant saepe, rem publicam stare non posse, si futura concertatione, quem quisque vindicat, carceribus non exsiluerit princeps, et inominalibus<sup>5</sup> equis, parum cohaerenter circumflexerit metam. 31. Et ubi neglegentiae tanta est caries, exoptato die equestrium ludorum illucescente,

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<sup>1</sup> *Messores*, Her.; *cimessores*, MV.      <sup>2</sup> *Porclaca*, rest. by Nissen; *Pordaca*, mss. (*porclaca*, V, M, Robinson).  
<sup>3</sup> *canos*, Val.; *ianos*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *rugas*, Val.; *Eponam*, Gardt.; *rogant*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *inominalibus*, Harmon; *funalibus*, Val.; *prin* (lac. 13 letters) *nominabilis*, MV (*l* from *s*, V).

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<sup>1</sup> Rulers respectively of Messene and of Argos, hence characters in tragedy, contrasted with Micon and Laches.

they are urged to pay, they wear such lofty buskins and are so arrogant that you would think them Cresphontes and Temenus, the famous Heraclidae.<sup>1</sup> So much for the senate.

28. Let us now turn to the idle and slothful commons. Among them some who have no shoes are conspicuous as though they had cultured names, such as the Messorēs, Statarii, Semicupae and Serapini, and Cicymbricus, with Gluturinus and Trulla, and Lucanicus with Porclaca and Salsula, and countless others.<sup>2</sup> 29. These spend all their life with wine and dice, in low haunts, pleasures, and the games. Their temple, their dwelling, their assembly, and the height of all their hopes is the Circus Maximus. You may see many groups of them gathered in the fora, the cross-roads, the streets,<sup>3</sup> and their other meeting-places, engaged in quarrelsome arguments with one another, some (as usual) defending this, others that. 30. Among them those who have enjoyed a surfeit of life, influential through long experience, often swear by their hoary hair and wrinkles that the state cannot exist if in the coming race the charioteer whom each favours is not first to rush forth from the barriers, and fails to round the turning-point closely with his ill-omened<sup>4</sup> horses. 31. And when there is such a dry rot of thoughtlessness, as soon as the longed-for day of the chariot-races begins to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 4, 7. Ammianus is satirical, since these names are derived from humble occupations.

<sup>2</sup> See *Class. Phil.* xxxii (1937), 49 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps implying that magic arts have been used against him; but see crit. note. In general, cf. *Hor., Odes*, i. 1, 4 f., *metaque fervidis evitata rotis*.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

nondum solis puro iubare, effusius omnes festinant praecipites, ut velocitate currus ipsos anteeant certaturos: super quorum eventu discissi votorum studiis anxii, plurimi agunt pervigiles noctes.

32. Unde si ad theatralem ventum fuerit vilitatem, artifices scaenarii per sibilos exploduntur, siqui sibi aere humiliorem non conciliaverit plebem. Qui si defuerit strepitus, ad imitationem Tauricae gentis, peregrinos vociferantur pelli debere, quorum subsidiis semper nisi sunt ac steterunt, et taetris vocibus et absurdis; quae longe abhorrent a studiis et voluntate veteris illius plebis, cuius multa facete dicta memoria loquitur et venuste.<sup>1</sup> 33. Id enim nunc repertum est pro sonitu laudum impensiore, per applicatos homines ad plaudendum, ut in omni spectaculo exodiario venatori aurigae et histrionum generi omni, et iudicibus<sup>2</sup> celsis, itidemque minoribus, nec non etiam matronis, clametur assidue: "Per te illi discant";<sup>3</sup> quid autem debeat disci, nemo sufficit explanare.

34. In his plerique distentionibus saginis addicti, praeceunte nidoris indagine, acutisque vocibus feminarum, a galliciniis ipsis, in modum pavonum ieiunitate<sup>4</sup> clangentium, humum summis pedum unguibus

<sup>1</sup> *uenuste*, P. Thomas; *uenusta*, G; *uenustas id*, MV.

<sup>2</sup> *iudicibus . . . di* (in *digitos*, see note 1, p. 160), lacking in M, where 7 lines are lost.

<sup>3</sup> *illi discant*, Clark; *ille discat*, G; *ille discant*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *ieiunitate*, Haupt; *hiennitare*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Referring to the myth that the Tauri (xxii. 8, 33) sacrificed strangers at the altar of Diana.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aurel. Vict., *Caesares*, 11, 13, *mihi quidem . . . plane compertum urbem Romam externorum virtute . . . praecipue crevisse*.

dawn, before the sun is yet shining clearly they all hasten in crowds to the spot at top speed, as if they would outstrip the very chariots that are to take part in the contest; and torn by their conflicting hopes about the result of the race, the greater number of them in their anxiety pass sleepless nights.

32. If from there they come to worthless theatrical pieces, any actor is hissed off the boards who has not won the favour of the low rabble with money. And if this noisy form of demonstration is lacking, they cry in imitation of the Tauric race<sup>1</sup> that all strangers—on whose aid they have always depended and stood upright<sup>2</sup>—ought to be driven from the city. All this in foul and absurd terms, very different from the expressions of their interests and desires made by your commons of old, of whose many witty and happy sayings tradition tells us.<sup>3</sup> 33. And it has now come to this, that in place of the lively sound of approval from men appointed to applaud, at every public show an actor of afterpieces, a beast-baiter, a charioteer, every kind of player, and the magistrates of higher and lower rank, nay even matrons, are constantly greeted with the shout “You should be these fellows’ teachers!”; but what they ought to learn no one is able to explain.

34. The greater number of these gentry, given over to over-stuffing themselves with food,<sup>4</sup> led by the charm of the odour of cooking<sup>5</sup> and by the shrill voices of the women, like a flock of peacocks screaming with hunger, stand even from cockcrow beside

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 10, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxii. 12, 6, for similar language.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suet., *Claud.*, 33, 1, *ictus nidore prandii*.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

contingentes, aulis assistunt, digitos<sup>1</sup> praerodentes, dum patinae defervescunt: alii nauseam horridae carnis, dum excoquitur, intentius despectantes, ut discissarum pecudum exta rimari cum anatomicis Democritum putes, docentem quibus modis posteritas mederi doloribus possit internis.

35. Sit satis interim haec digessisse super rebus urbanis. Nunc redeamus ad cetera, quae per provincias agitavere multiplices casus.

5. *Saxones in Gallia, post factas indutias, a Romanis insidiis circumventi. Valentinianus data fide iungendi copias, Burgundiones Alamanniae immisit, qui decepti et illusi, captivis omnibus occisis domum redierunt.*

1. Erupit Augustis ter consulibus Saxonum multitudo, et Oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, saepe nostrorum funeribus pasta: cuius eruptionis primae procellam Nannenus sustinuit comes, regionibus eisdem appositus, dux<sup>2</sup> diuturno bellorum labore compertus.  
2. Sed tunc ad mortem destinatae plebi congressus,

<sup>1</sup> *digitos praerodentes*, AG; *digitis* (gitis, M) *praerudentes* (from -rund-, M?) MV.      <sup>2</sup> *dux*, Val.; G omits; *dum*, MV.

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<sup>1</sup> Wagner and *T.L.L.* take *aulis* = *ollis*, which suits the context; cf. Gell. xvii. 8, 2, 3, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Plaut., *Pseud.* 881 ff. *ego ita convivis cenam conditam dabo . . . ut quisque quidque conditum gustaverit, ipse sibi faciam ut digitos praerodat suos.*

<sup>2</sup> The famous Greek physical philosopher, from Abdera; cf. xv. 1, 4; xiv. 5, 1. There is a word-play on *anatomis* and *anatomicis*; see p. 97, note 2.

the pots <sup>1</sup> on tip-toe and gnaw the ends of their fingers <sup>2</sup> as they wait for the dishes to cool. Others hang over the nauseous mass of half-raw meat, while it is cooking, watching it so intently that one would think that Democritus <sup>3</sup> with other dissectors was examining the internal organs of dismembered animals and showing by what means future generations might be cured of internal pains.

35. But enough for the present of this account of affairs in the city. Now let us return to the other events which were caused by various incidents in the provinces.

5. *The Saxons in Gaul, after a truce had been made, were ambushed by the Romans. Valentinian, under promise of joining forces with them, roused the Burgundians to invade Alamannia, but they, after being betrayed and deceived, killed all their prisoners and returned home.*

1. In the third consulship of the two Augusti a 370 horde of Saxons <sup>4</sup> broke out, and after overcoming the dangers of the Ocean advanced at rapid pace towards the Roman frontier, <sup>5</sup> having often been glutted with the slaughter of our people. The storm of this first inroad was met by Nannenus, the general in charge of those regions, a leader approved by long experience in wars. 2. But meeting then with a people resolved <sup>6</sup> to fight to the death, after

<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus puts the defeat of the Saxons in 374, Cassiodorus in 373. They first appear in history under Diocletian, and had their home in what is now Holstein.

<sup>5</sup> Of Gaul.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *destinatis animis*, xvii. 2, 2.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

cum milites quosdam ruisse, et se vulneratum imparem fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id est adeptus, ut peditum magister Severus opitulatum rebus dubiis adveniret.<sup>1</sup> 3. Qui ducens militem rei sufficientem, cum venisset ad loca, discriminatis ordinibus, superbos barbaros <sup>2</sup> ante colluctationem adeo terruit et turbavit, ut nec controversas opponerent manus, sed signorum aquilarumque fulgore praestricti, venialem poscerent pacem. 4. Diuque variatis consiliis, cum id rei publicae conducere videretur, pactis induitiis, et datis ex condicione proposita iuvenibus multis, habilibus ad militiam, discedere permissi sunt Saxones, sine impedimento, unde venerant, reversuri. 5. Quibus omni iam formidine vacuis, reditumque parantibus, occulte pedites missi, insidias in abdita quadam valle struxerunt, unde praetereuntes aggredi negotio poterant levi. Sed longe secus accidit quam sperabatur. 6. Sonitu enim adventantium perciti, exsiluere quidam intempestive, visique subito, dum se firmare festinant, ululantibus lugubre barbaris, vertuntur in pedes. Stetere tamen mox conglobati, extremaque sorte vires (licet non integras) suggerente, configere coge-

<sup>1</sup> M ends with *dubiis ad*-.      <sup>2</sup> *superbos barbaros*, Clark; *feros barbaros*, Pet.; *per barbaros*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 6, 3.

he had lost some of his men and had himself been wounded, he perceived that he would be unequal to frequent contests with them. Accordingly, having reported to the emperor what ought to be done, he managed that Severus, commander of the infantry,<sup>1</sup> should come to help him in his difficult situation. 3. When he, bringing forces adequate for the purpose, had reached the spot and the troops had been drawn up in divisions, he so terrified and confused the arrogant barbarians before the struggle began, that they did not oppose him in strife, but, dazzled by the gleam of the standards and eagles, begged for pardon and peace. 4. And after a long and varied discussion, since it seemed to be in the interest of the state, a truce was agreed upon, and in accordance with the conditions that were proposed the Saxons gave us as hostages many young men fit for military service, and then were allowed to depart and return without hindrance to the place from which they had come. 5. When they thought themselves now free from all fear and were preparing to return, foot-soldiers were secretly sent and laid an ambuscade in a secluded valley, from which they could attack the Saxons with slight trouble as they passed by. But the result was far otherwise than was hoped. 6. For, excited by the sound of the approaching Saxons, some of our men rushed out before the proper time; on their sudden appearance the savages raised terrible howls, and while the Romans were hastening to steady themselves, they were put to flight. Presently, however, they halted and massed themselves together, and as their dangerous plight gave them strength (though somewhat impaired), they



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

bantur, multaque caede perculti, concidissent nullo relicto, ni cataphractorum equitum cuneus, ad inferendum periculum transeuntibus barbaris, ex alio latere prope divortium itineris, pari modo locatus, clamore percitus tristi, agiliter subvenisset. 7. Exin concursum infestius, firmatisque pectoribus, hinc inde incumbentes Romani clausos hostes eductis gladiis obtruncabant : nec quisquam eorum genitales revisere potuit lares, ne uno quidem caedibus concorporalium superesse permissio. Ac licet iustus quidam arbiter rerum, factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio, non feret indigne manum latronum exitialem tandem copia data consumptam.<sup>1</sup>

8. Post haec ita prospere consummata, Valentinianus versando sententias multiformes, anxia sollicitudine stringebatur, reputans multa et circumspiciens, quibus commentis Alamannorum et Macriani regis frangeret fastus, sine fine vel modo rem Romanam irrequietis motibus confundentis.<sup>2</sup> 9. Immanis enim natio iam inde ab incunabulis primis varietate casuum imminuta, ita saepius adulescit, ut fuisse longis saeculis aestimetur intacta. Seditque consilia<sup>3</sup> alia post alia imperatori probanti, Burgundios in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicosos et pubis<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *consumptam*, C. F. W. M.; *deletam*, Novák; *captam*, EA; *coptam*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *confundentis*, Pet.; *confundentes*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *consilia*, G; *consilio*, vulgo; *consilium*, sugg. by Clark (cf. xix. 7, 6); *concilio alio*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *pubis*, Val.; *turbae*, G; *ubi*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xviii. 2, 15.

were forced to fight ; but after suffering great losses they were routed and would have perished to a man, had not a troop of mail-clad horsemen, which had been similarly stationed on another side, near a byway, to cause danger to the savages as they passed by, been aroused by their cries of terror, and quickly come to their aid. 7. Then the contest became hotter and the Romans with fortified courage pressed upon the Saxons from all sides, surrounded them, and slew them with their drawn swords ; not one of them could again return to his native home, not a single one was allowed to survive the slaughter of his comrades. And although some just judge will condemn this act as treacherous and hateful, yet on careful consideration of the matter he will not think it improper that a destructive band of brigands was destroyed when the opportunity at last offered.

8. After these affairs had been so successfully concluded, Valentinian, turning over various thoughts in his mind, was oppressed by anxious care, as he thought over many plans and considered by what devices he might break the arrogance of the Alamanni and their king Macrianus,<sup>1</sup> who without limit or measure was confusing the Roman state by his restless disturbances. 9. For this savage nation, although from its very cradle weakened by a variety of disasters, so often recovers its youthful strength, that people think it has been unassailed for long ages. And the emperor finally decided, after favouring first one plan and then another, to bring about their destruction through the Burgundians, a warlike people, rich in the strength of countless young

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

immensae viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis universis. 10. Scribebatque frequenter ad eorum reges per taciturnos quosdam et fidos, ut eisdem tempore praestituto supervenirent, pollicitus ipse quoque, transito cum Romanis agminibus Rheno, occurrere pavidis, pondus armorum vitantibus insperatum.

11. Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptae sunt litterae: prima quod iam inde a <sup>1</sup> temporibus priscis subolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt, dein quod salinarum finiumque causa Alamannis <sup>2</sup> saepe iurgabant. Et <sup>3</sup> catervas misere lectissimas, quae antequam milites congregarentur in unum, ad usque ripas Rheni progressae, imperatore ad struenda munimenta districto, terrori nostris fuere vel maximo. 12. Igitur paulisper morati, cum neque Valentinianus (ut sponderat) die praedicto venisset, nec promissorum aliquid adverterent factum, ad comitatum misere legatos, poscentes adminicula sibi dari, reddituris ad sua, ne nuda hostibus exponerent terga. 13. Quod ubi negari per ambages sentirent et moras, maesti exinde discesserunt et indignati. Hocque comperto, reges

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<sup>1</sup> *a*, added by C.F.W.M.; V omits. <sup>2</sup> A fragment of M begins here. <sup>3</sup> *et*, added in A; MV omit; Her. suspected a greater lacuna.

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<sup>1</sup> Possibly from the Romans whom Drusus, and later Tiberius, left behind on the Elbe and elsewhere to defend the frontier.

warriors, and therefore a cause of terror to all their neighbours. 10. Accordingly, he often sent letters to their kings through silent and loyal messengers, urging them to attack the Alamanni at an appointed time, and promising that he too would cross the Rhine with the Roman armies and, if the Alamanni tried to avoid the unexpected weight of armed forces, would intercept them in their panic.

11. The emperor's letters were gladly received for two reasons: first, because the Burgundians know that they are descendants of the Romans from ancient times;<sup>1</sup> and then, since they frequently quarrelled with the Alamanni about salt-pits<sup>2</sup> and boundaries.<sup>3</sup> They therefore sent their choicest troops, which, before our soldiers were gathered together, advanced as far as the banks of the Rhine; and while the emperor was still occupied with the building of fortifications, they caused the very greatest alarm to our people. 12. And so they halted for a time, but when Valentinian did not appear on the appointed day, as he had agreed, and they saw that none of his promises had been fulfilled, they sent envoys to the emperor's camp, demanding that support be given them for their return to their homes, in order that they might not expose their unprotected rear to the enemy. 13. And when they perceived that by subterfuges and delays their request was practically denied, they went off from there in sorrow and indignation. And their kings,

<sup>1</sup> This was a frequent cause of war; cf. Tac., *Ann.* xiii. 57; Strabo, vii. 5, 11 (C. 318); and for these salt-pits, John of Salisbury, *Epist.* 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xviii. 2, 15.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

ut lubibrio habiti saevientes, captivis omnibus interfectis, genitales repetunt terras.

14. Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, et ritu veteri potestate deposita remove-tur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra, ut solent Aegyptii casus eius modi suis assignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus, et est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges.

15. Per hanc occasionem impendio tempestivam, Alamannos gentis ante dictae metu dispersos, ag-gressus per Raetias Theodosius (ea tempestate magister equitum) pluribus caesis, quoscumque cepit ad Italiam iussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis acceptis, iam tributarii circumcolunt Padum.

### 6. *Clades Tripoli provinciae, Lepcitanis et Oeensibus ab Austorianis illatae, et fraude Romani comitis Valentiniano occultatae, et minime vindicatae.*

1. Hinc (tamquam in orbem migrantes alium) ad Tripoleos Africanæ provinciae veniamus aerumnas, quas (ut arbitror) Iustitia quoque ipsa deflevit, quae unde instar exarsere flammaram, textus aperiet

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<sup>1</sup> Since they regarded them as gods; see Diod. Sic., i. 90, 3.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., in Gaul.

<sup>3</sup> The Burgundians.

<sup>4</sup> Further wars with the Alamanni are described in xxix. 4, and xxx. 3.

<sup>5</sup> For this partitive use of the adjective cf. Hor., *Odes*, iii. 23, 8, *pomifer annus*; Sall., *Jug.* 107, 1, *nudum et caecum corpus*.

on learning what had happened, furious at being mocked, killed all their prisoners and returned to their native lands.

14. In their country a king is called by the general name Hendinos, and, according to an ancient custom, lays down his power and is deposed, if under him the fortune of war has wavered, or the earth has denied sufficient crops; just as the Egyptians commonly blame their rulers for such occurrences.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the chief priest among the Burgundians is called Sinistus, holds his power for life, and is exposed to no such dangers as threaten the kings.

15. Taking advantage of this very timely occasion, 370 Theodosius, at that time commander of the cavalry,<sup>2</sup> made an attack through Raetia upon the Alamanni, who through fear of the aforesaid people<sup>3</sup> were scattered; he killed many of them, and by the emperor's order sent all his prisoners to Italy, where they received fertile cantons, and now live as our subjects on the banks of the Po.<sup>4</sup>

6. *Disasters are inflicted upon the province of Tripolis and on the Lepcitani and Oeenses by the Austoriani, but through the duplicity of the commanding general, Romanus, these are concealed from Valentinian, and left unpunished.*

1. From here, as if moving to another part<sup>5</sup> of the 363 ff. world, let us come to the sorrows of the African province of Tripolis, over which (I think) even Justice herself has wept; and from what cause these blazed out like flames will appear when my narrative is completed.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

absolutus. 2. Austoriani his contermini partibus barbari, in discursus semper expediti veloces, vivereque assueti rapinis et caedibus, paulisper pacati, ad<sup>1</sup> genuinos turbines revoluti sunt, hanc causam prae-tendentes ut seriam. 3. Stachao quidam nomine popularis eorum, ut in otio nostra peragrando licentius agebat quaedam vetita legibus, inter quae illud potius eminebat, quod provinciam omni fallaciarum via prodere conabatur, ut indicia docuere verissima : quocirca supplicio flammaram absumptus est.

4. Huius necem ulcisci, ut propinqui damnatique iniuste causantes, ferarum similes rabie concitarum, exsiluere sedibus suis, Ioviano etiam tum imperante, veritique prope Lepcim accedere, civitatem muris et populo validam, suburbano eius uberrimo insedere per triduum, mactatisque agrestibus, quos inopinus hebeterat pavor, vel confugere coegerat ad speluncas, incensa suppellectili multa, quae vehi non poterat, referti<sup>2</sup> rapinis reverterunt ingentibus, trahentes captivum Silvam quoque casu cum caritatibus<sup>3</sup> in agro inventum, ordinis sui primatem.

5. Hac subita clade Lepcitani perterriti, ante incrementa malorum, quae intentabat barbaricus

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<sup>1</sup> *ad*, added by Her. (cf. xxiv. 3, 6); *in*, by AG; MV omit.

<sup>2</sup> *referti*, Val.; *recerti*, M (from *reuerti*); *reuerti*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *cum caritatibus*, Val.; *casuum seritatibus*, MV.

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus, in xxvi. 4, 5, counts them among the people of Mauritania.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently by rousing the barbarians against the Romans.

2. The Austoriani,<sup>1</sup> who are neighbours to those regions, are savages, always ready for sudden raids and accustomed to live by murder and robbery. These were subdued for a time, but then returned to their natural turbulence, for which they seriously alleged this reason:—3. A certain man of their country, Stachao by name, when he was wandering freely in our territory, it being a time of peace, committed some violations of the laws, among which the most conspicuous was, that he tried by every kind of deceit to betray the province,<sup>2</sup> as was proved by most trustworthy testimony. Accordingly he was burned to death.

4. To avenge his execution, under the pretext that he was a countryman of theirs and had been unjustly condemned, like beasts aroused by madness, they sallied forth from their homes while Jovian was still ruling, and, fearing to come near Lepcis, a city strong in its walls and population, they encamped for three days in the fertile districts near the city. There they slaughtered the peasants, whom sudden fear had paralysed or had compelled to take refuge in caves, burned a great deal of furniture which could not be carried off, and returned laden with immense spoils, taking with them also as prisoner one Silva, the most eminent of the local magistrates, who chanced to be found in the country<sup>3</sup> with his wife and children.

5. The people of Lepcis, greatly alarmed by this sudden calamity, before the evils which the insolence of the barbarians threatened should increase,

<sup>3</sup> I.e., his country estate.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

tumor, praesidium imploravere Romani, comitis per Africam recens provecti. Qui cum venisset, militaris copias ducens, ferreque opem rebus rogaretur afflictis, non nisi abundanti<sup>1</sup> commeatu aggesto, et camelorum quattuor milibus apparatis, castra firmabat esse moturum. 6. Hocque responso, miserandis civibus stupefactis, atque negantibus, sufficere se posse post vastationes et incendia ita enormibus instrumentis remedia quaerere damnorum immanium, dissimulanter diebus ibi quadraginta consumptis, nullo temptato, inde discesserat comes.

7. Qua spe Tripolitani frustrati, formidantesque extrema, allapso legitimo die concilii, quod apud eos est annum, Severum et Flaccianum creavere legatos, Victoriarum aurea simulacra Valentiniano ob imperii primitias oblaturus, utque lacrimosas provinciae ruinas docerent intrepide. 8. Quibus compertis, Romanus, misso equite velocissimo, magistrum officiorum petit Remigium, affinem suum vel rapinarum participem, ut provideret imperatoris arbitrio cognitionem huius negotii Vincentio vicario<sup>2</sup> sibi<sup>3</sup> deferri. 9. Venerunt in comitatum legati, aditoque principe, verbis quae perpassi sunt ostenderunt: obtulerunt decreta, textum continentia rei totius. Quibus lectis cum neque relationi officiorum magistri, faventis Romani flagitiis, nec contraria

<sup>1</sup> Fragment of M ends with *nisi abund.*  
*uicario*, Kellerbauer; V omits *Vincentio*.  
 E, Lind. ; *sibi*, G ; *ibique*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *Vincentio*  
<sup>3</sup> *sibi*que,

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<sup>1</sup> For *vel* = 'and' cf. p. 550, n. 1.

implored the protection of Romanus, the newly-promoted commanding-general for Africa. As soon as he arrived, leading his military forces, and was asked to lend his aid in these troubles, he declared that he would not move his camp unless provisions in abundance should first be brought and 4000 camels equipped. 6. The unhappy citizens were stupified by this answer, and declared that after suffering from fires and pillage they could not procure a remedy for their tremendous losses by providing such enormous supplies. Whereupon the general, after deluding them by spending forty days there, marched away without actually attempting anything.

7. The people of Tripolis, disappointed in this hope and fearing the worst, when the lawful day for the popular assembly (which with them comes once a year) had arrived, appointed Severus and Flaccianus as envoys, who were to take to Valentinian golden statues of Victory because of his accession to power, and to tell him fearlessly of the lamentable ruin of the province. 8. As soon as Romanus heard of this, he sent a swift horseman to Remigius, the chief-marshal of the court, a relative of his by marriage and<sup>1</sup> a partner in his robberies, asking him to see to it that the investigation of this affair should be assigned by the emperor's authority to the deputy governor Vincentius and himself. 9. The envoys came to the court, and being given audience with the emperor, stated orally what they had suffered; and they presented decrees, containing a full account of the whole affair. Since the emperor, after reading these, neither believed the communication of the marshal, who countenanced the misdeeds of Romanus,

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

referentibus crederetur, promissa disceptatio plena dilata est eo more, quo solent inter potiorum occupationes ludi potestates excelsae.

10. Dum remedia quaedam a commilitio principis exspectantur, suspensis Tripolitanis, diuque anxiis, rursus globi supervenere barbarici, fiducia sublata praeteritorum, Lepcitanoque agro et Oeensi interneciva populatione transcursis, expleti praedarum acervis ingentibus, abscesserunt, occisis decurionibus multis, inter quos Rusticianus sacerdotalis, et Nicasius enitebat aedilis. 11. Haec autem eruptio ideo arceri non potuit, quod ad legatorum preces negotiorum quoque militarium cura praesidi delata Ruricio, mox translata est ad Romanum. 12. Et iam recens inflictae cladis nuntius missus ad Gallias, excitavit acrius principem. Ideoque tribunus et notarius Palladius mittitur, ut et militi disperso per Africam praeberet stipendium debitum, et gesta per Tripolim fide congrua scrutaretur.

13. Inter tales tamen consulendi moras exspectandique responsa, Austoriani successu gemino insolentes, ut rapaces alites advolarunt, irritamento sanguinis atrocius efferatae; cunctisque (nisi quos fuga discriminibus eximeret) interemptis, praedas quas antehac reliquerant, avexerunt<sup>1</sup> arboribus exsectis

<sup>1</sup> *avexerunt*, added in G, *auerterunt*, by Brakman; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxix. 5, 2, end.

<sup>2</sup> Local magistrates and officials.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Tripoli.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxvii. 9, 3.

nor the envoys, who gave contrary testimony, a full investigation was promised, but it was put off, in the way in which supreme powers<sup>1</sup> are usually deceived among the distractions to which the powerful are liable.

10. While the people of Tripolis were long in a state of anxiety and suspense, looking for some aid from the emperor's military support, the hordes of barbarians again came up, given confidence by what had happened before; and after overrunning the territory of Lepcis and Oea<sup>2</sup> with death and devastation, went away again, laden with vast heaps of booty; a number of decurions<sup>3</sup> were put to death, among whom the former high-priest Rusticianus and the aedile Nicasius were conspicuous. 11. But the reason why this inroad could not be prevented was that, although at the request of the envoys the charge of military affairs also had been entrusted to the governor Ruricius,<sup>4</sup> it was soon afterwards transferred to Romanus. 12. When now the news of this newly inflicted catastrophe was sent to Gaul, it greatly angered the emperor. Accordingly, Palladius, a tribune and secretary, was sent to pay the wages that were due the soldiers in various parts of Africa, and to investigate and give a fully trustworthy report of what had happened at Tripolis.

13. However, during such delays caused by con- 365 ff.  
sultations and waiting for replies, the Austoriani, made insolent by two successful raids, flew to the spot like birds of prey made more savage by the incitement of blood, and after slaying all those who did not escape danger by flight, carried off the booty which they had previously left behind, besides cutting down

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

et vitibus. 14. Tunc Mychon quidam nobilis oppidanus et potens, captus in suburbano lapsusque, antequam vinciretur, quia pedibus aeger evadere penitus vetabatur, in puteum aquis vacuum sese coniecit, unde costa diffracta levatus a barbaris, ductusque prope portas, coniugis miseratione redemptus est, et ad pinnas muri fune sublatus post biduum interiit. 15. Unde elati in pertinaciam saevissimi grassatores, ipsa pulsavere moenia Lepcitana, funestis plangoribus resonantia feminarum, quas numquam antea hostiliter clausas pavor exanimabat insolitus, obsessaque urbe per octo continuos dies, cum quidam oppugnatores sine ullo vulnerarentur effectu, redierunt ad propria<sup>1</sup> tristiores.

16. Ob quae super salute dubii cives, ultimaque temptantes, profectis ante legatis nondum reversis, Iovinum mittunt atque Pancratium, quae viderint, quaeque<sup>2</sup> ipsi perpessi sint, imperatorem fida relatione docturos. Qui Severum apud Carthaginem inventum et Flaccianum superiores illos legatos percontando quid egerint, cognoverunt eos audiri a vicario iussos et comite. E quibus Severus ilico perit vexatus acerbitate morborum: nihilo minus tamen properarunt ad comitatum magnis itineribus ante dicti.

<sup>1</sup> *propria*, EAG; *proprias sedes*, sugg. by Clark; *proprias* (lac. 4 letters at end of line), V. <sup>2</sup> *quaeque*, Her. and Clark; V omits *que*.

the trees and vines. 14. Then one Mychon, a high-born and powerful townsman, was caught in the suburbs but gave them the slip before he was bound; and because he was lame and it was wholly impossible for him to make good his escape, he threw himself into an empty well; but the barbarians pulled him out with his rib broken, and placed him near the city gates; there, at the pitiful entreaties of his wife, he was ransomed but was drawn up by a rope to the battlements, and died after two days. 15. Then the savage marauders, roused to greater persistence, assailed the very walls of Lepcis, which re-echoed with the mournful wailing of the women, who had never before been besieged by an enemy, and were half-dead with a terror to which they were unused. But after blockading the city for eight days together, during which some of the besiegers were wounded without accomplishing anything, they returned in saddened mood to their own abodes.

16. Because of this the citizens, despairing of being saved and resorting to the last hope, although the envoys they had already sent had not yet returned, dispatched Jovinus and Pancrati<sup>1</sup>us to give the emperor a trustworthy account of what they had seen and had personally suffered. These envoys, by inquiring of those mentioned above (Severus, whom they met at Carthage, and Flaccianus), what they had done, learned that they had been ordered to make their report to the deputy and the general. Of these Severus was at once attacked by a painful illness and died; but the aforementioned envoys nevertheless<sup>1</sup> hastened by long marches to the court.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., in spite of what they had learned.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

17. Ingresso post haec Palladio Africam, Romanus, quas ob res venerat ante praestructurus,<sup>1</sup> ut securitatem suam in tuto locaret, numerorum principis per quosdam secretorum mandaverat conscios, ut ei tamquam potenti et palatii summatibus proximo, stipendii, quod pertulerat, praestarent maximam partem : et ita est factum. 18. Confestimque ille ditatus perrexit ad Leptim, utque ad veritatis perveniret indaginem, Erecthium et Aristomenem facundos municipes et insignes, libere suas civiumque et finitimorum retexentes aerumnas, ad loca vastata secum eduxit. 19. Quibus aperte cuncta monstrantibus, luctuosis provinciae cineribus visis revertit, Romanumque ut desidem increpans, relaturum se cuncta verissime, quae viderat, minabatur ad principem. Atque ille ira percitus et dolore, se quoque mox referre firmavit, quod missus ut notarius incorruptus, donativum militis omne in quaestus averterit proprios. 20. Qua gratia flagitiorum arbitra conscientia, cum Romano deinde Palladius concordabat, reversusque ad comitatum, arte mendaciorum impia Valentinianum fefellerat, Tripolitanos frustra queri commemorans. Ideoque rursus ad Africam cum Iovino postremo omnium legatorum remittitur—Pancratius enim decesserat apud Treveros—ut cum vicario ipse merita legationis quoque

<sup>1</sup> *praestructurus*, Gardt.; *praestructis*, Harmon; *praestructus*, V.

17. After this, Palladius had entered Africa, and Romanus, intending to block in advance the purpose for which he had come, in order to secure his own safety, had ordered the officers of the companies through certain confidants of his secrets, that they should hand over to Palladius the greater part of the pay which he had brought, since he was an influential man and in close relations with the highest officials of the palace ; and so it was done. 18. Palladius immediately, being thus enriched, proceeded to Lepcis, and in order to succeed in ferreting out the truth, he took with him to the devastated regions two eloquent and distinguished townsmen, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who freely told him of their own troubles and those of their fellow-citizens and neighbours. 19. They openly showed him everything, and after he had seen the lamentable ashes of the province, he returned, and reproaching Romanus for his inactivity, threatened to give the emperor a true report of everything that he had seen. Then Romanus, filled with anger and resentment, assured him that he also would then at once report that Palladius, sent as an incorruptible notary, had diverted to his own profit all the money intended for the soldiers. 20. Therefore, since his conscience was witness to disgraceful acts, Palladius then came to an understanding with Romanus, and on his return to the palace, he misled Valentinian by the atrocious art of lying, declaring that the people of Tripolis had no cause for complaint. Accordingly, he was sent again to Africa with Jovinus, the last of all the envoys (for Pancratius had died at Treves), in order with the deputy to examine in person the



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

secundae spectaret: praeter haec linguas Erechthi et Aristomenis praecidi iusserat imperator, quos invidiosa quaedam locutos idem Palladius intimarat.

21. Secutus, ut statutum est, vicarium notarius venit ad Tripolim. Hocque comperto Romanus domesticum suum illuc volucriter misit, et Caecilium consiliarium in ea provincia genitum, per quos—incertum pretio an fallaciis—circumventi municipes omnes gravabant Iovinum, destinatus asserentes nihil eorum mandasse, quae docuerat principem: eo usque iniquitate grassante ut ipse quoque Iovinus ad salutis suae discrimen confiteretur se imperatori mentitum.

22. Quibus per Palladium regressum iam <sup>1</sup> cognitis, Valentinianus ad acerbitatem proclivior Iovinum quidem ut auctorem, Caelestinum vero Concordiumque et Lucium ut falsi conscios et participes puniri supplicio capitali praecepit, Ruricium autem praesidem ut mendacem morte multari, hoc quoque accedente quod in relatione eius verba quaedam (ut visum est) immodica legebantur. 23. Ac Ruricius quidem apud Sitifim caesus est,<sup>2</sup> reliqui apud Uticam sententia vicarii Crescentis addicti. Flaccianus tamen ante legatorum interitum, cum a vicario audiretur et comite, constanter saluti suae

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<sup>1</sup> lac. after *regressum*, Clark, c.c.; *iam* added by Her.; no lac., V.      <sup>2</sup> *est*, added by Clark; V omits.

<sup>1</sup> He had reported the invasion and pillage by the barbarians. Note the alliteration *mendacem morte multari*.

value of the work of the second deputation also. Besides this, the emperor gave orders that the tongues of Erechthius and Aristomenes should be cut out, since the aforesaid Palladius had intimated that they had made some offensive statements.

21. The secretary, following the deputy, as had been arranged, came to Tripolis. As soon as Romanus learned of this, with all speed he sent his attendant thither, and with him an adviser of his, Caecilius by name, a native of that province. Through these all the townspeople were induced—whether by bribes or deceit is uncertain—to make grave charges against Jovinus, positively declaring that they had given him no commission to report what he had reported to the emperor. In fact, their dishonesty went so far that even Jovinus himself was forced to endanger his own life by confessing that he had lied to the emperor.

22. When this was known through Palladius, who 370 had now returned, Valentinian, being rather inclined to severity, gave orders that Jovinus, as the originator of the false statement, with Caelestinus, Concordius, and Lucius as accomplices and participants, should suffer capital punishment; further, that Ruricius, the governor, should suffer death as the author of a false report,<sup>1</sup> the following also being counted against him—that there were read in his report certain expressions of his which seemed immoderate. 23. Ruricius was executed at Sitifis, the rest were punished at Utica through sentence of the deputy-governor Crescens. Flaccianus, however, before the death of the other envoys, was heard by the deputy and the general; and when he stoutly defended

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

propugnans, acclamationibus iratorum militum impetuque cum conviciis paene confossus est, obicientium, ideo Tripolitanos non potuisse defendi, quod ipsi ad expeditionalis usus praebere necessaria detrectarunt. 24. Et ob haec trusus in carcerem, dum consultus super eo, quid conveniret agi, decerneret imperator, sollicitatis (ut dabatur opinari) custodibus, in urbem Romam abierat profugus, ibique delitescens, fatali lege discessit.

25. Hoc memorando fine externis domesticisque cladibus vexata, conticuit Tripolis, non indefensa, quia vigilavit Iustitiae oculus sempiternus, ultimaeque legatorum et praesidis dirae. Diu enim postea huius modi casus emersit: solutus sacramento Palladius, destitutusque fastu quo tumebat, discessit ad otium. 26. Et cum Theodosius ductor exercituum ille magnificus, oppressurus Firmum perniciose coeptantem, venisset in Africam, et <sup>1</sup> proscripti <sup>2</sup> Romani rem mobilem (ut iussum est) scrutaretur, inter chartas eius inventa est et <sup>3</sup> Meteri cuiusdam epistula, id continens "Domino patrono Romano Meterius," et in fine post multa nihil ad rem pertinentia: "Salutat te Palladius proiecticius, qui non aliam ob causam dicit se esse proiectum, nisi quod in causa Tripolitanorum apud aures sacras mentitus est." 27. His litteris ad

<sup>1</sup> *et*, added in G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *proscripti*, Kellerbauer; *praescripti*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *est et*, G, Pet.; *est*, A; *esse*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1, 57, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxix. 5.

his life, he was all but killed by the angry soldiers, who rushed upon him with shouts and abusive language ; for they declared against him that the Tripolitani could not possibly be defended for the reason that they themselves had declined to furnish what was necessary for the campaign. 24. And for this reason Flaccianus was imprisoned, until the emperor, who had been consulted about him, should make up his mind what ought to be done. But he bribed his guards—so it was permissible to believe—and made his escape to the city of Rome, where he kept in hiding until he passed away by a natural death.

25. In consequence of this remarkable end of the affair, Tripolis, though harassed by disasters from without and from within, remained silent, but not without defence ; for the eternal eye of Justice watched over her, as well as the last curses <sup>1</sup> of the envoys and the governor. . For long afterwards the 376 following event came to pass: Palladius was dismissed from service, and stript of the haughtiness with which he swelled, and retired to a life of inaction. 26. And when Theodosius, that famous leader of armies, had come into Africa to put an end to the dangerous attempts of Firmus,<sup>2</sup> and, as he had been ordered, examined the moveable property of the outlawed Romanus, there was found also among his papers the letter of one Meterius, containing the words, “Meterius to Romanus his Lord and patron,” and at the end, after much matter that would here be irrelevant: “The disgraced Palladius salutes you, and says that he was deposed for no other reason than that in the cause of the people of Tripolis he spoke to the sacred ears what was not true.” 27. When this letter had

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

comitatum missis et lectis, Valentiniani iussu Meterius raptus, suam esse confitetur epistulam, ideoque Palladius exhiberi praeceptus, cogitans quas criminum coxerit moles, in statione primis tenebris observata custodum absentia, qui festo die Christiani ritus in ecclesia pernoctabant, innodato guttore laquei nexibus interiit. 28. Hoc fortunae secundioris iudicio plene comperto, deletoque tristium concitore barbararum, exsiluerunt Erecthius et Aristomenes e latebris, qui cum sibi iussas abscidi linguas didicissent, ut prodigas,<sup>1</sup> ad longe remota declinarunt et abdita, doctoque super nefanda fraude Gratiano imperatore fidentius—Valentinianus enim obierat—ad Hesperium proconsulem et Flavianum vicarium audiendi sunt missi, quorum aequitas auctoritate mixta<sup>2</sup> iustissima, torto Caecilio, aperta confessione cognovit, ipsum suasisse civibus suis, ut<sup>3</sup> gravarent mentiendo legatos. Haec acta secuta est relatio gestorum pandens plenissimam fidem; ad quam nihil responsum est.

29. Et nequid cothurni terribilis fabulae relinquerent intemptatum, hoc quoque post depositum

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<sup>1</sup> *prodigas ei*, V; *procaces*, Pet.; *prodigas ad*, Wagner-Erfurdt; *prodigas veri*, Eyssen.    <sup>2</sup> *mixta*, V; *nixa*, Lind.  
<sup>3</sup> *suis ut*, added by Clark, c.c.; V omits without lac.

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<sup>1</sup> Vigils were held on various sacred anniversaries, e.g., on the night of the birth of the Saviour, Lact., *Div. Inst.*, vii. 19, 3: at Easter, Tertull., *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 4; etc.

<sup>2</sup> See 6, 20, above.

<sup>3</sup> In 376.

<sup>4</sup> In 382 and 391 he was praetorian prefect; and according

XXVIII., 6, 27-29, A.D. 376-370 ff.

been sent to the Palace and read, Meterius, on being seized by order of Valentinian, admitted that the letter was his. Therefore Palladius was ordered to be produced, but thinking of the mass of crimes that he had concocted, at a halting-station, as darkness was coming on, noticing the absence of the guards, who on a festal day of the Christian religion<sup>1</sup> were spending the whole night in church, he knotted a noose about his neck and strangled himself. 28. When this favourable turn of fortune was fully known and the instigator of the awful troubles put to death, Erechthius and Aristomenes, who, when they learned that it had been ordered that their tongues should be cut out,<sup>2</sup> as over-lavishly used, had withdrawn to far remote and hidden places, now hastened from concealment; and when the emperor Gratian—for Valentinian had died—was given trustworthy information of the abominable deception, they were sent for trial to the proconsul Hesperius<sup>3</sup> and the deputy Flavianus.<sup>4</sup> These officials, being men of impartial justice combined with most rightful authority, having put Caecilius to the torture, learned from his open confession that he himself had persuaded his citizens to make trouble for the envoys by false statements. This investigation was followed by a report, which disclosed the fullest confirmation of the acts which had been committed; to this no reply was made.

29. And that these dramas should leave no awful 370 ff. tragic effect untried, this also was added after the

to Symmachus, 2, 82, 83, he received the consulship, apparently from the usurper Eugenius.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

accessit aulaeum. Romanus ad comitatum profectus secum Caecilium duxit, cognitores accusaturum, ut inclinatos in provinciae partem: isque Merobaudis favore susceptus, necessarios sibi plures petierat exhiberi. 30. Qui cum Mediolanum venissent, frustra se tractos ob simultates<sup>1</sup> documentis probabilibus ostendissent, absoluti redierunt ad lares. Valentiniano tamen superstite, post superiora quae narravimus, Remigius quoque digressus ad otium, laqueo vitam elisit, ut congruo docebimus loco.

### LIBER XXIX

1. *Theodorus notarius imperium affectat, et apud Valentem Antiochiae accusatus maiestatis, convictusque cum plurimis criminis consciis interficitur.*

1. Exacta hieme rex Persarum gentium<sup>2</sup> Sapor, pugnarum fiducia pristinarum immaniter arrogans, suppleto numero suorum abundeque firmato, erupturos in nostra cataphractus et sagittarios et conductam miserat<sup>3</sup> plebem. 2. Contra has copias, Traianus comes et Vadomarius ex rege Alamannorum

<sup>1</sup> ob simultates, Val.; adsimulatis, Novák; obsimulatis, V.  
<sup>2</sup> gentium, V<sup>1</sup>EA, restored by Pet.; gentis, G; senior, Her.; ingentior, sugg. by Clark; gentior, V<sup>2</sup>.     <sup>3</sup> miserat, Clark, c.c.; misit, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See xvi. 6, 3, note; here the meaning is different, since what follows was the *exodium*, or afterpiece, at the end of the tragedy. Hence the curtain was not put away, but raised (or, as we should say, lowered).

curtain had dropped.<sup>1</sup> Romanus, setting out to the Palace, brought with him Caecilius, who intended to accuse the judges of having been biased in favour of the province ; and being received with favour by Merobaudes,<sup>2</sup> he had sought that some more witnesses whom he needed should be produced. 30. When these had come to Milan, and had shown by credible evidence that they had been brought there under false pretences to satisfy a grudge, they were discharged and returned to their homes. Nevertheless, in Valentinianus' lifetime, in consequence of what we have stated above, Remigius also after retiring into private life strangled himself, as I shall show in the proper place.<sup>3</sup>

## BOOK XXIX

1. *Theodorus, a notary, aspires to the throne, and being accused of treason at Antioch before Valens and convicted, along with many accomplices of his crime he is put to death.*

1. At the end of the winter Sapor, king of the 371 Persian nations, made immoderately arrogant by the confidence inspired by his former battles, having filled up the number of his army and greatly strengthened it, had sent his mailed horsemen, archers, and mercenary soldiers to invade our territories.
2. To meet these forces the general Trajanus and Vadamarius, the former king of the Alamanni,

<sup>1</sup> Consul in 377 ; he was then perhaps court-marshal.

<sup>2</sup> xxx. 2, 10 ff.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

cum agminibus perrexere pervalidis, hoc observare principis iussu appositi, ut arcerent potius quam lacerarent Persas. 3. Qui cum venissent Vagabanta, legionibus habilem locum, rapidos turmarum procursus hostilium in se ruentium acriter exceperunt inviti, operaque consulta retrocedentes, ne ferro violarent adversorum quemquam primi, et iudicarentur discissi foederis rei, ultima trudente necessitate, congressi sunt, confossisque multis, discessere victores. 4. Inter moras tamen utrimque secus temptatis aliquotiens levibus proeliis, varioque finitis eventu, pactis indutiis ex consensu, aestateque consumpta, partium discessere ductores, etiam tum discordes. Et rex quidem Parthus, hiemem Ctesiphonte acturus, redit ad sedes, et Antiochiam imperator Romanus ingressus. Qui, dum ibi moratur securus interim hostium externorum, intestinis paene perierat fraudibus, ut aperiet series delata<sup>1</sup> gestorum.

5. Procopius quidam, inquires homo, turbarum cupiditati semper addictus, Anatolium detulerat et Spudassium palatinos, exigui quae de aerario interceperant iussos, insidiari comiti Fortunatiano, molesto illi flagitatori. Qui animi asperitate confestim ad insanum percitus modum, pro potestatis

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<sup>1</sup> *delata*, V<sup>1</sup>EA; *dilata*, G; *declarata*, Pet.; *dalata*, V<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In Mesopotamia.

<sup>3</sup> Sapor.

XXIX., 1, 2-5, A.D. 371, 371-2

advanced with very powerful forces, appointed by the emperor's order to observe the policy of keeping off the Persians rather than attacking them. 3. When they had come to Vagabanta,<sup>1</sup> a favourable place for the legions, they met unwillingly the swift attacks of the enemy's cavalry fiercely rushing upon them, and purposely retreated, in order not to be first to wound anyone of their adversaries and thus be judged guilty of violating the treaty; but at last, driven by extreme necessity, they engaged in battle, and, after slaying many of the Persians, came off victorious. 4. But during the delay which followed, several skirmishes were tried by both sides, which ended with varying results; and an armistice having been concluded by common consent, and the summer having ended, the leaders of both sides departed in different directions, still at enmity with each other. Now the king <sup>2</sup> of the Parthians returned home, to spend the winter in Ctesiphon; but the Roman emperor entered Antioch. And while the latter was staying there, free from anxiety from foreign foes for the time, he almost fell victim to domestic treason, as an account of the series of events will show.

5. A certain Procopius, a turbulent man, always 371-2 given over to a lust for disturbances, had charged two courtiers named Anatolius and Spudasius, about whom orders had been given that money of which they had defrauded the treasury be exacted of them, with having attempted the life of Count Fortunatianus, notorious as being a tiresome dunner. He, being hot-tempered, was immediately aroused to a mad degree of wrath, and by the authority of the office

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

auctoritate, quam regebat, Palladium quendam obscurissime natum ut veneficum a memoratis conductum, et Heliodorum, fatorum per genituras interpretem, adigendos prodere quae scirent, praetorianae iudicio tradidit praefecturae. 6. Cumque ad facti vel temptati quaestionem acrius veniretur, exclamabat Palladius confidenter, levia esse haec de quibus agitur, et praetereunda: alia se (si licuerit dicere) monstraturum, metuenda et potiora, quae ingenti molimine iam praestructa (nisi prospectum fuerit) universa confundent. Iussusque docere fidenter quae norat, rudentem explicavit<sup>1</sup> immensum, affirmans Fidustium praesidiale, et cum Irenaeo Pergamium, nomen imperaturi post Valentem detestandis praesagiis didicisse secretim. 7. Et correptus Fidustius ilico (namque aderat forte,) occulteque inductus, indice viso,<sup>2</sup> nulla infitiatione obumbrare iam publicata conatus, rei totius calamitosum aperit textum, absolute confessus, se cum Hilario et<sup>3</sup> Patricio vaticinandi peritis, quorum Hilarius militaverat in palatio, de imperio consuluisse futuro: motasque secretis artibus sortes, et nuncupationem principis optimi, et ipsis consulti-  
toribus luctuosos exitus praedixisse. 8. Atque cunctantibus<sup>4</sup> quisnam ea tempestate omnibus vigore

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<sup>1</sup> *explicavit*, Novák, c.c.; *explicuit*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *indice viso*,  
tr. by Clark, c.c.; *indicis ore*, Novák; *viso indice*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *et*, added by Val.; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *cunctantibus*, V;  
*scrutantibus*, Pet.

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<sup>1</sup> He was *comes rei privatae* in charge of the privy-purse.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cic., *De Div.* i. 56, 127, *est quasi rudentis explicatio*.

which he held,<sup>1</sup> handed over a certain Palladius, a man of low birth, as one who had been hired as a poisoner by the afore-mentioned courtiers, and an interpreter of the fates by horoscope, Heliodorus by name, to the court of the praetorian prefecture, in order that they might be forced to tell what they knew about the matter. 6. But when they came to a vigorous investigation of the deed, or the attempt, Palladius boldly cried out that those matters about which they were inquiring were trivial and negligible; that if he were allowed to speak, he would tell of other things more important and fearful, which had already been plotted with great preparations, and unless foresight were used would upset the whole state. And on being bidden to tell freely what he knew, he uncoiled an endless cable of crimes,<sup>2</sup> declaring that the ex-governor Fidustius, and Pergamius, with Irenaeus, by detestable arts of divination, had secretly learned the name of the man who was to succeed Valens. 7. Fidustius was seized on the spot—for he chanced to be near by—and was brought up secretly, and on being faced with the informer, he did not attempt to veil with any denial a matter already publicly known, but disclosed the deadly details of the whole plot; he freely admitted that he had, with Hilarius and Patricius, men skilled in divination, of whom the former had served in the household troops, sought information about the succession, and that the predictions inspired by secret arts had both foretold the naming of an excellent prince, and for the questioners themselves a sad end. 8. And while they were in doubt who there was at the time

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

animi antistaret, visus est aliis excellere Theodorus, secundum inter notarios adeptus iam gradum. Et erat re vera ita ut opinati sunt. Namque antiquitus claro genere in Galliis natus, et liberaliter educatus a primis pueritiae rudimentis, modestia prudentia humanitate gratia litteris ornatissimus, semper officio locoque, quem retinebat, superior videbatur, altis humilibusque iuxta acceptus. Solusque paene omnium erat, cuius linguam non infrenem, sed dispicientem quae loqueretur, nullius claudere periculi metus. 9. His addebat idem<sup>1</sup> Fidustius, excarnificatus iam ad interitum, omnia quae praedixit, se indicante Theodorum per Euserium didicisse, virum praestabilem<sup>2</sup> scientia litterarum, abundeque honoratum: Asiam quippe paulo ante rexerat pro praefectis. 10. Quo in custodia condito, gestorumque volumine imperatori recitato de more, prodigiosa feritas in modum ardentissimae facis fusius vagabatur, elata turpi adulatione multorum, maximeque omnium praefecti praetorio tunc Modesti. 11. Qui dum formidine successoris agitaretur in dies, obumbratis blanditiarum concinnitatibus, cavillando Valentem, subrusticum hominem, sibi varie commulcebat, horridula eius verba et rudia

<sup>1</sup> *idem*, V; *fidem*, Clark.  
*praestabili*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *praestabilem*, Corn.;

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<sup>1</sup> St. John Chrysostom, *Ad Vid. Ux.* (Opera, i. 343, 4 B ff.), speaks highly of him, adding that he was born in Sicily, and that after his execution his widow was robbed of her property and made a servant at the court.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tac., *Hist.* i. 49, of Galba, *maior privato visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset*, and Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 1, of Valentinian.

that was superior to all in strength of character, it seemed to them that Theodorus<sup>1</sup> surpassed all others; he had already gained second rank among the secretaries, and was in fact such a man as they thought him. For he was born of a clan famous in olden times in Gaul, liberally educated from earliest childhood, and so eminent for his modesty, good sense, refinement, charm, and learning that he always seemed superior to every office and rank that he was holding,<sup>2</sup> and was dear alike to high and low. He was also almost the only man whose mouth was closed by no fear of danger, since he bridled his tongue and reflected on what he was going to say.

9. Fidustius, already tortured almost to death, also added to this that Theodorus had learned all these prophecies from information which he himself had given him through Euserius, a man of remarkable learning and highly honoured; for shortly before that he had governed Asia with the rank of vice-prefect. 10. When Euserius also was put in prison, and the record of what had been done had been read to the emperor as usual, Valens' monstrous savagery spread everywhere like a fiercely blazing torch, and was increased by the base flattery of many men, and in particular by that of Modestus,<sup>3</sup> who was then praetorian prefect. 11. This man, being daily terrified by the thought of a successor, by tricking Valens,<sup>4</sup> who was somewhat simple-minded, with veiled but clever flattery tried to wheedle over the emperor's favour in various ways, calling his rough, crude words

<sup>1</sup> Because of his services in these inquiries he was made consul by Valens in the following year. Greg. Naz. also charges him with servile flattery of the emperor.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

flosculos Tullianos appellans, et ad extollendam eius vanitiam, sidera quoque, si iussisset, exhiberi posse promittens.

12. Igitur et Theodorus a Constantinopoli, quam ex negotio familiari petierat, rapi celeri iubetur effectum, et dum ille reducitur, ex praeiudiciis variis, quae diebus exercebantur et noctibus, plures a disiunctissimis regionibus trahebantur, dignitatibus et nobilitate conspicui. 13. Cumque nec carceres publici, iam distenti, inclusorum<sup>1</sup> catervas, nec privata domicilia sustinerent, constipatione vaporata confertas, quoniam vinculis maxima pars eorum attinebatur, et suam et proximi cuiusque vicem omnes horrebant. 14. Advenit aliquando tamen ipse quoque Theodorus, praemortuus et atratus, quo in devia territorii parte abscondito, paratis omnibus quae indagine futurae poscebant, internarum cladum litui iam sonabant.

15. Et quia fallere non minus videtur, qui gesta praeterit sciens, quam ille, qui numquam facta confingit,<sup>2</sup> non abnuimus (neque enim ambigitur) salutem Valentis, et antea saepius per occultas coitiones, et tunc in extrema demersam, ferrumque ad iugulum eius prope adactum a militaribus, fato reflectente depulsum, quem lacrimosis in Thracia discriminibus

<sup>1</sup> *inclusorum iam*, V, *iam* deleted by Pet., Novák.

<sup>2</sup> *confingit*, Novák, c.c. ; *fingit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, to Antioch, where Valens was.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the country about Antioch.

XXIX., 1, 11-15, A.D. 371-2

'choice Ciceronian posies'; and to increase his vanity he declared that, if Valens should order it, even the stars could be brought down and displayed for him.

12. Accordingly, orders were given that Theodorus also should be with swift dispatch hurried there <sup>1</sup> from Constantinople, to which he had gone on domestic business, and while he was being brought back, as the result of sundry preliminary trials, which were carried on day and night, a number of men, conspicuous for their rank and high birth, were brought from widely separated places. 13. And, since neither the public dungeons, already full to overflowing, nor private houses could contain the throngs of prisoners, although they were crammed together in hot and stifling crowds, and since the greater number of them were in irons, they all dreaded their own fate and that of their nearest relatives. 14. Finally Theodorus himself also arrived, half dead with fear and in mourning garb, and when he had been hidden in a remote part of the country,<sup>2</sup> and everything was ready that the coming inquiries required, the trumpets were already sounding the signal for the murder of citizens.

15. And because that man does not seem less deceitful who knowingly passes over what has been done, than one who invents things that never happened, I do not deny—and in fact there is no doubt about it—that Valens' life, not only often before through secret conspiracies, but also on this occasion, was plunged into extreme danger, and that a sword was almost driven into his throat by the soldiers; it was thrust away and turned aside by the hand of Fate only because she had destined him to



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

destinarat. 16. Namque et in nemoroso quodam inter Antiochiam et Seleuciam loco leni quiete post meridiem consopitus, a Sallustio tunc scutario, et saepe alias appetenter<sup>1</sup> insidiantibus multis, vitae terminis a primigenio ortu adscriptis, ausa immania frenantibus evadebat. 17. Ut sub principibus Commodo et Severo non numquam accidebat, quorum summa vi salus crebro oppugnabatur, adeo ut post intestina pericula multa et varia alter in amphitheatrali cavea cum affuturus spectaculis introiret, a Quintiano senatore illicitae cupidinis homine, ad debilitatem paene pugione vulneraretur; alter inopinabili impetu, tempore aetatis extremo, a Saturnino centurione, consilio Plautiani praefecti, in cubiculo iacens confoderetur, ni tulisset suppetias filius adulescens. 18. Quocirca etiam Valens erat venia dignus, vitam, quam ereptum ire perfidi properabant, omni cautela defendens. Sed inexpressibile illud erat, quod regulariter turgidus, pari eodemque iure, nihil inter se distantibus meritis, nocentes innocentesque maligna insectatione volucriter perurgebat, ut<sup>2</sup> dum adhuc dubitaretur de crimine, imperatore non dubitante de poena, damnatos se quidam prius discerent quam suspectos. 19. Adulescebat autem obstinatum eius propositum, admovente stimulos avaritia, et sua et

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<sup>1</sup> *adpetenter*, V, restored by Pet.; *appetitus*, G; *adpetitus latenter*, Her.      <sup>2</sup> *ut*, Lind.; *et*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxxi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus agrees with Herodian, i. 8, 5, but Dio, *Epit.*, lxxiii. 4, 1-5; Lamprid., *Comm.*, 4, 2-4, and Zonaras, xii. 41 (p. 598) call him Claudius Pompeianus. Apparently his name was Quintianus Pompeianus.

XXIX., 1, 16-19, A.D. 371-2

suffer lamentable disasters in Thrace.<sup>1</sup> 16. For when he was quietly sleeping after midday in a wooded spot between Antioch and Seleucia, he was attacked by Sallustius, then one of the targeteers ; but although at other times many men often eagerly made plots against his life, he escaped them all, since the limits of life assigned him at his very birth curbed these monstrous attempts. 17. The same thing sometimes happened during the reigns of Commodus and Severus, whose life was often attempted with extreme violence, until finally the one, after escaping many varied dangers within the palace, as he was entering the pit of the amphitheatre to attend the games, was dangerously wounded with a dagger by the senator Quintianus, a man of unlawful ambition, and almost disabled ;<sup>2</sup> the other, when far advanced in years, would have been stabbed by the centurion Saturninus (who at the instigation of the prefect Plautianus made an unexpected attack on him as he lay in bed) had not his young son borne him aid. 18. Therefore Valens also deserved excuse for taking every precaution to protect his life, which treacherous foes were trying in haste to take from him. But it was inexcusable that, with despotic anger, he was swift to assail with malicious persecution guilty and innocent under one and the same law, making no distinction in their deserts ; so that while there was still doubt about the crime, the emperor had made up his mind about the penalty, and some learned that they had been condemned to death before knowing that they were under suspicion. 19. This persistent purpose of his increased, spurred on as it was both by his own greed and that of persons who frequented the court at that time, and opened the way to fresh

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

eorum qui tunc in regia versabantur, novos hiatus aperientium, et, siqua humanitatis fuisset mentio rara, hanc appellantium tarditatem: qui cruentis adulationibus, institutum hominis mortem in acie linguae portantis, ad partem pessimam depravantes, omnia turbine intempestivo perflabant, eversum ire funditus domus opulentissimas festinantes. 20. Erat enim expositus accessu insidiantium et reclusus, vitio gemino perniciose implicitus, quod intoleranter irascebatur, tunc magis cum eum puderet irasci, et quae facilitate privati opertis susurris audierat, an vera essent, excutere tumore principis supersedens pro veris accipiebat et certis. 21. Inde factum est ut clementiae specie penatibus multi protruderentur insontes, praeceps<sup>1</sup> in exsilium acti, quorum in aerario bona coacta et ipse ad quaestus proprios redigebat, ut damnati cibo precario victitarent, angustiis formidandae paupertatis attriti, cuius metu vel in mare nos ire praecipites suadet Theognis poeta vetus et prudens. 22. Quae etiam si recta fuisse concesserit quisquam, erat tamen ipsa nimietas odiosa. Unde animadversum est recte hoc definitum,

<sup>1</sup> *preceps*, V; *praecipites*, Gardt.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xviii. 3, 7, *vitalis potestatem et necis in acie linguae portantem*.

<sup>2</sup> Hadrian and Septimius Severus put such money into the public treasury; see Spart., *Had.* 7, 7; Capitolinus, *Albinus*, 12, 4.

desires, and if any mention of mercy was made—which rarely happened—called it slackness. These men through their bloodthirsty flatteries perverted in the worst possible direction the character of a man who carried death at the tip of his tongue,<sup>1</sup> and blew everything down with an untimely hurricane, hastening to overturn utterly the richest houses. 20. For he was exposed and open to the approach of plotters through his dangerous tendency to two faults: first, he was more prone to intolerable anger, when to be angry at all was shameful; secondly, in his princely pride he did not condescend to sift the truth of what, with the readiness of access of a man in private life, he had heard in secret whispers, but accepted as true and certain. 21. The result was that many innocent persons under the appearance of mercy were thrust forth from their homes, and driven headlong into exile; and their property, which was consigned to the treasury, the emperor himself turned to his own profit,<sup>2</sup> while the condemned, worn out by the privations of fearful poverty, were reduced to beggary—and that is a fate to avoid which the wise old poet Theognis advises us actually to hurl ourselves into the sea.<sup>3</sup> 22. And even if anyone should admit that these things were right, yet their excess alone was hateful. Whence it was observed that the maxim is true, that no sentence

\* Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus*, i. p. 248, 175 ff., *L.C.L.* :—

Ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα,  
καὶ γήρως πολιού, Κύρνε, καὶ ἡπιάλου.

ἦν δὲ χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς βαθυκίττα πόντον  
ρίπτειν, καὶ πετρώων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἡλιβάτων.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

nullam esse crudeliorem sententiam ea, quae est (cum parcere videtur) asperior.

23. Igitur cum praefecto praetorio summatibus quaesitis in unum, quibus cognitiones commissae sunt, intenduntur eculei, expediuntur pondera plumbea, cum fidiculis et verberibus, resultabant omnia truculentae vocis horroribus, inter catenarum sonitus “Tene, claude, comprime, abde”<sup>1</sup> ministris officiorum tristium clamitantibus. 24. Et quoniam addici<sup>2</sup> post cruciabiles poenas vidimus multos, ut in tenebrosis rebus confusione cuncta miscente, summatim quia nos penitissima gestorum memoria fugit, quae recolere possumus, expeditius absolvemus.

25. Primo intro vocatus<sup>3</sup> post interrogatiunculas leves, Pergamius, a Palladio (ut dictum est) proditus, quaedam imprecationibus praescisse nefariis, sicut erat impendio eloquentior, et in verba periculosa proiectus, inter ambigentes iudices, quid prius quaeri debeat quidve posterius, dicere audacter exorsus, multa hominum milia quasi conscriptorum sine fine<sup>4</sup> strependo fundebat, modo non ab extremo Atlante magnorum criminum arguendos poscens aliquos exhiberi. Quo (ut consarcinante nimis ardua) morte multato, aliisque gregatim post illum

<sup>1</sup> *abde*, V; *adde*, Momm. (cf. Livy, xxvi. 16, 3); *obde*, Her. (cf. Prud., *Perist.* v. 95). <sup>2</sup> *addici*, G; *abdi*, Momm.; *addi*, V. <sup>3</sup> *uocatus*, W<sup>2</sup>, C. F. W. M.; *uocatur*, N<sup>2</sup>A; *uocatu*, VWG. <sup>4</sup> *sine*, added in G; V omits.

is more cruel than one which conceals great severity under the guise of mercy.

23. Accordingly, when the highest officials, to whom the investigations had been entrusted together with the praetorian prefect, had been called together, the racks were made taut, the leaden weights<sup>1</sup> were brought out along with the cords and the scourges. The whole place echoed with the horrible cries of a savage voice, as those who did the awful work shouted amid the clanking of chains: "Hold him; clamp; tighten; away with him."<sup>2</sup> 24. And, since I have seen many condemned after horrible tortures, but everything is a jumble of confusion as in times of darkness, I shall, since the complete recollection of what was done has escaped me, give a brief and summary account of what I can recall.

25. First, after some unimportant questions, Pergamius was called in, betrayed (as has been said)<sup>3</sup> by Palladius of having foreknowledge of certain things through criminal incantations. Since he was very eloquent and was prone to say dangerous things, while the judges were in doubt what ought to be asked first and what last, he began to speak boldly, and shouted out in an endless flood the names of a very large number of men as accomplices, demanding that some be produced from all but the ends of the earth, to be accused of great crimes. He, as the contriver of too hard a task,<sup>4</sup> was punished with death; and after him others were executed

<sup>1</sup> Not lead balls on the scourges (cf. xxviii. 1, 29, note), but actual weights, which were hung to the feet of those who sat on the *eculeus*, or rack.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Aeschylus, *Prom.* 58.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 1, 6, above.

<sup>4</sup> In calling for the trial of so many men, and from remote places.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

occisis, ad ipsius Theodori causam quasi ad<sup>1</sup> Olympici certaminis pulverem pervenitur. 26. Eodem die inter complura alia hoc quoque evenerat triste, quod Salia, thesaurorum paulo ante per Thracias comes, cum de vinculis educitur audiendus, et calceo inserit pedem, quasi ruina incidentis immensi terroris repente percussus, animam inter retinentium manus efflavit.

27. Constituto itaque iudicio, et cognitoribus praescripta ostendantibus legum, sed ex voluntate dominantis moderantibus<sup>2</sup> momenta causarum, horror pervaserat universos. Totus enim devius ab aequitate dilapsus, iamque eruditior ad laedendum, in modum harenariae ferae, si admotus quisquam fabricae diffugisset, ad ultimam rabiem saeviebat.

28. Inducti itaque Patricius et Hilarius, ordinemque replicare iussi gestorum, cum inter exordia variarent, fodicatis lateribus, illato tripede quo utebantur, adacti ad summas angustias, aperiunt negotii fidem, ab ipsis exordiis replicatam.<sup>3</sup> Et prius Hilarius :

29. "Construximus," inquit, "magnifici iudices, ad cortinae similitudinem Delphicae, diris auspiciis, de laureis virgulis infaustam hanc mensulam, quam videtis, et imprecationibus carminum secretorum,

<sup>1</sup> ad, W<sup>2</sup>AG, deleted by Novák; *odolympico*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> moderantibus, V; ponderantibus, Pet. <sup>3</sup> replicatam, V; replicati, Novák.

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<sup>1</sup> There were two classes of *comites thesaurorum* : one (*comitatenses*), located at the court, had charge of the imperial wardrobe, table-furnishings, etc.; the other (*provinciarum et urbium*) of the revenues and the equipment of the soldiers.

in flocks; then finally they came to the case of Theodorus himself, as if to the dusty arena of an Olympic contest. 26. And that same day, among very many others, this sad event also happened, that Salia, shortly before master of the treasures<sup>1</sup> in Thrace, when he was brought out of prison to be heard, just as he was putting his foot into his shoe, as if under the stroke of great terror suddenly falling upon him, breathed his last in the arms of those who held him.

27. Well then, when the court was ready to act, while the judges called attention to the provisions of the laws, but nevertheless regulated their handling of the cases according to the wish of the ruler, terror seized upon all. For Valens had entirely swerved from the high-way of justice, and had now learned better how to hurt; so he broke out into frenzied fits of rage, like a wild beast trained for the arena if it sees that anyone brought near to the barrier has made his escape.

28. Then Patricius and Hilarius were brought in and ordered to give a connected account of what had happened. In the beginning they were at variance with each other, but when their sides had been furrowed and the tripod which they were in the habit of using was brought in, they were driven into a corner, and gave a true account of the whole business, which they unfolded from its very beginning. First Hilarius said:

29. "O most honoured judges, we constructed from laurel twigs under dire auspices this unlucky little table which you see, in the likeness of the Delphic tripod, and having duly consecrated it by



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

choragiisque multis ac diuturnis, ritualiter consecratam, movimus tandem : movendi autem quotiens super rebus arcanis consulebatur, erat institutio talis. 30. Collocabatur in medio domus, emaculatae odoribus Arabicis undique, lance rotunda pure<sup>1</sup> superposita, ex diversis metallicis materiis fabrefacta. Cuius in ambitu rotunditatis extremo, elementorum viginti quattuor scriptiles formae incisae perite, diiungebantur spatiis examine dimensis. 31. Ac<sup>2</sup> linteis quidam indumentis amictus, calceatusque itidem linteis soccis, torulo capiti circumflexo, verbenas felcis arboris gestans, litato conceptis carminibus numine, praescitorum<sup>3</sup> auctore, caerimoniali scientia supersistit cortinulae sacerdos<sup>4</sup> pensilem anulum librans, aptum<sup>5</sup> ex carpathio<sup>6</sup> filo perquam levi, mysticis disciplinis initiatum : qui per intervalla distincta, retinentibus singulis litteris, incidens saltuatim, heroos efficit versus, interrogationibus consonos, ad numeros et modos plene conclusos, quales leguntur Pythici vel ex oraculis editi Branchidarum. 32. Ibi tum quae- rentibus nobis, 'qui praesenti succedet imperio'?, quoniam omni parte expolitus fore memorabatur,

<sup>1</sup> pure, V ; turi, Momm., del. C. F. W. M. as dittogr.

<sup>2</sup> ac, E, C. F. W. M. ; has, G ; hac, V.      <sup>3</sup> praescitorum,

N ; praescitionum, G ; praesagitionum, Corn. ; praescitiorum, V.      <sup>4</sup> cortinulae sacerdos, Gardt. ; cortinules

(lac. 8 letters), V.      <sup>5</sup> aptum, Wagner ; sartum, EA ; artum, VHG.      <sup>6</sup> carpathio, G, T.L.L. (= carbasino, linteo) ; carbasio, Val. ; carfathio, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Valesius read *carbasio*, which would correspond to the linen garments and sandals ; the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* reads *carpathio* = *linteo*.

secret incantations, after many long-continued rehearsals we at length made it work. Now the manner of its working, whenever it was consulted about hidden matters, was as follows. 30. It was placed in the middle of a house purified thoroughly with Arabic perfumes; on it was placed a perfectly round plate made of various metallic substances. Around its outer rim the written forms of the twenty-four letters of the alphabet were skilfully engraved, separated from one another by carefully measured spaces. 31. Then a man clad in linen garments, shod also in linen sandals and having a fillet wound about his head, carrying twigs from a tree of good omen, after propitiating in a set formula the divine power from whom predictions come, having full knowledge of the ceremonial, stood over the tripod as priest and set swinging a hanging ring fitted to a very fine linen<sup>1</sup> thread and consecrated with mystic arts. This ring, passing over the designated intervals in a series of jumps, and falling upon this and that letter which detained it, made hexameters corresponding with the questions and completely finished in feet and rhythm, like the Pythian verses which we read, or those given out from the oracles of the Branchidae.<sup>2</sup> 32. When we then and there inquired, 'what man will succeed the present emperor'?, since it was said that he would be perfect in every particular,

<sup>1</sup> The descendants of a certain Branchus, a favourite of Apollo, who were at first in charge of the oracle at Branchidae, later called *oraculum Apollinis Didymaei* (Mela, i. 17, 86), in the Milesian territory; cf. Hdt. i. 157. The rings had magic powers, cf. Cic., *De Off.* iii. 9, 38; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiii. 8. Some writers give a different account of the method of divination used by the conspirators.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

et assiliens anulus, duas perstrinxerat syllabas **ΘΕΟ**<sup>1</sup> cum adiectione litterae posterae,<sup>2</sup> exclamavit praesentium quidam, Theodorum praescribente fatali necessitate portendi. Nec ultra super negotio est exploratum: satis enim apud nos constabat hunc esse qui poscebatur.”

33. Cumque totius rei notitiam ita signate sub oculis iudicum subiecisset, adiecit benivole id Theodorum penitus ignorare. Post haec interrogati an ex fide sortium quas agitabant, ea praescierint quae sustinerent, versus illos notissimos ediderunt clare pronuntiantes capitalem eis hanc operam scrutandi sublimiora cito futuram; nihilo minus tamen ipsi quoque cum cognitoribus principi caedis incendia-que flatantes,<sup>3</sup> furias imminere; quorum tres ponere sufficiet ultimos:

οὐ μὰν νηποινί γε σὸν ἔσσεται αἷμα καὶ αὐτοῖς  
Τισιφόνῃ βαρύμηνις ἐφοπλίσσει<sup>4</sup> κακὸν οἶτον  
ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ἀγαιομένοιο<sup>5</sup> Ἄρηος.

Quibus lectis, unguibus male mulcati, separantur exanimis. 34. Postea ut cogitati sceleris officina pateret aperte, honoratorum inducitur globus, vertices ipsos continens rerum. Cumque nihil praeter se quisque cernens, ruinam suam impelleret super alium, permissio<sup>6</sup> quaesitorum coeptans dicere Theodorus,

<sup>1</sup> **ΘΕΟ**, Val.; et, VEAG; set, Pet. <sup>2</sup> *posterae*, Her.; *postremae*, E, Gardt; *postrema*, V. <sup>3</sup> *flatantes*, V, def. Her.; *flagitantes*, G. <sup>4</sup> *ἐφοπλίσσει*, Gronov; *ΕΦΟΠ*, AHCEI, V. <sup>5</sup> *ἀγαιομένοιο* Ἄρης, Haupt; *καιομένοις* κάρ, G; *AIA EO MENOKAP* hoc, V. <sup>6</sup> *permissu*, V, restored by Pet.; *permissu*, Val.

and the ring leaped forward and lightly touched the two syllables *ΘΕΟ*, adding the next letter,<sup>1</sup> then one of those present cried out that by the decision of inevitable fate Theodorus was meant. And there was no further investigation of the matter; for it was agreed among us that he was the man who was sought."

33. And when Hilarius had laid the knowledge of the whole matter so clearly before the eyes of the judges, he kindly added that Theodorus was completely ignorant of what was done. After this, being asked whether they had, from belief in the oracles which they practised, known beforehand what they were now suffering, they uttered those familiar verses which clearly announced that this work of inquiring into the superhuman would soon be fatal to them, but that nevertheless the Furies, breathing out death and fire, threatened also the emperor himself and his judges. Of these verses it will suffice to quote the last three:

"Avenged will be your blood. Against them too  
Tisiphonê's deep wrath arms evil fate,  
While Ares rages on the plain of Mimas."

When these verses had been read, both were terribly torn by the hooks of the torturers and taken away senseless. 34. Later, in order wholly to lay bare this factory of the crimes that had been meditated, a group of distinguished men was led in, comprising the very heads of the undertaking. But since each one had regard for nothing but himself, and tried to shift his ruin to another, by permission of the inquisitors Theodorus

<sup>1</sup> Of the name, i.e. Δ. The prediction would apply equally well to Theodosius, who actually succeeded Valens.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

primo in precem venialem prostratus, dein artius respondere compulsus, ostendit se cognita per Euserium, ne ad imperatorem referret, ut conatus est aliquotiens, ab eo prohibitum, asserente, non appetitu regni occupandi illicito, sed ratione quadam indeclinabilis fati, id quod sperabatur ultro venturum. 35. Deinde haec eadem Euserio sub cruenta quaestione confesso, confutabant Theodorum litterae suae, per ambagis obliquas ad Hilarium scriptae, quibus spe iam firma concepta ex vatibus, de re non cunctabatur, sed tempus patrandae cupidinis quaeritabat.

36. Quibus post haec cognita sequestratis, Eutropius Asiam proconsulari tunc obtinens potestate, ut factionis conscius arcessitus in crimen, abscessit innocuus, Pasiphilo eximente philosopho, qui ut eum mendacio iniusto perverteret, crudeliter tortus, de statu robustae mentis non potuit deturbari. 37. His accessit philosophus Simonides, adulescens ille quidem, verum nostra memoria severissimus. Qui cum audisse negotium per Fidustium deferretur, et causam non ex veritate sed ex unius nutu pensari vidisset, didicisse se dixit praedicta, sed commissa pro firmitate animi tacuisse.

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<sup>1</sup> Praetorian prefect in 380 and 381; whether he was the same as the author of the *Epitome of Roman History* is uncertain.

XXIX., 1, 34-37, A.D. 371-2

began to speak ; at first lying prostrate in a humble prayer for pardon, but then, when compelled to talk more to the point, he declared that he had learned of the affair through Euserius and tried more than once to report it to the emperor, but was prevented by his informant, who assured him that no illicit attempt to usurp the throne, but some inevitable will of fate, would realize their hopes without effort on their part. 35. Then Euserius, under bloody torture, made the same confession, but Theodorus was convicted by a letter of his own written in ambiguous and tortuous language to Hilarius, in which he did not hesitate about the matter, but only sought an opportunity to attain his desire, having already a strong confidence begotten from the soothsayers.

36. When these had been removed after this information, Eutropius,<sup>1</sup> then governing Asia with proconsular authority, was summoned on the charge of complicity in the plot. But he escaped without harm, saved by the philosopher Pasiphilus, who, although cruelly tortured to induce him to bring about the ruin of Eutropius through a false charge, could not be turned from the firmness of a steadfast mind. 37. There was, besides these, the philosopher Simonides, a young man, it is true, but of anyone within our memory the strictest in his principles. When he was charged with having heard of the affair through Fidustius and saw that the trial depended, not on the truth, but on the nod of one man, he said that he had learned of the predictions, but as a man of firm purpose he kept the secret which had been confided to him.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

38. Quis omnibus perspicaciter inquisitis, imperator cognitorum consultationi respondens, sub uno proloquio cunctos iubet occidi, et vix sine animorum horrore funestum spectaculum multitudine innumera contuente, et onerante questibus caelum (namque singulorum mala omnium esse communia credebantur), ducti universi flebiliter iugulantur praeter Simonidem, quem solum saevus ille sententiae lator, efferatus ob constantiam gravem, iusserat flammis exuri. 39. Qui vitam ut dominam fugitans rabidam, ridens subitas momentorum ruinas, immobilis conflagravit, Peregrinum illum imitatus (Protea cognomine) philosophum clarum, qui cum mundo digredi statuisset, Olympiae quinquennali certamine sub Graeciae conspectu totius, escenso rogo quem ipse construxit, flammis absumptus est. 40. Et post hunc diebus secutis, omnium fere ordinum multitudo, quam nominatim recensere est arduum, in plagas calumniarum coniecta, percussorum dexteris fatigavit, tormentis et plumbo et verberibus ante debilitata, sumptumque est de quibusdam sine spiramento vel mora supplicium, dum quaeritur an sumi deberet, et ut pecudum ubique trucidatio cernebatur.

41. Deinde congesti innumeri codices, et acervi voluminum multi, sub conspectu iudicum concremati sunt, ex domibus eruti variis ut illiciti, ad leniendam

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<sup>1</sup> According to Lucian, who wrote his biography, he was a Cynic; he was born at Parion on the Hellespont, and died in Olympiad 236 (A.D. 165).

38. After all these matters had been examined with sharp eye, the emperor, in answer to the question put by the judges, under one decree ordered the execution of all of the accused; and in the presence of a vast throng, who could hardly look upon the dreadful sight without inward shuddering and burdening the air with laments—for the woes of individuals were regarded as common to all—they were all led away and wretchedly strangled except Simonides; him alone that cruel author of the verdict, maddened by his steadfast firmness, had ordered to be burned alive. 39. Simonides, however, ready to escape from life as from a cruel tyrant, and laughing at the sudden disasters of human destiny, stood unmoved amid the flames; imitating that celebrated philosopher Peregrinus, surnamed Proteus,<sup>1</sup> who, when he had determined to depart from life, at the quinquennial Olympic festival, in the sight of all Greece, mounted a funeral pyre which he himself had constructed and was consumed by the flames. 40. And after him, in the days that followed, a throng of men of almost all ranks, whom it would be difficult to enumerate by name, involved in the snares of calumny, wearied the arms of the executioners after being first crippled by rack, lead, and scourge. Some were punished without breathing-space or delay, while inquiry was being made whether they deserved punishment; everywhere the scene was like a slaughtering of cattle.

41. Then, innumerable writings and many heaps of volumes were hauled out from various houses and under the eyes of the judges were burned in heaps as being unlawful, to allay the indignation at the



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

caesorum invidiam, cum essent plerique liberalium disciplinarum indices variarum et iuris.

42. Neque ita multo post Maximus ille philosophus, vir ingenti nomine doctrinarum, cuius ex uberimis sermonibus ad scientiam copiosus Iulianus exstitit imperator, oraculi supra dicti versus audisse insimulatus, seque comperisse assensus, sed reticenda professionis consideratione non effudisse, verum ultro praedixisse consultores ipsos suppliciis poenalibus perituros, Ephesum ad genuinam patriam ductus, ibique capite truncatus,<sup>1</sup> sensit docente periculo postremo quaesitoris iniquitatem omnibus esse criminibus graviolem. 43. Constrictus etiam Diogenes laqueis impiae falsitatis, vir nobili prosapia editus, ingenio facundia forti<sup>2</sup> suavitaeque praestans, dudum Bithyniae rector, ut opimum patrimonium eius diriperetur, capitali est poena affectus. 44. Ecce autem Alypius quoque, ex vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo iucundae, post otiosam et repositam vitam (quoniam huc usque iniustitia tetenderat manus) in squalore maximo volutatus, ut veneficus<sup>3</sup> reus citatus est, cum Hierocle filio, adolescente indolis bonae, urgente Diogene quodam et vili et solo,<sup>4</sup> omnique laniena excruciato, ut verba placentia principi, vel potius accersitori, loqueretur :

<sup>1</sup> c. *truncatus*, V, restitui (Amm. admits this cursus; see Blomgren, Index, s.v. cursus); c. *detruncatus*, Fletcher, c.c.

<sup>2</sup> *forti*, Pet.; *forensi*, G; *oris*, Corn.; *fortis*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *veneficus*, E, Clark; *ueneficii*, G; *beneficus*, V. <sup>4</sup> lac. after *solo*, Her.; no lac. in V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxii. 7, 3; xxv. 3, 23; he plays a prominent part in Ibsen's *Emperor and Galilean*.

<sup>2</sup> By order of Festus, proconsul of Asia.

executions, although the greater number were treatises on the liberal arts and on jurisprudence.

42. And not so very long afterward that famous philosopher Maximus, a man with a great reputation for learning, through whose rich discourses Julian stood out as an emperor well stored as regards knowledge,<sup>1</sup> was alleged to have heard the verses of the aforesaid oracle. And he admitted that he had learnt of them, but out of regard for his philosophical principles had not divulged secrets, although he had volunteered the prediction that the consultants of the future would themselves perish by capital punishment. Thereupon he was taken to his native city of Ephesus and there beheaded ;<sup>2</sup> and taught by his final danger he came to know that the injustice of a judge was more formidable than any accusation. 43. Diogenes also was entangled in the snares of an impious falsehood. He was a man born of noble stock, eminent for his talent, his fearless eloquence, and his charm ; he was a former governor of Bithynia, but was now punished with death in order that his rich patrimony might be plundered. 44. Lo ! even Alypius also, former vice-governor of Britain,<sup>3</sup> a man amiable and gentle, after living in leisure and retirement—since even as far as this had injustice stretched her hand—was made to wallow in utmost wretchedness ; he was accused with his son Hierocles, a young man of good character, as guilty of magic, on the sole evidence of a certain Diogenes, a man of low origin, who was tortured with every degree of butchery, to lead him to give testimony agreeable to the emperor, or rather to the instigator

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxiii. 1, 2, end.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quo cum poenis non sufficerent membra, vivo exusto, ipse quoque Alypius post multationem bonorum exulare praeceptus, filium miserabiliter ductum ad mortem casu quodam prospero revocatum excepit.

### 2. *Multi in Oriente veneficiorum et aliorum criminum rei delati, damnatique, pars iure, pars inuria iugulantur.*

1. Per id omne tempus, Palladius ille, coagulum omnium aerumnarum, quem captum a Fortunatiano docuimus primum, ipsa sortis infimitate ad omnia praeceps, clades alias super alias cumulando, lacrimis universa perfuderat luctuosis. 2. Nactus enim copiam nominandi, sine fortunarum distantia, quos voluisset, ut artibus interdictis imbutos, ita ut ferarum occulta vestigia doctus observare venator, multos intra casses lugubres includebat, quosdam veneficiorum notitia pollutos, alios ut appetitoribus imminuendae conscios maiestatis. 3. Et ne vel coniugibus maritorum vacaret miseras flere, immittebantur confestim qui signatis domibus inter scrutinia suppellectilis patris <sup>1</sup> addicti, incantamenta

<sup>1</sup> *patris*, V, restored by Pet.; *poenis*, G.

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<sup>1</sup> According to St. John Chrysostom, *Orat.* 3, *De Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, Hierocles was being led to the Hippodrome, when all the people, who had gathered before the emperor's palace, cried out for his pardon.

<sup>2</sup> Or "curdler." Literally "the rennet."

of the charge. Diogenes, when not enough of his body was left for torture, was burned alive; Alypius himself also, after confiscation of his goods, was condemned to exile, but recovered his son, who was already being led to a wretched death,<sup>1</sup> but by a lucky chance was reprieved.

2. *Many in the Orient, accused of magic and other crimes and condemned, are put to death, some justly, others unjustly.*

1. During all this time, the notorious Palladius, the fomenter<sup>2</sup> of all these troubles, who, as we said at first,<sup>3</sup> was taken in custody by Fortunatianus, being by the very lowness of his condition ready to plunge into anything, by heaping disaster on disaster, had drenched the whole empire with grief and tears. 2. For having gained leave to name all whom he desired, without distinction of fortune, as dabbling in forbidden practices, like a hunter skilled in observing the secret tracks of wild beasts, he entangled many persons in his lamentable nets, some of them on the ground of having stained themselves with the knowledge of magic, others as accomplices of those who were aiming at treason. 3. And in order that even wives should have no time to weep over the misfortunes of their husbands, men were immediately sent to put the seal<sup>4</sup> on the houses, and during the examination of the furniture of the householder who had been condemned, to introduce privily old-wives' incantations or unbecoming

<sup>1</sup> 1, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Until the owner should be acquitted or condemned; in the latter case his house and property went to the *fiscus*.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quaedam anilia vel ludibriosa subderent amatoria, ad insontium perniciem concinnata: quibus in iudicio recitatis,<sup>1</sup> ubi non lex non religio, non aequitas veritatem a mendaciis dirimebat, indefensi bonis ablatis, nullo contacti delicto, promiscue<sup>2</sup> iuvenes alique,<sup>3</sup> membris omnibus capti, ad supplicia sellis gestatoriis ducebantur. 4. Inde effectum<sup>4</sup> est per orientales provincias, ut a dominis<sup>5</sup> metu similium exurerentur<sup>6</sup> libraria omnia: tantus universos invaserat terror. Namque ut pressius loquar, omnes ea tempestate velut in Cimmeriis tenebris reptabamus, paria convivis Siculi Dionysii pavitantes, qui cum epulis omni tristioribus fame saginarentur, ex summis domorum laqueariis, in quibus discumbabant, saetis nexos equinis, et occipitiis incumbentes, gladios perhorrebant.

5. Tunc et Bassianus, praeclaro genere natus,<sup>7</sup> notarius militans inter primos, quas praenoscere altiora conatus, licet ipse de qualitate partus uxoris consuluisse firmaret, ambitioso necessitudinum studio, quibus tegebatur, morte ereptus, patrimonio opimo exutus est.

<sup>1</sup> *recitatis*, G; *lectitatis*, Pet.; *excitatis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *promisce*, sugg. by Clark; *promiscue*, EG; *promissae*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *alique*, V; *invalidique*, Corn.      <sup>4</sup> *effectum*, Clark;  
*factum*, EAG; *fectum*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *ut a dominis*, Her.; *ut omnes*, G; *ad omnis*, V.      <sup>6</sup> *exurerentur*, V; *exurerent*, G.  
<sup>7</sup> *praeclaro genere natus*, Her.; *procerum g. n.*, G; *procero generatus*, V.

love-potions, contrived for the ruin of innocent people. And when these were read in a court where there was no law or scruple or justice to distinguish truth from falsehood, without opportunity for defence young and old without discrimination were robbed of their goods and, although they were found stained by no fault, after being maimed in all their limbs were carried off in litters to execution.

4. As a result, throughout the oriental provinces owners of books, through fear of a like fate, burned their entire libraries; so great was the terror that had seized upon all.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, to speak briefly, at that time we all crept about as if in Cimmerian darkness,<sup>2</sup> feeling the same fears as the guests of the Sicilian Dionysius, who, while filled to repletion with banquets more terrible than any possible hunger, saw with a shudder the swords hanging over their heads from the ceilings of the rooms in which they reclined and held only by single horsehairs.<sup>3</sup>

5. At that time Bassianus also, one of a most illustrious family and serving as a secretary of the first class,<sup>4</sup> was accused of trying to gain foreknowledge of higher power, although he himself declared that he had merely inquired about the sex of a child which his wife expected; but by the urgent efforts of the kinsfolk by whom he was defended, he was saved from death; but he was stripped of his rich patrimony.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Zos. iv. 14. In this way Valens greatly diminished our knowledge of the ancient writers, in particular of the philosophers.

<sup>2</sup> See xxviii. 4, 18, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic., *Tusc. Disp.* v. 21, 61 f.

<sup>4</sup> See Index II, Vol. I, s.v. *notarii*.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

6. Inter fragores tot ruinarum Heliodorus, tartareus ille malorum omnium cum Palladio fabricator, mathematicus (ut memorat vulgus) colloquiis ex aula regia praepigneratus abstrusis, iam funebres aculeos exsertabat,<sup>1</sup> omni humanitatis invitamento ad prodenda quae sciret vel fingeret, lacessitus. 7. Nam et sollicitius cibo mundissimo fovebatur, et ad largiendum paelicibus, merebat aes collaticium grave, et incedebat passim ac late, os circumferens vultuosum, omnibusque formidatum,<sup>2</sup> ea fiducia sublior, quod ad lupanar, quo (sicut ipse voluit), liberius versabatur,<sup>3</sup> cubiculariis officiis praepositus, assidue propalam ventitabat, elogia parentis publici praeferens, futura pluribus luctuosa. 8. Per quae<sup>4</sup> eum (ut forensium causarum patronum) quid in primis orationis partibus collocaret, ut proficere possit facilius et valere, quibusve figurarum commentis, splendida loca attemptare debeat praemonebat.

9. Et quoniam longum est narrare omnia<sup>5</sup> quae<sup>6</sup> cruciarius ille conflagavit, hoc unum edisseram, quam praecipiti confidentia patriciatus columina ipsa pulsavit. Qui ex clandestinis (ut dictum est) regionum

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<sup>1</sup> *exsertabat*, Val.; *excitabat*, EAG; *extabat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *formidatum*, Her. (cf. xiv. 11, 23); *formidatus*, EAG; *formidatis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *versabatur*, E<sup>2</sup>, Val.; *servabatur*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *per quae*, Her.; *periteque*, Momm.; *perque*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *narrare omnia*, added by Clark and Her. (*narrare*, Novák); V omits without lac.      <sup>6</sup> *quae*, Clark and Her.; *quod*, Gardt. *que*, V.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., an astrologer, a caster of nativities.

<sup>2</sup> See xiv. 5, 5, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ironical, for the emperor.

6. Amid the crash of so many ruins Heliodorus, that hellish contriver with Palladius of all evils, being a mathematician<sup>1</sup> (in the parlance of the vulgar) and pledged by secret instructions from the imperial court, after he had been cajoled by every enticement of kindness to induce him to reveal what he knew or could invent, now put forth his deadly stings. 7. For he was most solicitously pampered with the choicest foods, and earned a great amount of contributed money for presents to his concubines; and so he strode about anywhere and everywhere, displaying his grim face, which struck fear into all. And his assurance was the greater because, in his capacity as chamberlain, he constantly and openly visited the women's apartments, to which, as he himself desired, he freely resorted, displaying the warrants<sup>2</sup> of the Father of his People,<sup>3</sup> which were to be a cause of grief to many. 8. And through these warrants Heliodorus instructed Palladius (as though he were an advocate in public law-suits) what to put at the beginning of his speech, in order the more easily to make it effective and strong, or with which figures of rhetoric he ought to aim at brilliant passages.<sup>4</sup>

9. And since it would be a long story to tell all this gallows-bird<sup>5</sup> contrived, I will recount this one case, showing with what audacious confidence he smote the very pillars of the patriciate. For made enormously insolent by secret conferences

<sup>4</sup> Text and exact meaning are uncertain. It is not clear what the subject of *praemonebat* is. G reads *Valens* for *et valere* and *praemonebatur*.

<sup>5</sup> The word may mean "one who crucifies" or "one who deserves to be crucified"—hence "hangman" or "gallows-bird." The latter seems preferable.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

confabulationibus immaniter arrogans, et ipsa vilitate ad facinus omne venalis, egregium illud par consulum, Eusebium et Hypatium (germanos fratres) Constanti principis quondam affines, ad cupidinem altioris fortunae erectos et consuluisse et agitasse quaedam super imperio detulit, addens itineri ad mendacium fecte constructo, quod Eusebio etiam principalia indumenta parata sint. 10. Quibus haustis averter, fremebundus et minax, cui nihil licere debuerat, quia omnia sibi licere etiam iniusta existimabat, irremisse ab extremis regionum intervallis exhibitis omnibus, quos solutus legibus accusator perducere debere profunda securitate mandarat, suscipi quaestionem criminose praecepit. 11. Cumque nodosis coartationibus aequitate diu calcata,<sup>1</sup> et nexibili<sup>2</sup> asseveratione perditum nebulonis durante, nullam confessionem exprimere tormenta gravia potuissent, ablegatosque ab omni huius modi conscientia ipsa viros ostenderent<sup>3</sup> claros, calumniator quidem ita ut antea honorabiliter colebatur, illi vero exsilio et pecuniariis afflictis dispendiis, paulo postea reddita sibi multa, sunt revocati, dignitatibus integris et splendore.

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<sup>1</sup> *calcata*, Her. (cf. xxi. 13, 13); *iactata*, G; *laqueata*, Corn.; *iacta*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *et nexibili*, Lind.; *et inflexibili*, Corn.; *et nixi uilia*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ostenderent*, scripsi; *ostenderet*, V, *ueritas ipsa o.*, G; *res ipsa o.*, Ernesti, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> See xviii. 1, 1; xxi. 6, 4; they were consuls in 359. Constantius married their sister Eusebia.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the path which he alleged that they had made for carrying out their designs.

<sup>3</sup> Valens.

with people of the court, as has been said, and through his very worthlessness easy to be hired to commit any and every crime, he accused that admirable pair of consuls, the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius<sup>1</sup> (connections by marriage of the late emperor Constantius) of having aspired to a desire for a higher fortune, and of having made inquiries and formed plans about the sovereignty; and he added to the path<sup>2</sup> which he had falsely devised for his fabrication that royal robes had even been made ready for Eusebius. 10. Eagerly drinking this in, the menacing madman,<sup>3</sup> to whom nothing ought to have been permitted, since he thought that everything, even what was unjust, was allowed him,<sup>4</sup> inexorably summoned from the farthest boundaries of the empire all those whom the accuser, exempt from the laws, with profound assurance had insisted ought to be brought before him, and ordered a calumnious trial to be set on foot. 11. And when in much-knotted bonds of constriction justice had long been trodden down and tied tightly, and the wretched scoundrel persisted in his strings of assertions, severe tortures could force no confession, but showed that these distinguished men were far removed even from any knowledge of anything of the kind. Nevertheless, the calumniator was as highly honoured as before, while the accused were punished with exile and with fines; but shortly afterwards they were recalled, had their fines remitted, and were restored to their former rank and honour unimpaired.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 12, 7, *nihil tibi liceat, dum irasceris. Quare? Quia vis omnia licere*; and *Consol. ad Polybium*, 7, 2.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

12. Nec tamen post haec tam paenitenda repressius actum est vel pudenter, non reputante altimum potestate, quod recte institutis ne cum inimicorum quidem incommodis in delicta convenit ruere voluntaria, nihilque sit tam deforme<sup>1</sup> quam ad ardua imperii supercilia etiam acerbiter naturae adiungi. 13. Sed Heliodoro (incertum morbo an quadam excogitata vi) mortuo (nolim dicere “sero”<sup>2</sup>: utinam nec ipsa res loqueretur!) funus eius per vespillones elatum, pullati praecedere honorati complures, inter quos et fratres iussi sunt consulares. 14. Ibi tunc rectoris imperii caries tota stoliditatis apertius est profanata, qui cum abstinere inconsolabili malo rogaretur obnixae, inflexibilis mansit, ut videretur aures oclusisse ceris (quasi scopulos Sirenios transgressurus). 15. Superatus tamen precibus destinatis, tandem nudatis capitibus, infaustam bustuarii libitinam ad usque sepulcrum incedentes et<sup>3</sup> pedibus, quosdam etiam complicatis articulis, praeire mandavit. Horret mens<sup>4</sup> reminisci, quo iustitio humilitati tot rerum apices visebantur, et praecipue consulares, post scipiones et trabeas et

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<sup>1</sup> *deforme*, added by Val. (cf. Cic., *Ad Q. F.* i. 1, 37), *iniquum* by G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *sero*, added by Mommsen; V omits.      <sup>3</sup> *et*, added by Val.; V omits.      <sup>4</sup> *mens*, Clark; *animus*, A, Bentley; *nunc*, V, def. Fletcher.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *Ad Quint. Frat.* i. 1, 13, 37, *nihil est tam deforme quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbiter naturae adiungere*.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless through his enemies, who were numerous.

<sup>3</sup> Hypatius and Eusebius; see 2, 9, above.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., of subjecting men of rank to such an indignity.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxvii. 11, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 12.

12. Yet after these so lamentable events Valens acted with no more restraint or shame; since excessive power does not reflect that it is unworthy for men of right principles, even to the disadvantage of their enemies, willingly to plunge into crime, and that nothing is so ugly as for a cruel nature to be joined to lofty pride of power.<sup>1</sup> 13. But when Heliodorus died (whether naturally or through some deliberate violence<sup>2</sup> is uncertain; I would rather not say "too late": I only wish that even the facts did not speak to that effect!) his body was carried out by the undertakers, and many men of rank, clad in mourning, were ordered to precede it, including the brothers who had been consuls.<sup>3</sup> 14. Thereby the entire rottenness of the folly of the empire's ruler was then completely revealed; for although he was earnestly besought to refrain from this inexcusable insult,<sup>4</sup> yet he remained so inflexible that he seemed to have stopped his ears with wax,<sup>5</sup> as if he were going to pass the rocks of the Sirens. 15. At last, however, he yielded to insistent prayers, and ordered that some persons should precede the ill-omened bier of the body-snatcher<sup>6</sup> to the tomb, marching with bare heads and feet,<sup>7</sup> some also with folded hands.<sup>8</sup> My mind shrinks from recalling, during that suspension of justice,<sup>9</sup> how many men of the highest rank, especially ex-consuls, after having carried the staves of honour and worn purple robes, and having their names made known to all the world<sup>10</sup> in the Roman calendar, were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 100, 4.

<sup>2</sup> A sign of mourning; cf. Apul., *Metam.* iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *mundanum fulgorem*, xiv. 6, 3.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

fastorum monumenta mundana. 16. Inter quos omnes ab adulescentia<sup>1</sup> virtutum pulchritudine commendabilis, noster Hypatius praeminebat, vir quieti placidique consilii, honestatem lenium morum velut ad perpendicularum librans, qui et maiorum claritudini gloriae fuit, et ipse posteritatem mirandis actibus praefecturae geminae decoravit.

17. Accesserat hoc quoque eodem tempore ad Valentis ceteras laudes, quod cum in aliis ita saeviret infeste, ut poenarum maiores<sup>2</sup> aegre ferret finiri cum morte dolores,<sup>3</sup> Numerium tribunum, malitia quendam exsuperantem, eisdem diebus convictum, confessumque quod exsecto vivae mulieris ventre, atque intempestivo partu extracto, infernis manibus excitis, de permutatione imperii consulere ausus est, familiaritatis contuitu, ordine omni musante, abire iussit, inlaesum, salutem et invidendas opes et militiae statum integrum retenturum.

18. O praeclara informatio doctrinarum, munere caelesti indulta felicibus, quae vel vitiosas naturas saepe excoluisti! Quanta in illa caligine temporum correxisses, si Valenti scire per te licuisset, nihil aliud esse imperium, ut sapientes definiunt, nisi curam salutis alienae, bonique esse moderatoris,

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<sup>1</sup> ab adulescentia, Novák; ab adulescentiae rudimentis, Her. (cf. xxvii. 9, 8); adulescentiae virtutum, V. <sup>2</sup> moras (maiores, Her.); aegre, G; maturius vim prae se, Brakman; maturis (lac. 7 letters) ferret, V. <sup>3</sup> dolores Numerium or Numenium, Her.; Pollentianum, G; dolens numen, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See xiv. 8, 11, note 2; xxi. 16, 3, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C.I.L.i. part 2, ed. 2, 15 (epitaph of Scipio Hispanus), *virtutes generis micis moribus accumulavi*.

XXIX., 2, 15-18, A.D. 371-2

seen exposed to humiliation. 16. Conspicuous among all of these was our Hypatius, a man recommended from his youth by noble virtues, of quiet and calm discretion, and of a nobility and gentleness measured as it were by the plumb-line;<sup>1</sup> he conferred honour on the fame of his ancestors<sup>2</sup> and himself gave glory to posterity by the admirable acts of his two prefectures.<sup>3</sup>

17. At the time Valens added this also to the rest of his glories, that while in other instances he was so savagely cruel as to grieve that the great pain of his punishments could not continue after death,<sup>4</sup> yet he spared the tribune Numerius, a man of surpassing wickedness! This man was convicted at that same time on his own confession of having dared to cut open the womb of a living woman and take out her unripe offspring, in order to evoke the ghosts of the dead and consult them about a change of rulers; yet Valens, who looked on him with the eye of an intimate friend, in spite of the murmurs of the whole Senate gave orders that he should escape unpunished, and retain his life, his enviable wealth, and his military rank unimpaired.

18. O noble system of wisdom, by heaven's gift bestowed upon the fortunate, thou who hast often ennobled even sinful natures! How much wouldst thou have corrected in those dark days, if it had been permitted Valens to learn through you that royal power—as the philosophers declare—is nothing else than the care for others' welfare;<sup>5</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> At a later time; Flavius Hypatius was prefect of Rome in 397, praetorian prefect in 382 and 383.

<sup>4</sup> *ferret . . . dolores*, hexameter rhythm.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxv. 3, 18; Cic., *De Off.* i. 25, 85.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

restringere potestatem, resistere cupiditati omnium rerum, et implacabilibus iracundiis, nosseque (ut Caesar dictator aiebat) miserum esse instrumentum senectuti recordationem crudelitatis, ideoque de vita et spiritu hominis, qui pars mundi est et animantium numerum complet, laturum sententiam diu multumque oportere cunctari,<sup>1</sup> nec praecipiti studio, ubi irrevocabile factum est, agitari, ut exemplum est illud antiquitati admodum notum. 19. Apud proconsulem Asiae Dolabellam Smyrnaea mulier subolem<sup>2</sup> propriam et maritum venenis necasse confessa, quod filium e matrimonio priore<sup>3</sup> susceptum occiderint,<sup>4</sup> et comperendinata cum consilium, ad quod res ex more delata est, anceps, quid inter ultionem et scelus statui debeat, haesitaret, ad Areopagitas missa est (Athenienses iudices tristiores), quorum aequitas deorum quoque iurgia dicitur distinxisse. Hi causa cognita centesimo post anno

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<sup>1</sup> transposui, c.c.; *cunctari oportere*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *mulier subolem*, Her. (cf. Gell. xii. 7, 1); *materfamilias filium*, G; *dolabellamyrna* (lac. 11 letters) *proprium*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *e matrimonio priore*, Her.; *ex alio matrimonio*, Gardt.; *eo*, V<sup>1</sup>; *arimonio* (ri from li) *el*, V<sup>2</sup>.      <sup>4</sup> *susceptum occiderint*, added by Her.; *ab eis occisum comperisset*, G; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> *instrumentum* here = ἐφόδιον (*viaticum*). Valesius quotes Stobaeus, *De Senec.* (Florilegium, 117, 8, p. 595), τὴν αὐτῆς γῆρας ἐφόδιον ἀπώροτον; Ammianus uses *instrumentum* in the general sense of "cost, expense," e.g. in xxviii. 6, 6; cf. also xix. 11, 4; xxi. 6, 6, and xxvi. 7, 12, where this meaning is perhaps implied. No such saying of Caesar's is elsewhere known.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cassiod., *Varia*, vii. 1, *cunctator esse debet qui indicat de salute; alia sententia potest corrigi, de vita*

it is the duty of a good ruler to restrain his power, to resist unbounded desire and implacable anger, and to know—as the dictator Caesar used to say—that the recollection of cruelty is a wretched support<sup>1</sup> for old age. And therefore, if he is going to pass judgment affecting the life and breath of a human being, who forms a part of the world and completes the number of living things, he ought to hesitate long and greatly and not be carried away by headlong passion to a point where what is done cannot be undone;<sup>2</sup> of which we have a very well-known instance in olden times. 19. A woman of Smyrna confessed before Dolabella,<sup>3</sup> the proconsul of Asia, that she had poisoned her husband and her own son by him, because (as she said) she had discovered that they had killed her son by a former marriage; but she was ordered to appear again two days later.<sup>4</sup> Since the council, to which according to custom the matter was referred, uncertain what distinction ought to be made between revenge and crime, hesitated to decide, she was sent before the Areopagites, those strict judges at Athens, whose justice is said to have decided disputes even among the gods.<sup>5</sup> They, after

*transactum non patitur immutari*; Juv. vi. 221, *nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Val. Max. viii. 1, *Amb.* 2; Gell. xii. 7, 4. Dolabella is probably the man who was consul with Antony, and after Caesar's death governed the province of Asia.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the case was adjourned for that time, as provided by the law of Ser. Sulpicius Galba; cf. Cic., *Verr.* ii. 1, 7, 20.

<sup>5</sup> There was a myth that Ares or Mars, to avenge an injury to his daughter, slew Halirrhothius, son of Posidon or Neptune, and that the case came before the Areopagus; cf. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 10.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

cum accusatore mulierem adesse iusserunt, ne aut absolverent veneficam, aut ultrix necessitudinum puniretur. Ita numquam tardum existimatur, quod est omnium ultimum.

20. Post commissa iniquitatibus variis ante dicta, et impressas foede corporibus liberis, quae supervixerant, notas, inconivus<sup>1</sup> Iustitiae oculus, arbiter et vindex perpetuus rerum vigilavit attente. Namque caesorum ultimae dirae, perpetuum numen ratione querellarum iustissima commoventes, Bellonae accenderant faces, ut fides oraculi firmaretur, quod nihil impune praedixerat perpetrari.

21. Dum haec quae supra digesta sunt Antiochiae Parthico fragore cessante, per intestinas dilatantur aerumnas, coetus furiarum horrificus, post convolutos<sup>2</sup> multiplices casus, ab eadem urbe digressus, cervicibus Asiae totius insedit hoc modo.

22. Festinus quidam Tridentinus ultimi sanguinis et ignoti, in nexum germanitatis a Maximino dilectus, ut sodalis et contogatus, decernentibus fati, ad orientem transgressus est, ibique administrata Syria magisterioque memoriae peracto, bona lenitudinis et reverentiae reliquit exempla, unde regere

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<sup>1</sup> *inconivus*, Eyssen.; *inconniuens*, AG; *inconviuus*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *conuolutos*, Pet. (cf. xiv. 11, 26); *inconuolutos*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xv. 5, 4, note 3.

having considered the case, ordered the woman to appear before them with her accuser a hundred years later, since they did not wish either to acquit a poisoner or punish an avenger of her kindred; for that is never thought late which is the last of all things.

20. After these various deeds of injustice which have already been mentioned, and the marks of torture shamefully branded upon the bodies of such free men as had survived, the never-closing eye of Justice, the eternal witness and avenger of all things, was watchfully attentive. For the last curses of the murdered, moving the eternal godhead through the just ground of their complaints, had kindled the firebrands of Bellona; so that the truth of the oracle was confirmed, which had predicted that no crimes would go unpunished.

21. While these events, which have just been<sup>372</sup> described, during the cessation of the Parthian storm were being spread abroad at Antioch in the form of internal troubles, the awful band of the Furies, after making a rolling flood of manifold disasters, left that city and settled on the shoulders of all Asia, in the following way. 22. A certain Festinus of Tridentum, a man of the lowest and most obscure parentage, was admitted by Maximinus<sup>1</sup> even into the ties of affection which true brothers show, for he had been his boon companion and with him had assumed the manly gown. By decree of the fates this man passed over to the Orient, and there in the administration of Syria, and after serving as master of the rolls,<sup>2</sup> he left behind him praiseworthy examples of mildness and of respect for law; and when later he was advanced

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Asiam proconsulari potestate exorsus, velificatione tranquilla, ut aiunt, ferebatur ad gloriam. 23. Audiens autem Maximinum optimo cuique exitialem, obtrectabat subinde actibus eius, ut perniciosus et foedis. Sed cum impie peremptorum exsequiis suffragantibus, ad praefecturam venisse hominem comperisset immeritum, exarsit ad agenda sperandaque similia, et histrionis ritu mutata repente persona, studio nocendi concepto, incedebat oculis intentis ac diris,<sup>1</sup> praefecturam autumans affore prope diem, si ipse quoque se contaminasset insonitum poenis. 24. Et quamquam sint multa et varia, quae (ut levius interpretemur) egit asperime: pauca tamen dici sufficiet, quae sunt nota ac pervulgata, ad aemulationem eorum commissa, quae facta sunt Romae. Ratio enim eadem est ubique.<sup>2</sup> recte secusve gestorum, etiam si magnitudo sit dissimilis rerum. 25. Philosophum quendam Coeranum, haut exilis meriti virum, ea causa tormentorum immanitate invictum<sup>3</sup> occidit, quod ad coniugem suam familiariter scribens, id<sup>4</sup> sermone addiderat Graeco: σὺ δὲ νόει καὶ στέφε τὴν πύλην,<sup>5</sup> quod dici proverbialiter solet, ut audiens altius aliquid agendum agnoscat. 26. Anum quandam simplicem intervallatis febribus mederi leni carmine

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<sup>1</sup> *diris*, Her.; *rigidis*, EAG; *ridis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ubique*, Lind.; *ubi*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *invictum*, Her.; *mulcatum*, C. F. W. M.; *multatum*, Pet.; *inmanitatem ultum*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *id*, NG, del. by Novák; *ad*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *πύλην*, Casaubon, Haupt; *τυλήν*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, whether the place, the circumstances, and even the deeds themselves are unlike.

to the governorship of Asia with proconsular authority, he sailed to glory with a fair wind, as the saying is. 23. But hearing that Maximinus planned to wipe out all decent men, from that time on he decried his actions as dangerous and shameful. But when he learned that Maximinus, merely through the recommendation of the deaths of those whom he had impiously slain, had attained the honour of prefect contrary to his deserts, he was aroused to similar deeds and hopes. Like an actor, suddenly changing his mask, he conceived the desire of doing harm and stalked about with intent and cruel eyes, imagining that the prefecture would soon be his if he also should have stained himself with the punishment of the innocent. 24. And although many of the various acts which he committed were very harsh, to express it mildly, yet it will suffice to mention a few which are familiar and generally known, and done in emulation of those which had taken place in Rome. For the principle of good or bad deeds is the same everywhere, even if the greatness of the situation is not the same.<sup>1</sup> 25. He executed a philosopher called Coeranius, a man of no slight merit, after he had resisted tortures of savage cruelty, because in a letter to his wife of a personal nature he had added in Greek: "But do you take note and crown the house door," which is a common proverbial expression, used in order that the hearer may know that something of greater importance than usual is to be done. 26. There was a simple-minded old woman who was in the habit of curing intermittent fevers with a harmless charm. He caused her to be put to death as a criminal, after

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

consuetam, occidit ut noxiam, postquam filiam suam ipso conscio curavit adscita. 27. In chartis cuiusdam municipis clari, scrutari ex negotio iussis, genitura Valentis cuiusdam inventa est, repellensque calumnias is cuius intererat, cum obiectaretur ei quam ob rem constellationem principis collegisset, fratrem suum fuisse Valentem, dudumque obisse, documentorum plena fide monstrare pollicitus, inexpectato veritatis indicio, laniatis lateribus,<sup>1</sup> trucidatus est. 28. Visus adulescens in balneis admoveere marmoris manus utriusque digitos alternatim et pectori, septemque vocales litteras numerasse, ad stomachi remedium prodesse id arbitratus: in iudicium tractus, percussus est gladio post tormenta.

### 3. *In Occidentis tractibus variis Valentiniani Augusti saevitiae et efferatae crudelitatis exempla.*

1. Hic<sup>2</sup> et mihi vertenti stilum in Gallias, confunditur ordo seriesque gestorum, inter multa et saeva Maximinum reperiens iam praefectum, qui potestate late diffusa, scaevum imperatori accesserat incentivum, maiestati fortunae miscenti licentiam gravem. Quisquis igitur dicta considerat, perpendat etiam cetera, quae tacentur, veniam daturus, ut prudens, si non cuncta complectimur, quae con-

<sup>1</sup> *lateribus*, Kellerbauer; *lacer*, V, W<sup>1</sup>AG, Pet.  
Madvig; *hinc*, Günther; *his*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *hic*,

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<sup>1</sup> Of the wall or perhaps the floor of the bath.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Greek alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> Valentinian.

she had been called in with his own knowledge and had treated his daughter. 27. Among the papers of a distinguished townsman, of which an examination had been ordered for some business reason, the horoscope of a certain Valens was found ; when the person concerned was asked why he had cast the nativity of the emperor, he defended himself against the false charge by saying that he had had a brother named Valens, and that he had died long ago. He promised to show this by proofs of full credibility, but they did not wait for the truth to be discovered, and he was tortured and butchered. 28. In the bath a young man was seen to touch alternately with the fingers of either hand first the marble<sup>1</sup> and then his breast, and to count the seven vowels,<sup>2</sup> thinking it a helpful remedy for a stomach trouble. He was haled into court, tortured and beheaded.

### 3. *Various instances of the ferocity and savage cruelty of Valentinianus Augustus in the western regions.*

1. At this point, as I turn my pen to Gaul, the order and series of events is a turmoil, since we find Maximus, who is now prefect, in the midst of many cruel deeds ; for being in possession of extensive power, he was added as an ill-omened incentive to the emperor,<sup>3</sup> who united with the majesty of his position unendurable tyranny. Therefore, whoever ponders what I have told, should also carefully weigh the rest which are passed over in silence ; and, like a reasonable person, he will pardon me for not

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

siliorum pravitas crimina in maius exaggerando commisit. 2. Adolescente enim acerbitate, rationum inimica rectorum, trux suoapte ingenio Valentinianus, post eiusdem Maximini adventum, nec meliora monente ullo nec retentante, per asperos actus velut aestu quodam fluctuum ferebatur et procellarum, adeo ut irascentis saepe vox et vultus et <sup>1</sup> incessus mutaretur et color. Quam rem indicia varia testantur et certa, e quibus pauca sufficiet poni.

3. Adultus quidam ex his quos paedagogianos appellant, ad observandam venaticiam praedam, Spartanum canem retinere dispositus, ante praedictum tempus absolvit, adsultu eius evadere conantis appetitus et morsu: ideoque necatus ad exitium fustibus, eadem humatus est die. 4. Praepositum fabricae oblato thorace polito faberrime, praemiumque ideo exspectantem, ea re praecepit occidi diritate pari <sup>2</sup> quod pondus paulo minus habuit species ferrea, quam ille firmarat. Epiroten <sup>3</sup> aliquem ritus Christiani presbyterum acceptum Octaviano <sup>4</sup> ex proconsule . . . offensarum auctore licet tardius ad sua remisso.<sup>5</sup> 5. Constantianus

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<sup>1</sup> *et*, added in G; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *occidi diritate pari*, Haupt; *occidi quod*, W<sup>2</sup>AG; *occideri adpraei (adpi)*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *Epiroten . . . remisso*, G omits.      <sup>4</sup> *acceptum* (from 1, 17) Octaviano, Her.; *tem* (cf. xxix. 1, 17) Octavianum  
*offensorum* (-arum, V<sup>2</sup>), V.      <sup>5</sup> *remisso*, Her.; *tardius redire . . . permisso*, VA.

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<sup>1</sup> Belonging to the *paedagogium*; see xxvi. 6, 15, note.

including everything which deliberate wickedness committed by exaggerating the importance of the charges. 2. For Valentinian, who was naturally savage, as bitterness (which is a foe to righteous conduct) increased in him after the coming of the aforesaid Maximinus, having no one to give better advice or to restrain him, was carried as if by surging waves and tempests from one cruel act to another ; to such a degree that, when he was in a passion, often his voice and expression, his gait and his colour, were changed. For his cruelty we have the testimony of various sure pieces of evidence, of which it will suffice to set down a few.

3. A well-grown youth of the class called pages<sup>1</sup> was posted, holding in leash a Spartan hound, to watch for game at a hunt ; but he let the dog loose before the designated time, because the animal in an effort to escape leaped at him in a rush and bit him ; for that he was beaten to death with cudgels and buried the same day. 4. A man in charge of a smithy brought to the emperor a breastplate artistically embellished, and expected a reward for it ; but Valentinian ordered him to be put to death with equal cruelty because the piece<sup>2</sup> of iron armour had a little less weight than he had stipulated. An elder of the Christian faith from Epirus, who was a favourite of Octavianus,<sup>3</sup> the former proconsul, . . . and the author of the charges was sent back, although somewhat tardily, to his home.<sup>4</sup> 5. Constantianus, an

<sup>2</sup>For *species*, cf. xiv. 9, 7.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. xxiii. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup>The sentence is corrupt. The earlier editors inserted words from the Chronicle of Hieronymus of 372, meaning "was executed because he had concealed Octavianus . . . who had taken refuge at his house."



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

strator paucos militares equos ex his ausus mutare, ad quos probandos missus est in Sardiniam, eodem iubente lapidum ictibus oppetit crebris. Athanasius favorabilis tunc auriga, ita<sup>1</sup> suspectus ei vulgari levitate, ut vivus incendi iuberetur, si quid temptasset huius modi, non multo postea beneficiis usus incessebatur;<sup>2</sup> nulla delata voluptatum artificio venia, ignibus aboleri praeceptus est. 6. Africanus causarum in urbe defensor assiduus, post administratam provinciam, ad regendam aliam adspiravit, cuius suffragatori magistro equitum Theodosio, id petenti, subagresti verbo pius responderat imperator:<sup>3</sup> "Abi," inquit, "comes, et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit": et hoc elogio perit homo disertus, ad potiora festinans, ut multi. 7. Claudium et Sallustium, ex Iovianorum numero ad usque tribunatus dignitates progressos, accusabat quidam vilitate ipsa despectus, quod cum imperium Procopius affectasset, aliqua pro eo locuti sunt bona. Cumque nihil quaestiones reperirent assiduae, mandare magistris equitum auditoribus princeps, ut agerent in exsilium Claudium<sup>4</sup> et Sallustium pronuntiarent capitis reum, pollicitus quod eum revocabit ad supplicium raptum; hocque ita (ut statutum

<sup>1</sup> ita, addidi (note iga in auriga).      <sup>2</sup> incessebatur, Clark; ferebatur, G; beneficiis usum merebatur (ueneficiis, A; usus, Gardt.), V.      <sup>3</sup> responderat imperator, Clark; responderator, V.      <sup>4</sup> Claudium, added in G after agerent; put after exsilium by Clark; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> A *strator* was appointed in the provinces to buy choice horses. Another class of *stratores* were grooms; see Index of Officials, Vol. I.

officer of the stable,<sup>1</sup> was sent to Sardinia to test horses to be used for military service, and because he had dared to exchange a few of them, he was stoned to death by the emperor's order. Athanasius, a favourite charioteer of the day, so suspected by him for his general light-mindedness that he was ordered to be burned alive if he should try anything of the kind,<sup>2</sup> not long afterward used magic arts and was charged therewith; and without indulgence being granted to a man who was an artist in entertainments, he was condemned to be burned to death. 6. Africanus, a busy pleader of cases at law in the city, after governing a province, aspired to the rule of another; but when Theodosius, general of the cavalry, supported him in his request, the kind emperor gave this somewhat boorish reply: "Go, general, and change his head for him, since he wants a change in his province." And by this pronouncement<sup>3</sup> an eloquent man lost his life merely for hastening, like many, for advancement. 7. Claudius and Sallustius, of the Jovian legion, who had advanced as far as the rank of tribune, were accused by a fellow whose low origin in itself made him an object of contempt, on the ground that when Procopius had aspired to the imperial power they had spoken some good words for him; but although constant inquisitions revealed nothing, the emperor ordered the generals of the cavalry, who were hearing the case, to drive Claudius into exile and condemn Sallustius to death, promising to pardon the latter on his way to execution. But when this had

<sup>1</sup> I.e., use magic arts.

<sup>2</sup> On *elogium* see also xiv. 5, 5, note.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

est) observato, nec Sallustius morte exemptus est, nec Claudius nisi post eiusdem Valentiniani obitum deportationis maestitia liberatus <sup>1</sup> . . . longe recusaverit, cum illi saepissime torquerentur. 8. Replicatis igitur quaestionibus dense, et quibusdam vi nimia tormentorum absumptis, ne vestigia quidem ulla delatorum reperta sunt criminum. In hoc negotio protectores, ad exhibendas missi personas, de . . . <sup>2</sup> fustibus praeter solitum caesi.

9. Horrescit animus omnia recensere, simulque reformidat, ne ex professo <sup>3</sup> quaesisse videamur in vitia principis, alia commodissimi. Illud tamen nec praeteriri est aequum nec sileri, quod cum duas haberet ursas saevas hominum ambestrices, Micam auream et Innocentiam, cultu ita curabat <sup>4</sup> enixo, ut earum caveas prope cubiculum suum locaret, custodesque adderet fidos, visuros sollicite, nequo <sup>5</sup> casu ferarum deleteretur <sup>6</sup> luctificus calor. Innocentiam denique, post multas quas eius laniatu cadaverum viderat sepulturas, ut bene meritam in silvas abire dimisit innoxiam, exoptans similes edituram.<sup>7</sup>

. . .

<sup>1</sup> (lac. 3 lines) *longae* (lac. 3 letters) *cusauerit*, V.    <sup>2</sup> lac. after *de*, Her.; no lac. in V.    <sup>3</sup> *ex professo*, Lind.; *de* (see note 2, from line 11), C. F. W. M.; *reformidati ni professo*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *cultu ita curabat*, Val.; *cultant acerabat*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *nequo . . . debetur* (note 6) G marks with asterisk; *casu ferarum*, Lind.; *ea superarum*, V.    <sup>6</sup> *deleteretur*, Val.; *hebetetur*, Bent.; *debetur*, V.    <sup>7</sup> *exoptans similes edituram*, Pet.; *exop* (lac. 4 letters) *simile sedit* (lac. 5 letters), V.

been done according to the directions, Sallustius' life was not spared and Claudius was not freed from the sorrow of banishment until after the death of the aforesaid Valentinian<sup>1</sup> . . . decidedly refused, although they were repeatedly tortured. 8. Accordingly, although inquisitions followed thick and fast, and some died in consequence of excessive torture, not even a trace of the alleged crimes was found. In this business even the bodyguards who had been sent to arrest persons . . .<sup>2</sup> were beaten to death with cudgels, contrary to all precedent.

9. My mind shrinks from enumerating all the cases, and at the same time I dread seeming to give the impression of purposely having sought out merely the defects of a prince who was a very proper man in other ways. Yet one thing it is just neither to pass over nor to leave unmentioned, namely this, that having two savage, man-eating she-bears, one called Goldflake and the other Innocence, he looked after them with such extreme care that he placed their cages near his own bedroom, and appointed trustworthy keepers, who were to take particular care that the beasts' lamentable savageness should not by any chance be destroyed. Finally, after he had seen the burial of many corpses of those whom Innocence had torn to pieces, he allowed her to return to the forest unhurt, as a good and faithful servant, in the hope that she would have cubs like herself . . .

<sup>1</sup> A lacuna follows, see crit. note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Since *de fustibus caesi* seems to be an impossible construction, there was probably a lacuna between *de* and *fustibus*; see crit. note 2.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

### 4. *Valentinianus A. Rhenum navali ponte transgressus, culpa militis Macrianum Alamannorum Regem incautum capere non potuit.*

1. Et haec quidem morum eius et propositi cruenti sunt documenta verissima. Sollertiae vero circa rem publicam usquam<sup>1</sup> digredientis, nemo<sup>2</sup> eum vel obtrectator pervicax incusabit, illud contemplans, quod maius pretium operae foret in<sup>3</sup> coercedis verius limite barbaris quam pellendis. Et cum dedisset<sup>4</sup> . . . e speculis, siquis hostium se commovisset, desuper visus obruebatur.<sup>5</sup>

2. Agitabatur autem inter multiplices curas id omnium primum atque<sup>6</sup> potissimum, ut Macrianum regem auctum inter mutationes crebras sententiarum, iamque in nostros adultis viribus exsurgentem, vi superstitem raperet vel insidiis, ut multo ante Vadomarium Iulianus: et praevisis quae<sup>7</sup> negotium poscebat et tempus, cognitoque transfugarum indi-  
ciis, ubi comprehendi nihil hostile<sup>8</sup> operiens poterit ante dictus, tacite quantum concessit facultas, nequi conserendo officeret ponti, iunxit navibus

<sup>1</sup> *usquam*, Wagner; *nusquam*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *nemo . . . dedisset*, G omits with lac. of 12 letters, with asterisk; *nemo*, C. F. W. M.; *nec*, Her. (cf. xxxi. 2, 4); *nec quo*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *foret in*, Her.; *forsitan*, Val.; *forticen regendus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> lac. 3 lines, *peculis*, V.      <sup>5</sup> lac. 9 letters at end of line, V.  
<sup>6</sup> *primum atque*, Novák; *prima de*, V.      <sup>7</sup> *prouisis quae*, Val.; *praeui* (lac. 4 letters at end of line) *negotium*, V.  
<sup>8</sup> *hostile*, added by Her.; V omits.

4. *Valentinianus Augustus crosses the Rhine on a bridge of boats, but although Macrianus, king of the Alamanni, was off his guard, he was prevented from capturing him through the fault of the soldiers.*

1. These, then, are undeniable indications of Valentinian's character and his blood-thirsty tendency. But, on the other hand, no one, not even one of his persistent detractors, will reproach him with lack of ingenuity in behalf of the state, especially if one bears in mind that it was a more valuable service to check the barbarians by frontier defences than to defeat them in battle. And when he had given<sup>1</sup> . . . if any of the enemy made a move, he was seen from above from the watch-towers, and overcome.

2. But among many other cares, his first and principal aim was to capture alive by violence or by craft King Macrianus,<sup>2</sup> just as, long before, Julian took Vadomarius; for Macrianus, amid the frequent changes in the policy followed towards him, had increased in power, and now was rising against our countrymen with full-grown strength. Accordingly, having first provided what the circumstances and the time demanded, and having learned from the reports of deserters where the said king, who expected no hostile move, could be seized, Valentinian threw a pontoon across the Rhine as quietly as his means allowed, lest anyone should interfere with the bridge while it was being put together. 3. And

<sup>1</sup> There is a lacuna of five lines, doubtless containing a description of a line of fortifications with watch-towers.

<sup>2</sup> King of the Alamanni, xviii. 2, 15; xxviii. 5, 8.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Rhenum. 3. Et antegressus contra Mattiacas aquas, primus Severus, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum, perpensa militum paucitate, territus stetit, timens ne resistere nequiens, irruentium opprimeretur hostilium agminum mole. 4. Et quia suspicabatur venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant, excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos mercibus direptis occidit. 5. Adventu itaque plurium copiarum animati iudices, castrisque ad tempus brevissimum fixis, quia nec sarcinale iumentum quisquam nec tabernaculum habuit, praeter principem, cui tapete et sisyra suffecerant<sup>1</sup> pro tentorio, parumper ob tenebras morati nocturnas, exsiliente Lucifero, urgente<sup>2</sup> procinctu pergebant ulterius, itinerum gnaris ducentibus,<sup>3</sup> frequenti<sup>4</sup> equitatu cum Theodosio rectore praeire disposito, ne quid lateret<sup>5</sup> . . . tempore iaceat, extento strepitu suorum est impeditus quibus assidue mandans, ut rapinis et incendiis abstinere, impetrare non

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<sup>1</sup> *et sisyra suffecerant*, Her. ; *tapete suffecerat* (cf. xvi. 5, 5), Pet. ; *tapete* (lac. 7 letters) *sufficerat po*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Lucifero urgente*, added by Her. (cf. xix. 7, 2) ; *exigente procinctu*, Pet. ; *exiliente procincti*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *ducentibus* . . . *erat* (see crit. note 5), G omits with lac. of 4 letters and asterisk ; *ducentibus*, Lind. ; *discentibus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *frequenti*, Eyssen. ; *fre* (lac. 4 letters), V.      <sup>5</sup> *nequid lateret*, Her. (cf. xxiv. 1, 13) ; *sequi ratus*, Eyssen. ; *et quia aderat*, Pet. in Index ; *equirat erat* (lac. 3½ lines), V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plin., *N.H.* xxxi. 20, *sunt et Mattiaci in Germania fontes calidi trans Rhenum* ; Tac., *Ann.* 1, 56. Perhaps Wiesbaden.

first Severus, who commanded the infantry forces, took the lead by marching against Mattiacae Aquae;<sup>1</sup> but alarmed when he considered the small number of his soldiers, he halted, fearing that he might be unable to resist the onrushing hordes of the enemy, and so might be overcome by them.

4. There he chanced to find some of the traders<sup>2</sup> leading slaves intended for sale, and because he suspected that they would quickly run off and report what they had seen, he took their wares<sup>3</sup> from them and killed them all. 5. Then the generals,<sup>4</sup> encouraged by the arrival of additional troops, encamped, with a view to a very short stay, since no one had a pack-animal or a tent, except the emperor, for whom a rug and a rough blanket<sup>5</sup> sufficed for such a shelter. Then, after delaying for a time on account of the darkness of night, as soon as the morning-star uprose, since the campaign called for haste, they advanced farther, led by guides who knew the roads; and a large force of cavalry was ordered to precede them under command of Theodosius, that nothing might be unobserved<sup>6</sup> . . . was lying at the time; but he was prevented by the continuous noise made by his men; for although he constantly commanded them to abstain

<sup>2</sup> *scurrae* is used also of Germans serving in the Roman army. Cf. Lampr., *Alex. Sev.* 61, 3, *unus ex Germanis, qui scurrarum officium sustinebat*. Here perhaps camp-followers.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the slaves.

<sup>4</sup> Here *iudices* is used of military officials.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xvi. 5, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Here there is a lacuna of 3½ lines. The general sense probably is, that the emperor went on to meet the king.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

potuit. Ignium enim crepitu dissonisque clamoribus satellites exciti, idque quod acciderat suspicati, carpento veloci impositum regem angusto aditu circumfractis collibus abdiderunt. 6. Hac Valentinianus gloria defraudatus nec sua culpa nec ducum, sed intemperantia militis, quae dispendiis gravibus saepe rem Romanam afflixit, ad usque quinquagesimum lapidem terris hostilibus inflammatis, redit Treveros maestus. 7. Ubi tamquam leo ob cervum amissum vel capream morsus vacuos concrepans tum cum<sup>1</sup> hostium disiecta frangeret timor, in Macriani locum Bucinobantibus, quae contra Mogontiacum gens est Alamannica,<sup>2</sup> regem Fraomarium ordinavit, quem paulo postea quoniam recens excursus eundem penitus vastaverat pagum, in Britannias<sup>3</sup> translatus, potestate tribuni, Alamannorum praefecerat numero, multitudine viribusque ea tempestate florenti: Bitheridum vero et Hortarium (nationis eiusdem primates), item regere milites iussit, e quibus Hortarius, proditus relatione Florenti, Germaniae ducis, contra rem publicam quaedam ad Macrianum scripsisse, barbarosque optimates, veritate tormentis expressa, conflagravit flamma poenali.

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<sup>1</sup> *tum cum*, Her. ; *dum*, EAG ; *dum cum*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *Alamannica*, Clark ; *Alamanna*, EAG (*Ale-*, G) ; *alamannia*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *Britannias*, Her. ; *Britannos*, W ; *brittanas latum*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Of taking the king prisoner.

<sup>2</sup> Some MSS. say five hundred.

from plundering and setting fires, he could not make them obey. For the crackling flames and the dissonant shouts awakened the king's attendants, and suspecting what had happened, they placed him in a swift wagon and hid him in a narrow pass of the precipitous hills. 6. Valentinian was robbed of this glory,<sup>1</sup> not by his own fault or that of his generals, but by the indiscipline of the soldiers, which has often caused the Roman state heavy losses; so, after reducing the enemy's territory to ashes for fifty miles,<sup>2</sup> he returned sadly to Treves. 7. There, as a lion, because he has lost a deer or a goat, gnashes his empty jaws, just when the forces of the enemy were broken and scattered by fear, in place of Macrianus he made Fraomarius king of the Bucinobantes, a tribe of the Alamanni dwelling opposite Mainz. And soon afterwards, since a recent invasion had utterly devastated that canton, he transferred him to Britain with the rank of tribune, and gave him command of a troop<sup>3</sup> of the Alamanni which at that time was distinguished for its numbers and its strength. Bitheridus, indeed, and Hortarius (chiefs of the same nation) he appointed to commands in the army; but of these Hortarius was betrayed by a report of Florentius, commander in Germany, of having written certain things to the detriment of the state to Macrianus and the chiefs of the barbarians, and after the truth was wrung from him by torture he suffered the penalty of death by burning.

<sup>3</sup> For this meaning of *numeri*, applied both to cohorts and legions, cf., for example, *militares numeros*, xiv. 7, 19; *numeri Moesiacorum duobus*, xx. 1, 3; Suet., *Aug.* 17. 3.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

5. *Theodosius, magister equitum per Gallias, Firmum Maurum Nubelis Reguli filium, qui a Valentiniano desciverat, multis procliis atterit, ac demum eo ad voluntariam mortem compulso, pacem Africae reddit.*

1. Abhinc inter<sup>1</sup> . . . proximo haec narratione disseri continua placuit, ne dum negotiis longe discretis et locis alia subseruntur, cognitio multiplex necessario confundatur.

2. Nubel velut regulus per nationes Mauricas potentissimus, vita digrediens, et legitimos et natos e concubinis reliquit filios, e quibus Zammac comiti nomine Romano acceptus, latenter a fratre Firmo peremptus, discordias excitavit et bella. Eius enim necem ulcisci, impensiore studio properans comes, ad insidiatoris perniciem multa ciebat et formidanda. Utque rumores distulerunt assidui, navabatur opera diligens in palatio, Romani quidem relationes, multa et aspera congerentes in Firmum, libenter suscipi recitarique principi, in earum favorem concinentibus multis: ea vero, quae contra Firmus salutis tuendae gratia docebat crebro per suos, accepta, diutius occultari, Remigio tunc officiorum magistro, affine amicoque Romani, inter potiores

<sup>1</sup> *inter* (lac. 2½ lines) *proximo* V; *proxima*, EG.

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<sup>1</sup> The words *Abhinc inter* are followed by a lacuna of 2½ lines. Ammianus takes up the narrative from xxviii. 6, disregarding the exact chronology; cf. Orosius, vii. 33, 6, who places the uprising of Firmus in the time of Valentinian and Valens.

<sup>2</sup> See xxviii. 6, 5.

5. *Theodosius, commander of the cavalry in Gaul, in many battles exhausts the Moor Firmus, son of prince Nubel, who had revolted from Valentinian, and after finally driving him to suicide restores peace to Africa.*

1. Then amid <sup>1</sup> . . . it has seemed best to give an account, without a break, of what happened next, lest while, amongst matters and places widely separated, others are intruded, the survey of many varying events may inevitably be confused.

2. Nubel, as a petty king, had great power among the Moorish peoples; on departing from life, besides legitimate sons he left some that were the offspring of concubines. Of the latter Zammac,<sup>2</sup> who was beloved by the general called Romanus,<sup>2</sup> was secretly murdered by his brother Firmus, an act which occasioned dissensions and wars. For Romanus, hastening with extreme zeal to avenge his death, resorted to many formidable means for the destruction of the assassin; and, as persistent rumours divulged, even at court vigorous measures were taken to make sure that the reports of Romanus, which heaped up many serious charges against Firmus, should be gladly received and read out to the emperor; and many voices united in supporting these reports. But, on the contrary, the arguments which Firmus through his friends frequently presented in his defence for the purpose of saving his life, although they were received, were long concealed; for Remigius, at that time marshal of the court, a relative and friend of Romanus, declared that amid the more important and pressing

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

imperatoris necessitates haec velut minima et superflua, non nisi opportune legi posse adseverante.

3. Quae cum ad obruendam defensionem suam agitari adverteret Maurus, ultimorum metu iam trepidans, ne amendatis, quae praetendebat, ut perniciosus et contumax indemnatus<sup>1</sup> occideretur, ab imperii ditione descivit et adiumenta conquirebat vicinarum gentium<sup>2</sup> . . . ad vastandum<sup>3</sup> . . . 4. Ad hoc periculum antequam<sup>4</sup> hostis implacabilis incrementis virium adulescerent, abolendum cum comitatensis auxilio militis pauci Theodosius magister equitum mittitur, cuius virtutes (ut impetrabilis) ea tempestate prae ceteris enitebant :<sup>5</sup> Domitii Corbulonis et Lusii simillimi veterum,<sup>6</sup> quorum prior sub Nerone, alter Traiano rem regente Romanam pluribus inclaruere fortibus factis. 5. Proinde ab Arelate secundis egressus auspiciis, emeatoque mari cum classe, quam ductabat, nullo de se rumore praegresso, defertur ad Sitifensis Mauritaniae litus, quod appellant accolae Igilgilitanum.<sup>6</sup> Ibique inventum casu Romanum leniter allocutus, misit ad

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<sup>1</sup> *indemnatus*, Kellerbauer ; *condemnatus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *conquirebat* . . . *gen-*, added by Kellerbauer ; *adiumenta* (lac. 14 letters) *tium*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *Ad hoc periculum antequam*, Her. ; *uastand* (lac. 18 letters) *hostis*, V ; (*uastandum*, A).  
<sup>4</sup> *enitebant*, Val. c.c. ; *eminebant*, Harmon ; *nitebant*, V.  
<sup>5</sup> *simillimi ueterum*, sugg. by Clark, c.c. ; *ueterum simillimi*, V.  
<sup>6</sup> *Igilgilitanum*, Lind. ; *Igilgitanum*, G ; *gilgitanum*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The text is fragmentary. The idea seems to be that he sought auxiliary forces for devastating the province.

business of the emperor such trivial and superfluous communications could not be read until opportunity offered.

3. When the Moor perceived that these things were being done to break down his defence, he was now in dread of the worst; and fearing that the rebuttal which he offered would be set aside and he would be executed without a trial as dangerous and unruly, he revolted from the rule of the empire, and sought the help of neighbouring peoples . . . for devastating<sup>1</sup> . . . 4. To avert this danger before 373 an implacable enemy should increase in strength, Theodosius, commander of the cavalry, was sent with the aid of a small body of the court troops, since in his merits (as a man efficient in accomplishing his ends) he surpassed all others of his time. He might well be compared with Domitius Corbulo and Lusius<sup>2</sup> of old, of whom the former under Nero, the latter during Trajan's reign, were famed for many brave deeds. 5. Then setting out from Arles under favourable auspices and crossing the sea with the fleet under his command, preceded by no report of his coming he landed on the coast of Sitifian<sup>3</sup> Mauritania, which the natives call Igililitanum. There he chanced upon Romanus, whom he addressed courteously, and sent him to take charge of the guards and frontier defences, with a very

<sup>1</sup> On Domitius see Index. Lusius Quietus served as *legatus* in the Dacian wars of Trajan, and in the East. Both men fell victims to the envy of the courtiers and emperors. The same fate overtook Theodosius; hence an additional reason for the comparison.

<sup>2</sup> Sitifis, modern Setif, gave its name to one division of Mauritania; the others were Caesariensis and Tingitana.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

vigilias ordinandas et praetenturas, parum super his quae verebatur increpitum. 6. Quo ad Caesariensem digresso Gildonem Firmi fratrem et Maximum misit correpturos Vincentium, qui curans Romani vicem, incivilitatis eius erat particeps et furtorum. 7. Recepto itaque tardius milite, quem amplitudo maris morabatur,<sup>1</sup> Sitifim properans, Romanum cum domesticis custodiendum, protectoribus committi mandavit, agensque in oppido sollicitudine diducebatur ancipiti, multa cum animo versans, qua via quibusve commentis, per exustas caloribus terras pruinis assuetum duceret militem, vel hostem caperet discursatorem et repentinum, insidiisque potius clandestinis, quam proeliorum stabilitate confisum.

8. Quod ubi Firmo levi rumore, dein apertis est indicii cognitum, spectatissimi ducis adventu praestrictus, veniam cum concessione<sup>2</sup> praeteritorum, missis oratoribus poscebat et scriptis, docentibus eum non sponte sua ad id erupisse, quod norat<sup>3</sup> scelestum, sed Romani<sup>4</sup> iniquitate grassante licentius, ut monstrare pollicebatur. 9. Quibus lectis, paceque obsidibus acceptis promissa, dux ad recensendas legiones quae Africam tuebantur, ire pergebat ad

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<sup>1</sup> *morabatur*, added in G before *maris*; *retinuit*, A, after *maris*; *maris retorsit*, sugg. by Clark; no lac. in V. <sup>2</sup> *cum concessione*, Val.; *concessionemque*, Her.; *confessiones*, V. <sup>3</sup> *norat*, V; *morat*, Kell., Eyssen. <sup>4</sup> *scelestum* . . . *iniquitate*, lac. by Clark; *sed*, added in G; *Romani*, added by Her.; without lac., V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., his misconduct; Theodosius was well aware that Romanus was to blame for the revolt.

slight rebuke for the conduct<sup>1</sup> which made him apprehensive. 6. When Theodosius had departed to Caesarean Mauritania, he sent Gildo,<sup>2</sup> the brother of Firmus, and Maximus to arrest Vincentius, who as second in command to Romanus participated in his insolence and thefts. 7. Then, after being joined by his troops somewhat tardily, since they were delayed by the long sea-voyage, he hastened to Sitifis, and gave orders that Romanus should, with his attendants, be handed over to the guard, to be kept in custody. During his stay in that town Theodosius was torn with twofold anxiety and turned over many things in his mind, considering by what way and by what devices he might lead his soldiers, who were accustomed to a cold climate, through lands parched with heat, or might capture an enemy who was a runabout, making sudden moves and trusting rather to secret ambuscades than to stand-up fights.

8. When this became known to Firmus, at first through uncertain rumour and then through definite information, overcome by the arrival of so brilliant a general, he sent envoys with a letter to ask pardon and indulgence for what had happened, declaring that he had not of his own volition taken a hasty step which he knew to be criminal, but because of unjust and outrageous treatment by Romanus, as he promised to show. 9. When the general had read the letter, he accepted hostages and promised peace; he then proceeded to the station called Pancharia, in order to review the legions which were

<sup>2</sup> He, after the death of the emperor Theodosius, being then commander in Africa, revolted from Honorius.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Pancharianam stationem, quo convenire praeceptae sunt. Ibi magnificis verbis atque prudentibus specunctorum erecta, reversus Sitifim, consociato<sup>1</sup> indigena milite cum eo quem ipse perduxerat, aegre perpetiens moras, ad procinctus ire ocius festinabat. 10. Inter residua autem multa et clara, id amorem eius auxerat in immensum, quod a provincialibus commeatum exercitui prohibuit dari, messes et condita hostium virtutis nostrorum horrea esse, fiducia memorans speciosa.

11. His ita cum laetitia possessorum dispositis, ad Tubusuptum progressus, oppidum Ferrato contiguum monti, legationem secundam Firmi repudiavit, quae obsides (ut ante statutum est) non duxerat secum. Unde omnibus pro loco et tempore cautius exploratis, concito gradu Tyndensium gentem et Masinissensium petit, levibus armis instructas, quas Mascizel et Dius fratres Firmi ductabant. 12. Cum essent hostes iam in contuitu, membris omnibus celeres, post missilia hinc inde crebrius iacta, committitur certamen asperrimum, interque gemitus mortis et vulnorum, audiebantur barbarorum ululabiles fletus captorum et caesorum,<sup>2</sup> pugnaque dirempta

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<sup>1</sup> *consociato*, Günther; *concitato*, vulgo; *conciato*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *caesorum*, V; *sauciorum*, Her.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxiv. 1, 15, *virtutis suae horrea*.

<sup>2</sup> At the command of Honorius he later invaded Africa with an army and killed his brother Gildo (see xxix. 5, 6,

guarding Africa and had been bidden to assemble in that place. There he aroused the hope of all by a lofty, but discreet, address, and returned to Sitifis, where he united the native troops and those which he himself had brought; then, impatient of further delay, he hastened with all speed to open the campaign. 10. But among many other excellent measures he made himself immensely more beloved by this—that he did not allow the provincials to furnish supplies for the army, declaring with splendid confidence that the harvests and stores of the enemy were the granaries of our valorous troops.<sup>1</sup>

11. After these arrangements had thus been made to the joy of the land-owners, he marched to Tubusuptum, a town near Mount Ferratus, but declined to receive a second deputation from Firmus, because, contrary to the previous agreement, it had brought no hostages with it. From there he carefully examined into everything, so far as present circumstances allowed, and then advanced rapidly against the peoples of the Tyndenses and the Masinissenses, who were provided only with light arms and were led by Mascizel<sup>2</sup> and Dius, brothers of Firmus. 12. When the enemy, active in all their limbs, were in sight, a fierce battle began after volleys of missiles from both sides; amid the groans of the dying and the wounded the mournful howls of the barbarians were heard, as they were taken prisoner or killed; and when the contest was ended,

note); cf. Claudian, *Bell. Gild.* i. 389 ff.; Orosius, vii. 36, 4. Stilicho had him thrown from a bridge; cf. Zos. v. 11, who calls him Masceledus.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

plures agri populati sunt et incensi. 13. Inter quas<sup>1</sup> clades eminuere fundi Petrensis, excisi radicitus, quem Salmaces dominus (Firmi frater) in modum urbis extruxit. Hoc successu victor elatus, mira velocitate Lamfoctense oppidum occupavit, inter gentes positum ante dictas, ubi abunde rei cibariae copiam condi effecit, ut si pergens interius alimentorum offendisset penuriam, iuberet e propinquo convectari. 14. Quae dum ita procedunt, Mascizel reparatis viribus nationum confinium adminicula ductans, conserta manu cum nostris, fuis e parte suorum compluribus,<sup>2</sup> ipse equi pernicitate aegre discrimine mortis exemptus est.

15. Fessus aerumnis gemini proelii Firmus, imoque aestuans corde, nequid ultimae rationis omitteret, Christiani ritus antistites oraturos pacem cum obsidibus misit. Qui quoniam suscepti lenius pollicitique victui congrua militibus (ut praeceptum est), laeta rettulere responsa et pacem,<sup>3</sup> missis muneribus, Maurus ipse fidentius ad Romanum perrexerat ducem, equo insidens apto ad ancipitis casus, cumque prope venisset, fulgore signorum et terribili vultu Theodosi praestriatus, iumento desiluit, curvataque cervice humi paene affixus, temeritatem suam flebiliter incusabat, pacem obsecrando cum

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<sup>1</sup> *quas*, scripsi; *quos*, V; cf. xvii. 7, 1.      <sup>2</sup> *compluribus*, Her. c.c.; *pluribus*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *et pacem*, *missis*, Her.; *responsae procem missis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> An estate with the surrounding fields; cf. *Macelli fundum*, xv. 2, 7, note.

many fields were plundered and burned. 13. Among such disasters conspicuous were those to an estate called Petrensis, which its owner, Salmaces, a brother of Firmus had built up in the manner of a city,<sup>1</sup> and which was utterly destroyed. The victor, elated by this success, with remarkable speed seized the town of Lamfoctum, situated among the aforesaid peoples, where he caused an abundance of provisions to be stored, so that if on penetrating farther into the country he met with a scarcity of food, he might order it to be brought from near at hand. 14. During the course of these events Mascizel, having recovered his strength by bringing in helpers from neighbouring tribes, engaged with our men; but when very many of his troops were routed, he himself barely escaped the danger of death through the swiftness of his horse.

15. Firmus, weakened by the losses of two battles and chafing in his inmost heart, in order not to neglect even one last measure, sent priests of the Christian sect with hostages to beg for peace. These were received courteously and, on their promise to furnish the necessities of life for the soldiers, as was ordered, they brought back a favourable reply and peace; whereupon the Moor himself, after sending presents, went with some confidence to the Roman general, mounted upon a horse that would prove useful in times of danger; and when he had come near, dazzled by the gleaming standards and the fear-inspiring expression of Theodosius, he sprang from his mount, and with bowed neck almost prostrate on the ground blamed with tears his rashness, and begged for pardon and

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

venia. 16. Susceptusque cum osculo, quoniam id rei publicae conducebat, bonae spei iam plenus, sufficientia prae-buit alimenta, et quibusdam propinquis suis ad obsidum vicem relictis, abscessit, captivos (ut spoponderat) redditurus, quos primis barbarum exordiis rapuit: biduoque post, Icosium oppidum, cuius supra docuimus conditores, militaria signa et coronam sacerdotalem, cum ceteris quae interceperat, nihil cunctatus restituit, ut praeceptum est.

17. Exinde cum discursis itineribus magnis, Tipasam noster dux introiret, legatis Mazicum, qui se consociaverant Firmo, suppliciter obsecrantibus veniam, animo elato respondit, se in eos ut perfidos arma protinus commoturum. 18. Quibus imminenti<sup>1</sup> periculi metu defixis, revertique iussis ad sua, Caesaream ire tendebat, urbem opulentam quondam et nobilem,<sup>2</sup> cuius itidem originem in Africae situ digessimus plene, eamque ingressus, cum omnem paene incendiis late dispersis vidisset exustam, horridasque canitie silices, primam et secundam legionem ad tempus ibi locari disposuit, ut favil-

<sup>1</sup> *imminentis*, NAG; *minantis*, Eyssen.; *minanti*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *et nobilem*, added in G; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> The book in which he spoke of this is lost. He perhaps drew his material from Solinus, *Polyhist.* 25, 17, who ascribes its founding to twenty companions of Hercules, *qui a comitatu eius desciverant . . . ac ne quis imposito a se nomine privatim gloriaretur, de condentium numero urbi nomen datum* (i.e. from εἰκοσι, twenty).

<sup>2</sup> The high priest of a province wore a golden crown (according to Tertullian). The reference is to xxviii. 6, 10, where the death of the high priest, Rusticianus, is mentioned.

peace. 16. Being received with a kiss, since the interests of the state so demanded, he was now filled with joyful hope, furnished a sufficient amount of provisions, left some of his relatives by way of hostages, and went away, after agreeing to fulfil his promise and return the captives which he had taken at the very beginning of the rebellion. Two days later, without hesitation, he restored, as had been ordered, the town of Icosium, of whose founders I spoke before,<sup>1</sup> the military standards, and the priestly crown,<sup>2</sup> as well as the rest of the booty which he had taken.

17. When after this our general had hurried through long marches and was now entering Tipasa, to envoys from the Mazices, who had joined with Firmus, and humbly begged for pardon, he replied with lofty spirit that he would at once take the field against them as traitors. 18. And when they, paralysed with fear of the imminent danger, had been ordered to return to their homes, he went on to Caesarea,<sup>3</sup> formerly a powerful and famous city, the origin of which I have also fully discussed in my description of the topography<sup>4</sup> of Africa.<sup>5</sup> On entering the city, and finding it almost wholly burned down from widespread fires, and the paving-stones white with mould, he decided to station the first and second legions there for a time, with

<sup>3</sup> Orosius, vii. 33, 5, says that it was taken and destroyed by Firmus. It was formerly called Iol, but Juba changed the name to Caesarea in honour of Augustus Caesar; cf. Eutr. vii. 10, 3.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., "*descriptione situs*." For this meaning of *situ*, cf. xxiii. 6, 10, and Ernesti, *Index*, s.v.

<sup>5</sup> In a lost book.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

larum egerentes acervos, agitarent ibi praesidium, ne repetito barbarorum impetu vastaretur.

19. Quae cum rumores crebri distulissent et veri,<sup>1</sup> provinciae rectores, tribunusque Vincentius, e latibulis quibus sese commiserant, egressi tandem intrepidi ad ducem ocius pervenerunt. Quibus ille gratanter visis atque susceptis, agens etiam tum<sup>2</sup> apud Caesaream, fide rerum diligentius explorata, comperit Firmum per speciem paventis<sup>3</sup> et supplicis, tectiore consilio id moliri, ut nihil hostile metuentem<sup>4</sup> exercitum in modum tempestatis subitae conturbaret. 20. Quam ob rem conversus hinc venit ad municipium Sugabarritanum, Transcellensi monti accline, ubi inventos equites quartae sagittariorum cohortis, quae ad rebellem defecerat, ut contentum se supplicio leniori monstraret, omnes contrusit ad infimum militiae gradum, eosque et Constantianorum peditum partem Tigavias venire iusserat cum tribunis, e quibus unus torquem pro diademate capiti imposuit Firmi. 21. Quae dum<sup>5</sup> aguntur, reverterunt Gildo et Maximus, Bellen e principibus Mazicum et Fericium gentis praefectum ducentes, qui factionem iuverant quietis publicae turbatoris<sup>6</sup> . . . producerent vinctos. 22. Quo ita ut statutum

<sup>1</sup> *crebri d. et ueri*, tr. by Her.; *ueri distulissent*, G: *crebri*, Eyssen.; *certi*, Novák; *uero sustulissent et curii*, V. <sup>2</sup> *tum*, added by Her.; V omits. <sup>3</sup> *pauentis*, Kell.; *parentis*, Corn.; *et*, add. G; *fauentis*, V. <sup>4</sup> *metuentem*, W<sup>2</sup>AG; *operientem*, Günther; *merientem*, V. <sup>5</sup> *Quae dum*, tr. by Her.; *dumque*, V. <sup>6</sup> lac. 11 letters with 2 asterisks, G; lac. 3½ lines, V.

<sup>1</sup> See 5, 6, above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxi. 11, 2.

<sup>3</sup> A Roman title adopted by the Mazices.

orders to clear away the heaps of ashes and keep guard there, to prevent the place from being devastated by a renewed attack of the savages.

19. When these events had been spread abroad by frequent and trustworthy rumours, the officials of the province and the tribune Vincentius<sup>1</sup> came out of the hiding-places in which they had taken refuge, and at last, free from fear, quickly appeared before the general. He, after having seen and received them gladly, being then still at Caesarea, inquired carefully about the true state of affairs; he learned that Firmus, under pretence of fear and submission, was secretly forming the plan of throwing our army into confusion, as if by a sudden tempest, while it feared no hostile demonstration. 20. Therefore he turned from there and came to the municipal town of Sugabarritanum, on the slope of the Transcellian mountain, where he found the horsemen of the fourth cohort of archers, which had gone over to the rebel; and to show that he was content with a somewhat mild punishment, he degraded them all to the lowest class of the service; then he ordered them and a part of the Constantian<sup>2</sup> infantry, with their tribunes, one of whom had placed his neck-chain, in place of a diadem, on Firmus' head, to come to Tigaviae. 21. While this was going on, Gildo and Maximus returned, bringing Belles, one of the chiefs of the Mazices, and Fericius, prefect<sup>3</sup> of the tribe, who had aided the party of the disturber of the public peace<sup>4</sup> . . . 22. When this

<sup>4</sup> A lacuna of four lines follows, after which are the words *producerent vinctos*, "to bring them in chains," or something similar.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

est facto, lucis primo exortu, ipse egressus, cum invenisset eos in exercitu circumsaectos: "Quid de istis nefariis" inquit "proditoribus fieri oportere, contubernales devoti, censetis?" Secutusque acclamationem rogantium, sanguine vindicari, eos qui inter Constantianos merebant, prisco more militibus dedit<sup>1</sup> occidendos, sagittariorum vero primoribus manus incidit, residuos supplicio capitali multavit, ad aemulationem Curionis, acerrimi illius ducis, qui Dardanorum ferociam, in modum Lernaeae serpentis aliquotiens renascentem, hoc genere poenarum extinxit. 23. Sed obtrectatores malivoli vetus factum laudantes, hoc ut dirum vituperant et asperri- mum, Dardanos hostes memorantes internecivos, et iuste quae sustinuerunt perpercos, hos vero subsig- nanos milites debuisse lenius corrigi, ad unum pro- lapsos errorem. Quos nescientes<sup>2</sup> forsitan ad- monemus, hanc cohortem et facto fuisse<sup>3</sup> et exemplo adversam. 24. Ante dictos<sup>4</sup> Bellen et Fericium, quos duxerat Gildo, tribunumque sagittariorum Curandium, ea re iussit occidi, quod nec ipse umquam cum hostibus congredi voluit, nec suos ut pugna- rent hortari. Agebat autem haec Tullianum illud

<sup>1</sup> *dedidit*, Clark, c.c.; *dedit*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *nescientes*, Her.; *scientes*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *fuisse*, added by Haupt; V omits.  
<sup>4</sup> *adversam*. *antedictos* G; *dictis* V; *adversam antedictis*, with lac., Her.

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<sup>1</sup> Something like "running the gauntlet"; cf. Tac., *Ann.* i. 44; Polyb. vi. 37, 3 ff.; Lamprid. *Commodus*, 6, 2, *hostis appellatus lacerandusque militibus est deditus*.

had been done according to order, at daybreak he himself came out, and finding the rebels surrounded by his army, he said: "What think you, my devoted comrades, ought to be done with these abominable traitors?" And acceding to the acclamation of those who asked that they should pay for it with their blood, he turned over those who served among the Constantiani to the soldiers, to be slain in the old-fashioned way.<sup>1</sup> But he had the hands of the leaders of the archers cut off and punished the rest with death, following the example of that strictest of leaders Curio,<sup>2</sup> who put an end by a punishment of that kind to the wildness of the Dardani, when, like the Lernaean hydra, they constantly gained new life. 23. But malevolent detractors, while praising that act of the olden time, find fault with this one as cruel and inhuman, declaring that the Dardani were murderous enemies and justly suffered the punishment which befell them, while these, on the contrary, were soldiers under the flag who had allowed themselves to commit a single fault and deserved to have been punished more leniently. But such folk we remind of what they perhaps do not know, that this cohort was harmful, not only in its action, but also in the example which it set. 24. The afore-said Belles and Fericius, whom Gildo had brought, and Curandius, tribune of the archers, he ordered to be put to death, the last named on the ground that he never wished either to engage with the enemy himself or to encourage his men to fight. Moreover, Theodosius did this bearing in mind the saying

<sup>1</sup> He was proconsul in Thrace; see Livy, *Epit.* xcv.; Flor. i. 39, 6; Front., *Strateg.* iv. 1, 43.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

advertens, quod "salutaris vigor<sup>1</sup> vincit inanem speciem clementiae."

25. Exin profectus, fundum nomine Gaionatis, muro circumdatum valido, receptaculum Maurorum tutissimum, arietibus admotis evertit, et caesis omnibus incolis, moenibusque complanatis, ad Tingitanum castellum progressus, per Ancorarium montem, Mazicas in unum collectos invasit, iam tela reciprocantes, volitantia grandinis ritu. 26. Et cum esset utrimque discursus, agmina viribus<sup>2</sup> armisque incitata nostrorum non perferentes Mazices licet bellicosum genus et durum, diversis stragibus implicati, foedo diffluxere terrore, ruentesque in fugam, caesi sunt absque his qui reperta copia discedendi supplici prece veniam (quam dari tempus flagitaverat) impetrarunt. 27. Suggen eorum ductore<sup>3</sup> . . . Romano successerat, in Sitifensem Mauritaniam ire disposito, ad agitanda praesidia, ne provincia pervaderetur, ipse praeteritis elatior casibus, gentem petit Musonum, quam conscientia rapinarum et caedum actibus congregaverat Firmi, ut sperabatur maiora mox adepturi.

28. Progressusque aliquantum, iuxta Addense municipium comperit, dissonas cultu et sermonum varietate, nationes plurimas unum spirantibus animis, immanium exordia concitare bellorum,

<sup>1</sup> *vigor*, V; *rigor*, E<sup>3</sup>AG; *seueritas*, W<sup>2</sup>, Cic.

<sup>2</sup> *uiribus*, Clark (cf. xxiii. 2, 17; xviii. 4, 1); *uiris*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *ductore*, followed by lac. of 3 lines, V.

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<sup>1</sup> *Epist. ad Brutum*, i. 2, 5 (Cic. has *seueritas*, not *vigor*).

<sup>2</sup> A lacuna of three lines follows. The successor of Romanus is therefore unknown.

of Cicero : " Wholesome strength is better than a vain show of mercy." <sup>1</sup>

25. Setting out from there, he came to an estate called Gaionatis, surrounded by a strong wall and hence a very safe refuge for the Moors. Against this he brought up his battering-rams and destroyed it, killing all the inhabitants and levelling the walls; then advancing over the Ancorarian mountain to Castellum Tingitanum, he attacked the Mazices, who were gathered together into one body and replied with missiles which came flying like hail. 26. And after both sides had rushed in to the attack, the Mazices, though a warlike and hardy race, could not resist the columns of our men, charging with all their strength and weapons, but involved in heavy losses at various points fled in shameful terror; and as they rushed to escape all were cut down except those who found a means of getting away, and later by abject prayers obtained the pardon which circumstances made it advisable to grant. 27. Suggen, when their leader <sup>2</sup> . . . had succeeded Romanus, was ordered to go to Mauritania Sitifensis, in order to keep guard and prevent the province from being overrun, while he himself, encouraged by past successes, marched against the tribe of the Musones, which consciousness of their deeds of plunder and blood had joined with the enterprise of Firmus, since they hoped he would soon attain greater power.

28. Having advanced some distance, near the 373 f. municipal town of Adda Theodosius learned that a great number of tribes, differing in civilization and in variety of language, but united in their purpose, were stirring up the beginnings of cruel wars, instigated

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

adigente hortanteque maxima spe praemiorum, sorore Firmi nomine Cyria, quae abundans divitiis, et destinatione feminea, nisibus magnis instituit iuvare germanum. 29. Quocirca Theodosius veritus, ne Marti sese committeret impari, congressusque multitudini immensae cum paucis—tria enim armorum milia ductabat atque quingentos—amitteret universos, inter pudorem cedendi, pugnandique ardorem, gradiens retro paulatim, trudente pondere plebis abcessit. 30. Hocque eventu barbari nimium quantum elati,<sup>1</sup> sequentesque pertinaciter<sup>2</sup> . . . certare necessitate compulsus<sup>3</sup> semet ipsum et ad internecionem perdiderat cunctos, ni gentium turbulenta concussio, procul Mazicum visis auxiliis, quos anteibant quidam Romani, arbitrata in se impetum agminum ferri complurium, versa in pedes aperuisset nostris exitus antehac intersaeptos. 31. Exinde cum militem ducens incolumem Theodosius ad fundum venisset nomine Mazucanum, exustis desertoribus paucis, aliisque ad sagittariorum exemplum, quibus manus ademptae sunt, contruncatis, Tipasam<sup>4</sup> mense Februario venit. 32. Ubi diutius agens, ut antiquus ille Cunctator pro negotio consultabat, commentis potius et prudentia quam periculosis congressibus, hostem pugnacem et

<sup>1</sup> *elati*, Val. ; V omits with lac. 5 letters ; *elati* . . . *ipsum*, omitted by G with lac. of 9 letters and 2 asterisks.

<sup>2</sup> lac. of 2½ lines, V.

<sup>3</sup> *compulsus*, Her. ; (lac. 9

letters) *sussemet*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *Tipasam*, Her. ; *tipatam*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> A brief lacuna follows which does not greatly affect the sense.

and abetted through very great hope of rewards by a sister of Firmus named Cyria, who, abounding in wealth and in feminine persistence, had resolved to make great efforts to aid her brother. 29. Therefore Theodosius, fearing lest he should involve himself in an unequal contest, and if he confronted a vast horde with only a few troops—for he had under his command only 3500 armed men—might lose them all, wavered between the shame of retreat and the desire for battle; but at last he gradually withdrew and made off, with the horde pressing at his heels. 30. The foe, tremendously elated by this success, followed persistently<sup>1</sup> . . . so that he found it necessary to fight; but he himself would have been killed and his army utterly annihilated, had not the enemy, attacking in disorder, seen afar off the auxiliaries of the Mazices, in the van of which were some Romans; so thinking that they were attacked by many columns, they turned in flight and opened to our men ways of escape which before had been blocked. 31. From there, leading his army safe and sound, Theodosius came to an estate called Mazucanus, where he burned a few deserters alive and mutilated the rest as he had the archers whose hands were cut off;<sup>2</sup> and in the month of February he reached Tipasa. 32. There he made a long halt, and after the manner of the famous Lingerer<sup>3</sup> of old took counsel with himself as the circumstances demanded, planning, if chance gave the opportunity, rather through strategy and discretion than by the

<sup>1</sup> See § 22, above.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Fabius Maximus in the Hannibalic war, nicknamed *Cunctator* because of his policy of caution.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

impetrabilem iactu telorum, si fors copiam dederit, oppressurus. 33. Mittebat tamen assidue suadendi quosdam peritos, ad gentes circumsitas, Baiuras Cantaurianos Avastomates Cafaves Bavaresque et finitimos alios, nunc timore nunc praemiis<sup>1</sup> eos ad societatem alliciens, veniamque petulantiae interdum promittendo cum<sup>2</sup> . . . t ulterius<sup>3</sup> per ambages et moras hostem frangentem suos impetus oppressurus, ut quondam Pompeius Mithridatem.

34. Qua causa declinans perniciem proximam Firmus, licet praesidiorum magnitudine communitus, relicta plebe, quam coegerat magna mercede, quoniam latendi copiam nocturna quies dedit, Caprarienses montes longe remotos penetravit, et diruptis rupibus inaccessos. 35. Cuius abitu clandestino multitudo dispersa sine rectore particulatimque diffuens, invadendi eius castra nostris copiam dedit. Hisque direptis, et interfectis qui resistebant, vel in deditionem acceptis, regionum maxima parte vastata, gentibus per quas transibat dux consultissimus apposuit fidei compertae praefectos. 36. Hac inopina sequendi confidentia territus perduellis, servis comitantibus paucis, digressu celeri

<sup>1</sup> *nunc praemiis*, Her.; *nunc nummis*, W<sup>2</sup>HTCN<sup>2</sup>; *nun miseos*, V.      <sup>2</sup> lac. of 3 lines, V; *cum . . . tultorius* omitted without lac. by G.      <sup>3</sup> . . . t ulterius, Her. (cf. xvii. 13, 30); *tultorius*, V.

danger of battle, to overthrow an enemy who was pugnacious and effective in the use of missiles. 33. Nevertheless he constantly sent men experienced in 363 ff. persuasion to the surrounding tribes, the Baiurae, Cantauriani, Avastomates, Cafaves, Bavares, and other neighbours, to entice them to an alliance, now by fear, now by bribes, and sometimes by promising pardon for their impudence with <sup>1</sup> . . . intending by subterfuges and delays to overcome an enemy who foiled his attacks, as Pompey once vanquished Mithridates.

34. Therefore Firmus, to avoid imminent destruction, although he was protected by a strong body of troops, abandoned the army which he had got together at great expense; and when the quiet of night gave him the opportunity of concealment, he made his way into the far distant Caprariensian mountains, which are inaccessible because of their steep crags. 35. In consequence of his secret departure his army scattered and roamed about in small bands without a leader, thus giving our men the opportunity of invading their camp. After this was plundered and those who resisted were killed or received in surrender, the greater part of the country was devastated and our prudent leader put prefects of tried fidelity in charge of the peoples through whose country he was marching. 36. The public enemy, terrified by this unexpected confidence of the pursuit, quickly departed, accompanied by a few slaves, in order to provide for his safety; and to

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a lacuna of three lines, perhaps telling that, strengthened through these tribes, he again took the field.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

consulturus saluti, nequo praepediretur obstaculo, abiecit pretiosarum sarcinas specierum, quas avexerat secum. Uxorem<sup>1</sup> namque<sup>2</sup> fessam labore continuo et per ancipitis di. . . . 37. Theodosius nullique adeuntium<sup>3</sup> parcens, mundiore victu stipendioque milite recreato, Caprariensibus Abannisque eorum vicinis proelio levi sublati, ad municipium properavit . . . ense:<sup>4</sup> sed<sup>5</sup> veris nuntiis doctus, barbaros occupasse iam tumulos, per anfracta undique spatia in sublime porrectos, nullique pervios nisi indigenis locorum perquam gnaris, repedando dedit hostibus facultatem, per indutias (licet breves) Aethiopum iuxta agentium adminiculis augeri vel maximis. 38. Qui concatervatis copiis fremituque minaci, sine sui respectu ruentes in pugnam, averterunt eum inaestimabili turmarum specie dira perterrefactum, statimque redintegratis animis, commeatus vehens abunde, revertit, et conglobatis suis scutaque in formidabilem moventibus gestum, controversas eisdem opposuit manus. 39. Quamquam igitur immite quiddam barbaricis concrepantibus tubis,<sup>6</sup> manipuli furentium imminebant, ipsi quoque parmas

<sup>1</sup> *uxorem* . . . *per anc. di*, omitted in G with lac. 11 letters and 2 asterisks. <sup>2</sup> *namque*, E<sup>2</sup>A; *enim*, Clark; *nam*

*fessam* . . . *perancipitis di* (*di*, V<sup>2</sup>), V. <sup>3</sup> *adeuntium*, EW<sup>2</sup>, vulgo; G omits; *transfugientium*, sugg. by Fletcher;

*adeum* (lac. 10 letters) *tium*, V. <sup>4</sup> *properavit* (lac. 4 letters) *ense*, V; no lac. in G. <sup>5</sup> *set ueris*, Clark;

*uerisque*, G; V omits *set*. <sup>6</sup> *tubis*, Her. (cf. xvi. 12, 27); *armis*, G; *ab his*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Another lacuna of four lines. Doubtless it is said that his wife lost her life during the flight.

prevent being impeded by any hindrance, he threw away packs containing valuable articles which he had carried off with him. For his wife, worn out by continual hardships and by dangers<sup>1</sup> . . . 37. Theodosius,<sup>2</sup> sparing none of the enemy who came near, after refreshing his soldiers with better food and their pay, as well as disposing of the Caprarienses and their neighbours the Abanni in a slight skirmish, hastened to the municipal town of Audia.<sup>3</sup> But having learned from trustworthy sources that the savages had already taken possession of hills which extended upwards in all directions in winding masses, and could be penetrated by no one except natives who were thoroughly acquainted with the locality, he retreated and thereby during the cessation of hostilities, brief though it was, gave the enemy an opportunity of being strengthened by very numerous auxiliaries from the Aethiopians who dwelt near by. 38. When the foe, with united forces and threatening uproar, taking no thought for their own lives, rushed to battle, they drove off Theodosius in great terror at the fearful sight of their countless throngs. But he took courage and at once returned, bringing an abundance of provisions, and with his men in close order and brandishing their shields in a terrifying posture, met the enemy hand to hand. 39. Then, although the bands of raging savages, blaring some ferocious tune on their barbaric trumpets and also clashing their bucklers against their knees, were close

<sup>1</sup> *nullique* shows that Theodosius is really the subject of a missing verb, but there is no lacuna in V.

<sup>2</sup> Or Duobia; both names occur below, but the lacuna of four letters in V suggests Audia here; cf. § 44, below.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

genibus illidentes, tamen ut pugnator ille cautus et prudens, militis paucitate diffusus, audacter agmine quadrato incedens, ad civitatem nomine Contensem flexit iter intrepidus, ubi captivos<sup>1</sup> nostros Firmus ut in munimento abstruso locarat et celso; cunctisque receptis, in proditores satellitesque memorati animadvertit acriter (ut solebat).

40. Hoc ei magni numinis adiumento gerenti prosperrime, verus indicat explorator confugisse ad Isafilensium populum Firmum: ad quem reposcendum una cum fratre Mazuca, ceterisque necessitudinibus illuc ingressus, cum adipisci non posset, genti bellum indixit. 41. Et proelio atroci commisso, ferocientibus barbaris ultra modum, aciem rotundo<sup>2</sup> habitu figuratam opponit, adeoque Isafilenses pondere catervarum urgentium<sup>3</sup> inclinati sunt, ut plurimi caderent, et ipse Firmus ferox et saepe in suam perniciem<sup>4</sup> praeceps equo auferretur in fugam, per saxa et rupes discurrere citius assueto, Mazuca vero frater eius caperetur letaliter saucius. 42. Qui Caesaream mitti dispositus, ubi saeva inusserat monumenta facinorum pessimorum, dilatato vulneris hiatu discessit. Caput tamen eius avulsum residuo

<sup>1</sup> *intrepidus, ubi captivos*, Val.; *intrepidum* (lac. 3 letters with asterisk), G; *inter intrepī* (lac. 6 letters) *quorum summa ui* (xxix. 1, 17), V.

<sup>2</sup> *in rotunda*, V; *in del. as dittogr. by Clark* (cf. xxiii. 4, 14); *rotundo*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *ingruentium* (cf. Tac., *Ann.* ii. 11, 4), Walter; *ingentium*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *perniciem*, W<sup>2</sup>G; lac. after *perniciem*, Her.; *pernicionem* (without lac.), V.

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<sup>1</sup> *quadrato agmine* means with the soldiers in the form of a square (or rectangle), with the baggage in the middle. It was the usual marching order when an attack was looked for.

upon him, nevertheless, like a careful and discreet warrior, though distrusting the small number of his men, he formed a hollow square<sup>1</sup> and then advanced boldly. Then he fearlessly turned aside to a city called Conta, where Firmus, since it was a concealed and lofty fortress, had placed those of our men whom he had captured. But Theodosius recovered them all, and severely punished the traitors and the attendants of Firmus, as was his custom.

40. While he was thus most successful, with the aid of the mighty godhead, a trustworthy scout informed him that Firmus had fled to the Isafenses; whereupon he invaded their lands, to demand the traitor as well as his brother Mazuca and the rest of his kinsfolk; and when his demand was refused, he declared war upon that race. 41. A fierce battle followed, since the savages were uncommonly ferocious; but he opposed his army to them in circular formation<sup>2</sup> and the Isafenses were so overcome by the weight of the onrushing troops that many of them were slain. Firmus himself, after fighting bravely and often risking his life, was carried off in headlong flight by his horse, which was accustomed to run swiftly over rocks and crags; but his brother Mazuca was fatally wounded and taken prisoner. 42. Theodosius gave orders to send Mazuca to Caesarea, a city on which the Moor had branded the savage marks of his evil deeds; but he tore open his wound<sup>3</sup> and died. However, his head was torn off, leaving the rest of his body intact, and to the great joy of

<sup>2</sup> That is, facing the enemy on all sides.

<sup>3</sup> So Wagner, *dilatato ab ipso vulneris hiatus*, which seems to fit the context and the situation.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

integro <sup>1</sup> corpore, cum magno visentium gaudio urbi illatum est ante dictae. 43. Post haec Isaflensium gentem, quae obstitit, superatam dux nobilis incommodis multis (ut aequitas poscebat) afflixit. Ibi Evasium potentem municipem, Florumque eius filium, et quosdam alios per secretiora consilia temeratorem quietis iuvisse confutatos aperte, flammis absumpsit.

44. Exindeque pergens interius, nationem Iubalenam spiritu aggressus ingenti, ubi natum Nubelem patrem didicerat Firmi, repulsus altitudine montium et flexuosis angustiis, stetit. Et quamlibet facto in hostem impetu pluribusque peremptis aperuerit viam, formidans tamen sublimia collium ad insidian- dum aptissima, ducens suos incolumes, revertit ad Audiense castellum : ubi Iesalensium gens fera semet dedit <sup>2</sup> voluntaria, auxilia praestare spondens et commeatus.

45. His et eius modi gloriosis actibus exsultans amplissimus ductor, ipsum otii turbatorem petebat valido virium nisu, ideoque prope munimentum nomine Medianum diu consistens, per multas prudentesque sententiarum vias eundem sibi prodi posse sperabat. 46. Haecque cogitationibus anxiiis, altiore- que prospiciens cura, rursus ad Isaflenses hostem comperit revertisse ; quos nihil moratus, ut antea, agminibus adoritur incitatis. Cui rex Igmazen nomine spectatus per eos tractus opibusque insignis, progressus obviam confidenter : “ Cuius loci es tu ”

<sup>1</sup> *integro corpore*, Her. ; *incorpore*, V.  
Bentley ; *dedit*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *dedit*,

all who saw it was brought into the aforesaid city. 43. After this our famous general overcame the race of the Isafilenses, who still resisted, and, as justice demanded, inflicted many vexatious penalties upon them. There Evasius, an important citizen, Florus his son, and some others, who were clearly convicted of having aided the violator of peace by secret counsel, were burned alive.

44. Then Theodosius marched farther into the country, and with great courage attacked the tribe of the Iubaleni, to which he had learned that Nubel, the father of Firmus, belonged ; but he was brought to a halt by the high mountains and the circuitous passes ; and although he attacked the enemy and after killing many of them opened a way, yet dreading the high hills, so well adapted to ambuscades, he led his men back in safety to the fortress of Audia. There the wild race of the Iesalenses voluntarily surrendered, promising to furnish aid and provisions.

45. The mighty leader, exulting in these and similar glorious actions, then went in quest of the disturber of peace himself with a mighty effort of strength. To that end he made a long halt near the castle of Medianum, hoping that through many carefully devised plans Firmus might be betrayed into his hands. 46. While he was looking forward to this with perplexed thoughts and deep care, he found that his enemy had returned to the Isafilenses ; whereupon he did not delay, as before, but attacked them with all the speed he could. Their king, Igmazen by name, who was highly regarded in those parts and notable for his resources, boldly came forward to meet him. "What is your rank," said

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

inquit "vel quid acturus huc venisti? responde." Quem Theodosius fundata mente intuens torvum: "Comes," ait, "Valentiniani sum (orbis terrarum domini) ad opprimendum latronem funereum missus; quem nisi statim reddideris, ut invictus statuit imperator, peribis funditus cum gente quam regis." Quo audito Igmazen post convicia multa, quae conguessit in ducem, ira doloreque percussus abscessit.

47. Et secutae principio lucis, utrimque occursurae sibi ad configendum processerunt acies minacissimae, et barbarorum viginti paene milia in ipsis locata sunt frontibus, occultatis pone terga subsidialibus globis, ut assurgentes paulatim nostros multitudine clauderent insperata: hisque Iesalenses auxiliares accessere quam plures, quos adiumenta et commeatus nostris docuimus promisisse.

48. Contra Romani, quamvis admodum pauci, tamen fortibus animis, victoriisque antegressis elati, densetis<sup>1</sup> lateribus, scutisque in testudinis formam cohaerenter aptatis, restiterunt gradibus fixis, et a sole orto usque ad diei extimum pugna protenta, paulo ante vesperam visus est Firmus, equo celsiori insidens, sago puniceo porrectius panso, milites clamoribus magnis hortari, ut dedant Theodosium opportune, truculentum eum appellans et dirum, et suppliciorum saevum repertorem, si discriminibus eximi vellent, quae perferebant.

49. Hae insperatae

<sup>1</sup> *densetis*, E, Eyssen.; *densatis*, G; *desetis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> He was really *magister militum*, which officer is called *comes* also in xviii. 8, 6; cf. *ducem*, below, and Introd. Vol. I, p. xxxiv, n. 3.      <sup>2</sup> See the illustration at xxiii. 4, 1.

<sup>3</sup> For a similar use of the *sagum* see xviii. 6, 13, xxv. 6, 14 (*sagulum*).

he, "or what have you come here to do? Tell me." Theodosius, with stern glance and resolute mind, replied: "I am the general<sup>1</sup> of Valentinian, lord of the world, sent to destroy a murderous robber. Unless you give him up at once, as the invincible emperor has ordered, you will perish utterly with the race over which you rule." On hearing this, Igmazen, after heaping a flood of abuse upon the general, departed, full of wrath and resentment. 47. At the first appearance of the following daylight both armies, with threatening mien, advanced to meet each other in battle. Nearly 20,000 savages were stationed in the very van, with bands of reserves concealed behind them, in order that they might gradually rise up and surround our men with their unexpected numbers. Besides these there were a great many auxiliaries from the Iesalenses, who, as we have pointed out, had promised help and provisions to our side. 48. On the other hand, the Romans, although very few in number, nevertheless brave in spirit and encouraged by their former victories, pressed side to side in close order and with shields closely held together in the tortoise-formation,<sup>2</sup> stood fast and resisted them; and the battle was continued from sunrise to the end of the day. A little before evening Firmus was seen, mounted on a tall horse, his purple cloak<sup>3</sup> trailing out and spreading wide, urging our soldiers with loud shouts to take advantage of the opportunity and give up Theodosius, if they wished to be saved from the dangers to which they were exposed, calling him a fierce savage and a cruel deviser of inhuman punishments. 49. These unexpected words roused



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

voces ad dimicandum quosdam acrius incitarunt, alios deserere proelium illexerunt. Proinde ubi noctis advenit quies prima, partibus tenebrarum obvolutis horrore, dux reversus ad Duodiense castellum, militesque recognoscens, eos quos a pugnandi proposito pavor et verba detorserant Firmi, diverso genere poenarum exstinxit: alios ademptis dexteris quosdam vivos combustos. 50. Excubiasque agens cura pervigili, barbarorum aliquos ausos, cum apparere non possent, post occasum lunae castra sua temptare effudit,<sup>1</sup> vel irruentes audentius capit. Digressus exinde passibus citis, Iesalenses ut ambiguae fidei per tramites adortus obliquos (unde parum sperari potuit) ad penuriam vastavit extremam, perque Caesariensis Mauritaniae oppida reversus Sitifim, Castorem et Martinianum rapinarum flagitiorumque Romani participes, ad interitum tortos incendit.

51. Redintegratur post haec cum Isafilensibus bellum, primoque conflictu barbarorum pluribus pulsus et interfectis, rex eorum Igmazen, vincere antehac assuetus, terrore fluctuans mali praesentis, nihilque commerciis vetitis ad vitam spei sibi restare, si obstinatius egerit, arbitratus, quantum caute fieri potuit et occulte, prorupit ex acie solus, visum-

<sup>1</sup>*effudit*, sugg. by Clark, c.c.; *studit* (corr. to *fudit* by second hand), V.

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<sup>1</sup> With Firmus. Ammianus has *commerciis vetitis* in a different sense in xxvii. 5, 7, which does not fit here.

some to fight more fiercely but induced others to abandon the battle. Accordingly, when the first quiet of night came, and the landscape was wrapped in fear-inspiring darkness, the general returned to the stronghold of Duodia, and, reviewing his soldiers, rid himself by various forms of punishment of those whom panic and the words of Firmus had turned from their duty in the battle; some had their right hands cut off, others were burned alive. 50. And keeping watch by night with most vigilant care, he repulsed some of the barbarians who ventured to make an attempt on his camp after the setting of the moon, when they thought they could not be seen, or took prisoners those who rushed in too boldly. Then departing by quick marches and following by-paths, he attacked the Iesalenses from a quarter where they could least expect it, believing them to be of doubtful loyalty, and so devastated their lands that they were reduced to dire need; then he returned by way of the towns of Mauritania Caesariensis to Sitifis, where he tortured to the verge of death and then burned alive Castor and Martinianus, as sharers in the robberies and atrocities of Romanus.

51. After this the war with the Isafenses was renewed; and when in the first engagement great numbers of the savages were put to flight or killed, their king Igmazen, who had before been accustomed to victory, wavering through fear of the present danger, and thinking that because of his unlawful associations <sup>1</sup> no hope of life was left him if he made obstinate resistance, rushed forth alone and with all possible caution and secrecy from the scene of the battle. When he came into the presence of

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

que Theodosium suppliciter petit, ut Masillam<sup>1</sup> Mazicum optimatem ad se venire iuberet. 52. Per quem (ut rogaverat) missum, clandestinis colloquiis monuit, ducem suoapte ingenio pertinacem, ut ad praebendam sibi copiam agendi quae vellet, popularibus suis acriter immineret, eosque assiduitate pugnandi mutaret in metum, promptos quidem ad perduellis favorem sed iacturis multiplicibus fessos. 53. Paruit Theodosius dictis, et crebritate certaminum Isafilenses ita protrivit, ut eisdem labentibus pecudum ritu,<sup>2</sup> Firmus ipse<sup>3</sup> latenter evaderet, et aviis et diuturnis latebris amendandus, inibi dum de fuga consultat, tentus ab Igmazene custodiretur. 54. Et quoniam obscurius gesta didicerat per Masillam, in extremis rebus unum remedium superesse contemplans, calcare vivendi cupiditatem voluntaria statuit morte: vinoque consulto distentis<sup>4</sup> et crapulatis,<sup>5</sup> silenti nocte oppressis altiore somno custodibus, pervigil ipse impendentis aerumnae terrore, insonis gradibus relicto cubili, manibus repens et pedibus, longius sese discrevit, repertumque funiculum, quem ad<sup>6</sup> finiendae vitae paraverat<sup>7</sup> casus, de clavo parieti affixo suspendit, ubi collo inserto, animam absque mortis cruciabilibus exhalavit.

<sup>1</sup> *Masillam*, Lind.; *Masilam*, Her. (cf. Dessau, 2223); *misilliam*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *ritu* added after *pecudum*, EA; *more* before *p*, W<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>G; V omits.    <sup>3</sup> *ipse*, add. by Her. (cf. § 41); *quoque*, by C.F.W.M.; *firmusque*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *distentis*, Gardt.; *distentus*, EAG; *destentus*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *crapulatis*, Her.; *crapulentus*, A; *crapulentis*, V.    <sup>6</sup> *ad*, added by Her. (xxvi. 8, 12); V omits.    <sup>7</sup> *parauerat*, Clark, c.c.; *parauere*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *suspensis passibus* and *quodrupedo gradu*, xiv. 2, 2.

**XXIX., 5, 51-54, A.D. 373 ff.**

Theodosius, he humbly begged that the general would order Masilla, a chief of the Mazices, to appear before him. 52. When Masilla had been sent to Theodosius, as he had asked, the king through him, in a secret interview, urged the general, who by his own nature was inclined to resolution, that in order to provide himself with the means of accomplishing his desires, he should vigorously assail his fellow-countrymen, and by constant fighting reduce them to fear; he said that they were indeed inclined to favour the public enemy, but were wearied by their many losses. 53. Theodosius did as he was advised, and so wore out the Isafilenses by frequent contests, that they were falling like cattle; and Firmus himself secretly escaped, intending to hide in remote and lasting retreats; but while he was there planning flight, he was taken prisoner by Igmazen and kept in custody. 54. And since he had learned through Masilla of the secret negotiations, he saw that in his extremity only one remedy was left, and decided by a voluntary death to spurn with his foot the desire to live. Accordingly, having purposely filled his guards with wine and made them drunk, and in the silence of the night they were buried in sound sleep, he himself, kept awake by fear of the trouble which hung over him, with noiseless steps<sup>1</sup> left his bed, by creeping on hands and knees<sup>1</sup> got himself some distance off, and finding a rope which he had procured for the calamity of ending his life, he hung it from a nail fastened in the wall, and putting his neck in it breathed his last without the torments of a painful death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Such as he might have expected if he fell into the hands of Theodosius.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

55. Quod dolenter ferens Igmazen, ereptamque sibi gloriam gemens, quia non contigerat ad castra Romana vivum ducere perduellem, interposita fide publica per Masillam, ipse camelo necati cadaver impositum ferens, cum tentoria exercitus adventaret, ad Subicarense castellum locata, in iumentum transulit sarcinalem, et Theodosio obtulit exultanti. 56. Qui convocatis armatis simul atque plebeiis,<sup>1</sup> interrogatisque an agnoscerent vultum, cum eiusdem esse sine ulla didicisset ambage, ibi paulisper moratus, Sitifim triumphanti similis redit, aetatum ordinumque omnium celebrabili favore susceptus.

6. *Quadi, nefaria Gabinii regis sui caede incitati, Pannonias et Valeriam igni et ferro cum Sarmatis vastant, et legiones duas paene totas delent. De Claudii praefectura urbana.*

1. Dum hoc pulvere per Mauritaniam dux ante dictus anhelat et Africam, Quadorum natio mota est diu inexcita<sup>2</sup> repentino, parum nunc formidanda, sed immensum quantum antehac bellatrix et potens, ut indicant properata quondam raptim proclivia,

<sup>1</sup> *plebeiis*, G (*plebeis*, Novák); *plebe*, EA; *plebis*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *diu inexcita*, Her. (*diu* from *tiu*; cf. note 1, p. 282); *excita*, E<sup>3</sup>A; *inexcita*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> This happened in 374. Theodosius, as Orosius, vii. 33, 7, tells us, was put to death at Carthage in 377 in consequence of court intrigue. His son, living in retirement, was called to court by Gratian and became *magister militum*, and later Augustus.

55. This event troubled Igmazen, who lamented that he had been robbed of glory, in not having had the good fortune of bringing the usurper alive to the Roman camp. Therefore, after gaining a public pledge of safety through Masilla he placed the corpse of the dead man on his camel to bring it in; and on reaching the tents of the army, which were pitched near the fortress of Subicara, he transferred the body to a pack-animal and himself offered it to the exultant Theodosius. 56. The latter called together his soldiers and with them the populace, and asked them whether they recognized the features; and when he had learned beyond any doubt that it was the face of Firmus, after a brief stay there he returned to Sitifis in the guise of a triumphing general, where he was received with applause and commendation by all, of every age and rank.<sup>1</sup>

6. *The Quadi, aroused by the ruthless murder of their king Gabinius, with the Sarmatians lay waste Pannonia and Valeria with fire and sword, and almost wholly destroyed two legions. Of the city prefecture of Claudius.*

1. While the said general was panting through this dust of Mars throughout Mauritania and Africa, the Quadi, who had long been quiet, were suddenly aroused to an outbreak; they are a nation now not greatly to be feared,<sup>2</sup> but were formerly immensely warlike and powerful, as is shown by their swift and sudden swoops in former times, their

<sup>2</sup> They had been conquered by Constantius; see xvii. 12, 9 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

obsessaque ab eisdem Marcomannisque<sup>1</sup> Aquileia, Opitergiumque excisum, et cruenta complura perceleri acta procinctu, vix resistente perruptis Alpibus Iuliis principe Pio,<sup>2</sup> quem ante docuimus, Marco. Et erat (ut barbaris) ratio iusta querellarum. 2. Valentinianus enim studio muniendorum limitum glorioso quidem sed nimio, ab ipso principatus initio flagrans, trans flumen Histrum in ipsis Quadorum terris quasi Romano iuri iam vindicatis, aedificari praesidiaria castra mandavit: quod accolae ferentes indigne, suiue cautiores, legatione tenus interim et susurris arcebant. 3. Sed Maximinus in omne avidus nefas, et genuinos mitigare nequiens flatus, quibus praefecturae accesserat tumor, increpabat Aequitium, per Illyricum eo tempore magistrum armorum, ut pervicacem et desidem, necdum opere, quod maturari dispositum est, consummato: addebatque ut consulens in commune, quod, si parvo suo Marcelliano deferretur potestas per Valeriam ducis, munimentum absque ulla causatione consurgeret. 4. Utrumque mox est impetratum. Qui promotus profectusque cum venisset ad loca, intempestive

<sup>1</sup> *Marcomannisque*, Clark; *ac M., G; Marcomannes aquileiatiu*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *principe Pio*, Her.; *pr. serio*, Val.; *primicerio*, G; *primicerius*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Oderzo.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>4</sup> See xxviii. 5 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xix. 11, 4.

<sup>3</sup> In a lost book.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., *dux per Valeriam*.

XXIX., 6, 1-4, A.D. 373 ff.

siege of Aquileia in company with the Marcomanni, the destruction of Opitergium,<sup>1</sup> and many other bloody deeds performed in rapid campaigns; so that when they broke through the Julian Alps, the emperor Marcus Pius,<sup>2</sup> of whom we have previously written,<sup>3</sup> could with difficulty check them. And, for savages, they had a just cause of complaint. 2. For Valentinian from the very beginning of his reign burned with a desire of protecting his frontiers, which was indeed praiseworthy, but carried too far; for he ordered the building of a garrison-camp across the Danube in the very territories of the Quadi, as if they were already claimed for Roman rule. The natives, being indignant at this and cautious for their own interests, tried to prevent them for a time merely by a deputation and by whispered complaints. 3. But Maximinus,<sup>4</sup> being prone to every kind of wickedness and unable to control his native arrogance, which was swollen still more by his prefecture, upbraided Aequitius, who was at the time commander of the cavalry in Illyricum, as rebellious and slothful in not yet having finished the work the earlier construction of which had been arranged; and he added, as if having regard for the general welfare, that if the rank of general<sup>5</sup> in Valeria<sup>6</sup> were given to his own son<sup>7</sup> Marcellianus,<sup>8</sup> the fortification would rise without any excuses. 4. Both objects were presently attained. When the newly appointed general had set out and had reached the spot, with unreasonable arrogance, as was to be expected of

<sup>1</sup> For *parvus* meaning son cf. Statius, *Silv.* i. 6, 43 f.; *una vescitur omnis ordo mensa: parvi, femina, plebs, eques, senatus*; *Theb.* vii. 520.

<sup>2</sup> Called Celestius by Zos. xiv. 16.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

turgens ut filius, nullis affatibus delentis his quos numquam temptatae cupiditatis figmenta regionum suarum faciebant extorres, opus paulo ante inchoatum aggreditur, admissa copia refragandi<sup>1</sup> suspensum. 5. Denique Gabinium regem, nequid novaretur modeste poscentem, ut assensurus humanitate simulata cum aliis ad convivium corrogavit, quem digredientem post epulas, hospitalis officii sanctitate nefarie violata, trucidari securum fecit.

6. Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor ilico per diversa et Quados et gentes circumscitas efferavit, regisque flentes interitum, in unum coactas<sup>2</sup> misere vastatorias manus, quae Danubium transgressae, cum nihil exspectaretur hostile, occupatam circa messem agrestem, adortae sunt plebem, maioreque parte truncata, quicquid superfuit, domum cum multitudine varii pecoris abduxerunt. 7. Evenisset profecto tunc inexpiabile scelus, numerandum inter probrosas rei Romanae iacturas; paulo enim afuit, quin filia caperetur Constanti, cibum sumens in publica villa, quam appellant Pristensem,<sup>3</sup> cum duceretur Gratiano nuptura, ni favore propitii numinis, praesens Messalla, provinciae rector, eam iudiciali carpento impositam, ad Sirmium vicensimo sexto lapide disparatam, cursu reduxisset effuso.

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<sup>1</sup> *refragandi*, Pet.; *rogandi*, G; *fragandi*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *coactas*, Pet.; *coactae*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *Pristensem*, Her.; *pistrensem*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> For *corrogavit* cf. xviii. 2, 13.

<sup>2</sup> A vehicle at the disposal of the officials of the province, the city prefect, and other high dignitaries (*iudices*).

the son of such a father, without any words to soothe those whom the dreams of a design never actually carried out was driving from their country, he took up the work which had been begun a short time before, but was suspended because of the opportunity given for protesting. 5. Finally, when king Gabinius mildly asked that no new step should be taken, he pretended that he would assent, and with feigned kindness invited<sup>1</sup> the king with others to a banquet. But as Gabinius was departing after the feast and suspected no treachery, Marcellianus, with abominable violation of the sacred duties of hospitality, had him murdered.

6. The report of so atrocious a deed at once spread abroad on all sides and roused the Quadi and the tribes round about them to madness. Weeping for the death of the king, they mustered and sent out devastating bands, which crossed the Danube while no hostility was anticipated, and fell upon the country people, who were busy with their harvest; most of them they killed, the survivors they led home as prisoners, along with a quantity of all kinds of domestic animals. 7. Surely at that time an irreparable crime would have been committed, to be numbered among the shameful disasters of Roman history; for the daughter of Constantius, when being conducted to marry Gratianus, was very nearly captured while she was taking food in a public villa called Pristensis, but (by the favour of the propitious godhead) Messalla, the governor of the province, was at hand and placed her in a state-carriage<sup>2</sup> and took her in all haste back to Sirmium, twenty-six miles away.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

8. Hoc casu prospero regia virgine periculo miserae servitutis exempta, cuius ni<sup>1</sup> potuisset impetrari redemptio captae, magnas inuississet rei publicae clades, latius se cum Sarmatis Quadi pandentes, ad raptus et latrocinia gentes aptissimae, praedas hominum virile et muliebre secus agebant et pecorum, villarum cineribus exustarum, caesorumque incolentium exsultantes aerumnis, quos necopinantes sine ulla parsimonia deleverunt. 9. Per omnia itaque propinqua malorum similium dispersa formidine, praefectus praetorio agens tunc apud Sirmium Probus, nullis bellorum terroribus assuetus, rerum novarum lugubri visu praestriatus, oculosque vix attollens, haerebat, diu quid capesseret ambigans: et cum, paratis velocibus equis, noctem proximam destinasset in fugam, monitus tutiore consilio, mansit immobilis. 10. Didicerat enim omnes secuturos confestim, qui moenibus claudebantur, tegendos latebris opportunis: quod si contigisset, impropugnata civitas venisset in manus hostiles. 11. Proinde parumper lenito pavore, ad arripienda quae urgebant acri nisu<sup>2</sup> adsurgens, retersit<sup>3</sup> obrutas ruderibus fossas, murorumque maximam partem, pacis diuturnitate contemptam et subversam, ad usque celsarum turrium minas expedit,<sup>4</sup> studio aedificandi coalitus: hac ratione opere velociter

<sup>1</sup> *cuius ni*, Kiessling; *cuius si*, EA; *cuius nisi*, Lind.; *cuiuisi*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *acri nisu*, Pet.; *acri animo*, AG; *acri consilio*, Walter; *acrinio*, V.

<sup>3</sup> *retersit*, A; *detersit*, Her. (cf. Suet., Aug. 18, 2); *recrisit*, V.

<sup>4</sup> *expedit*, Lind.; *expedit*, G; *expetit*, V.

<sup>1</sup> For *secus* cf. xvi. 11, 9.

<sup>2</sup> In Illyricum.

8. After the princess was saved by this fortunate chance from the danger of wretched slavery, which, if it had been impossible to ransom the captive, would have branded the state with the greatest disaster, the Quadi, in company with the Sarmatians, ranged more widely; and being peoples most skilled in rapine and brigandage, they drove off as booty human beings of both sexes<sup>1</sup> as well as cattle, exulting in the ashes of burned farmhouses and the sufferings of the slain inhabitants, whom they took by surprise and destroyed without any mercy. 9. So, when the dread of similar evils spread over the whole neighbouring country, Probus, the praetorian prefect,<sup>2</sup> then at Sirmium, being accustomed to no horrors of war<sup>3</sup> and so overcome by the sorrowful and unusual sights that he barely raised his eyes, hesitated for a long time in doubt what action to take. And after he had equipped swift horses and determined on flight the next night, he thought of a safer plan and remained where he was. 10. For he had learnt that all those who were shut up within the walls would at once follow him, in order to take refuge in convenient hiding-places; and that if this should happen, the city, being without defenders, would fall into the hands of the enemy. 11. Therefore, soon calming his fear, he roused himself with vigorous effort to meet the urgent situation. He cleared out<sup>4</sup> the moats, which were choked with rubbish, and being naturally inclined to building, since the walls through long-continued peace had in great part been neglected and had fallen, he raised them

<sup>1</sup> These prefects were civil officials.

<sup>4</sup> For *retersit* cf. *detersit*, Suet., Aug. 18, 2.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

absoluto, quod impensas aedificandi causa theatri, dudum congestas, sufficientis<sup>1</sup> ad id quod efficere maturabat, invenit. Atque huic spectato consilio salutare addidit aliud, et sagittariorum cohortem e statione proxima, adfuturam obsidio (si venisset), accivit.

12. His velut obicibus, barbari ab oppugnanda urbe depulsi, parum ad has calliditates dimicandi sollertes, sarcinisque impediti praedarum, ad Aequitii vertuntur indaginem. Et cum ad Valeriae spatia longe remota secessisse raptorum didicissent indiciis, illuc properato petierant gradu, frendentes, hacque ex causa iugulo eius intenti, quod per ipsum circumventum regem existimabant insontem. 13. Quibus cognitis, cursu ruenti,<sup>2</sup> infestius obviam legiones motae sunt duae, Pannonica et Moesiaca, valida proeliis manus : quae si conspirasset, abierat procul dubio victrix. Sed dum discretim grassatores adoriri festinant, ortis inter se discordiis impediti, de honore certabant et dignitate. 14. Quo intellecto, Sarmatae sagacissimi, non exspectato certandi signo sollemni, Moesiacam primam incessunt, dumque militis<sup>3</sup> arma tardius per tumultum expediuntur,

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<sup>1</sup> *sufficientis*, Her. ; *sufficientes*, AG ; *sufficientibus*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *ruenti*, Clark ; *ruentibus*, G ; *ruentes*, EA ; *ruentis*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *militis*, Clark ; *militi*, Her. ; *milites*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Wagner with considerable probability takes *impensas* as the materials for building the theatre, citing Juvenal, iii. 216, and other examples.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus uses *obex* without apology, e.g. xvi. 12, 36 ; xxi. 12, 13 ; xxiv. 5, 2 ; xxxi. 4, 9 ; as here xxvii. 10, 8.

even to the completion of pinnacles of lofty towers. And the work was quickly finished, because he found that the materials<sup>1</sup> which had long since been collected for the purpose of building a theatre were sufficient for what he was hastening to accomplish. Also to this excellent plan he added another equally useful by summoning a cohort of bowmen from the nearest station, to aid them in a siege, if one should come.

12. By these stumbling-blocks (so to speak)<sup>2</sup> the barbarians were turned from attacking the city, having little skill in such refinements of warfare as well as being impeded by their packs of booty, and turned to the pursuit of Aequitius. And when they learned from the information of prisoners that he had gone to the remote spaces of Valeria, they quickly made their way thither, grinding their teeth and bent upon cutting his throat for this reason—that they believed that it was he who had brought their guiltless king to destruction. 13. When this became known, at headlong speed two legions were sent to meet them in battle, the Pannonica and the Moesiaca, a strong combination for fighting, which, if they had acted in harmony, would undoubtedly have come off victorious. But while they were hastening to attack the bands of plunderers separately, they were made ineffective by quarrels that broke out between them, and contended for honour and prestige. 14. When the Sarmatians, who were very keen-witted, learned of this, without waiting for the usual signal for battle, they attacked the Moesiaca first; and while the soldiers were somewhat slow in getting their arms ready because of the confusion, they killed a great number of them, and

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

interfectis plurimis, aucti fiducia aciem perrupere Pannonicam, disiectaque agminis mole, geminatis ictibus omnem paene delessent, ni periculo mortis aliquos citum extraxisset effugium.

15. Inter haec fortunae dispendia tristioris, dux Moesiae Theodosius iunior, prima etiam tum lanugine iuvenis, princeps postea perspectissimus, Sarmatas Liberos ad discretionem servorum rebellium appellatos, collimitia nostra, ex alio latere invadentes, aliquotiens expulit et afflixit, congressibus densis attritos, adeoque obsistentes fortissime turbas confluentes oppressit, ut caesorum plurium alites iusta sagina<sup>1</sup> satiaret et feras. 16. Unde residui, tumore iam deflagrante, metuentes ne idem dux virtutis (ut apparuit) expeditae, in primo finium aditu, incur-santes cuneos sterneret aut fugaret, vel insidias per silvarum locaret occulta, post multos perrumpendi conatus subinde temptatos in cassum, abiecta pug-nandi fiducia, concessionem petivere praeteritorum et veniam, victique<sup>2</sup> ad tempus, indultae foederibus pacis nihil egere contrarium, eo maxime timore perculsi, quod ad tutelam Illyrici Gallicani militis validum accesserat robur.

17. Dum haec tot ac talia per turbines agitantur assiduos, Claudio regente urbem aeternam, Tiberis

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<sup>1</sup> *iusta sagina*, Corn., Pet.; *iusto sanguine*, Bent., Schneider; *iuste sanguinea*, V (*sanguine*, V<sup>2</sup>). <sup>2</sup> *victique*, V; *uinctique*, Novák.

<sup>1</sup> 379—395. <sup>2</sup> The Limigantes; cf. xvii. 13, 1; xix. 11, 1.

<sup>3</sup> For *sagina*, cf. xxii. 12, 6. On this victory see also Zos. iv. 16.

<sup>4</sup> As prefect of the city, in 374.

then with increased confidence broke through the line of the Pannonica. They thus threw the whole army into disorder, and with repeated attacks would almost have annihilated it, had not speedy flight saved some from the danger of death.

15. At the time of these losses due to a harsher fortune, Theodosius the younger, general in Moesia, a young man whose beard was then only just beginning to appear, afterwards a most glorious emperor,<sup>1</sup> wore out by frequent engagements, drove back and defeated the Free Sarmatians (so called to distinguish them from their rebellious slaves<sup>2</sup>) who were invading our territories from the other side, crushing them in densely packed conflicts; and so thoroughly did he overwhelm the hordes which converged in floods and resisted most bravely, that he sated the birds and beasts of prey with a veritable feast of many slain.<sup>3</sup> 16. Therefore, the remainder, their arrogance now cooling down, feared lest the same leader, a man of ready valour (as was evident), on his first entrance into their territories should lay low or put to flight the invading hordes, or should lay ambushes for them in the dark woods; so, after making many vain attempts from time to time to break through, they lost their confidence for battle and begged for indulgence and pardon for the past. And after being thus conquered for the time, they did nothing in violation of the conditions of the peace that was granted them, being especially struck with fear because a strong force of Gallic troops had been added to the defence of Illyricum.

17. At the time when these storms, so many and 374 ff. so terrible, were causing constant disturbances, while Claudius was governing the Eternal City,<sup>4</sup> the



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

qui media intersecans moenia, cloacis et fluviis abundantibus multis,<sup>1</sup> Tyrreno mari miscetur, effusione imbrium exuberans nimia, et supra amnis speciem pansus, omnia paene contextit. 18. Et stagnantibus civitatis residuis membris, quae tenduntur in planitiem molliorem, montes soli et quicquid insularum celsius eminebat, a praesenti metu defendebatur: et ne multi inedia contabescerent, undarum magnitudine nusquam progredi permitte, lembis et scaphis copia suggerebatur abunde ciborum. At vero ubi tempestas mollivit, et flumen retinaculis ruptis redit ad solitum cursum, absterso metu nihil postea molestius<sup>2</sup> exspectabatur. 19. Hic ipse praefectus egit admodum quiete, nullam seditionem super querella iusta perpessus, et instauravit vetera plurima. Inter quae porticum excitavit ingentem, lavacro Agrippae contiguam, Eventus Boni cognominatam ea re quod huius numinis<sup>3</sup> prope visitur templum.

<sup>1</sup> *abundantibus*, G; *abundantius altus*, Pet.; *abundantius multis*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *molestius*, Clark; *molestum*, C<sup>2</sup>AG; *moletur*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *numinis*, O. Hirschfeld, Kiess.; *nominis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Floods of the Tiber were frequent; cf. Plin., *N.H.*, iii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xvi. 10, 14; *intra septem montium culmina . . . posita urbis membra*.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., blocks of houses.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxiv. 1, 11; Livy, xxvii, 28, 10 (Wagner).

<sup>5</sup> Claudius; see § 17, above.

Tiber, which cuts through the midst of our walled town and, with many drains and streams pouring into it, mingles with the Tyrrhenian Sea, was swollen by an excessive rainfall, and extending beyond the appearance of a river, covered almost the whole place.<sup>1</sup> 18. While all the remaining quarters of the city, which extend down to a gentler level,<sup>2</sup> were under water, the mountains alone, and such buildings<sup>3</sup> as were especially high, were protected from present danger. And since the height of the waters prevented movement anywhere on foot, a supply of food was furnished in abundance by boats and skiffs, for fear that many people might starve to death. But, in fact, when the stormy weather moderated, and the river, which had broken its bonds,<sup>4</sup> returned to its usual course, all fear was dispelled and no further trouble was looked for. 19. This prefect himself<sup>5</sup> passed his term of office in complete quiet, allowing no public discord over and above reasonable remonstrance<sup>6</sup>; and he restored many old buildings. Among others he built a huge colonnade near the Baths of Agrippa and called it the Portico of Good Outcome, because there is a temple<sup>7</sup> to that deity to be seen near by.

<sup>1</sup> That is, which the prefect could not quiet in that way. *Querella* is ambiguous; and the meaning may be: "except that caused by just complaints."

<sup>2</sup> See Varro, *R.R.* i. 1, 6; cf. Cato, *Agr.* 141, 3 (of Mars), *utique tu fruges . . . grandire beneque evenire siris*; Pliny, *N.H.* xxxiv. 77, says that she was represented in Rome with a *patera* in her right hand and an ear of wheat and poppies in her left. Her temple at Rome was in the Ninth Region.

# VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

## LIBER XXX

1. *Papa, rex Armeniorum evocatus a Valente, et Tarsi specie obsequiorum custoditus, cum trecentis popularibus fugit, et frustratus viarum observatores, equis regnum repetit, nec multo post a Traiano duce in convivio interficitur.*

1. Inter has turbarum difficultates, quas perfidia ducis rege Quadorum excitavit occiso per scelus, dirum in Oriente committitur facinus, Papa Armeniorum rege clandestinis insidiis obtruncato : cuius materiae impio conceptae consilio hanc primordiale fuisse novimus causam. 2. Consarcinabant in hunc etiam tum adultum crimina quaedam apud Valentem exaggerantes male sollertes homines, dispendiis saepe communibus pasti. Inter quos erat Terentius dux demisse ambulans semperque submaestus, sed, quoad vixerat, acer dissensionum instinator. 3. Qui adscitis in societatem gentilibus paucis, ob flagitia sua suspensis in metum, scribendo ad comitatum assidue, Cylacis necem replicabat et Arrabanis, addens eundem iuvenem, ad superbos actus elatum, nimis esse in subiectos immanem. 4. Unde quasi futurus particeps suscipiendi tunc pro instantium

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<sup>1</sup> Clark reads *Papa* throughout with V ; A and G have *Para*.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Arsaces ; cf. xxvii. 12, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *labes primordialis*, xxiii. 6, 24.

<sup>4</sup> General in Armenia.

<sup>5</sup> See xiv. 7, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. xxvii. 12, 14.

BOOK XXX

1. *Papa,<sup>1</sup> king of the Armenians, called to the court by Valens and held prisoner at Tarsus under pretence of doing him honour, flees with 300 of his countrymen, and, eluding those who were watching the roads, returns to his kingdom on horseback, and shortly afterwards is killed at a banquet by the general Trajanus.*

1. Amid these troublesome disturbances, which the treachery of a general brought about by the atrocious murder of the king of the Quadi, a terrible crime was committed in the Orient, where Papa,<sup>2</sup> king of the Armenians, was killed by secret plots. Of this matter, which was conceived by a nefarious plan, the following (as we have learned) was the original <sup>3</sup> cause. 2. Some crafty men, who had often fattened themselves through losses sustained by the public, brought before Valens and maliciously exaggerated a patchwork of charges against this king, even then only just come to manhood. Among these was the general Terentius,<sup>4</sup> a man who walked humbly and always wore a somewhat sad expression, but so long as he lived was a zealous abettor of dissensions. 3. He formed a cabal with a few of the gentiles<sup>5</sup> who were in fear and suspense because of their misdeeds, and writing constantly to the court harped on the death of Cylaces and Arrabanes,<sup>6</sup> adding that this same young king was aroused to acts of arrogance and was excessively cruel to his subjects. 4. Accordingly, under pretence that he was to take part in a consultation to

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

rerum ratione tractatus, idem Papa regaliter vocatus,<sup>1</sup> et apud Tarsum Ciliciae obsequiorum specie custoditus, cum neque ad imperatoris castra accipi nec urgentis adventus causam scire cunctis reticentibus posset, tandem secretiore indicio comperit, per litteras Romano rectori suadere Terentium, mittere prope diem alterum Armeniae regem, ne odio Papae, speque quod revertetur, natio nobis opportuna deficeret ad iura Persarum, eam rapere vi vel metu vel adulatione flagrantium.

5. Quae reputans ille, impendere sibi praesagibat<sup>2</sup> exitium grave. Et doli iam prudens, neque aliam nisi cito discessu salutis reperiens viam, suadentibus his quibus fidebat, conglobatis trecentis comitibus, secutis eum e patria, cum equis velocissimis, ut in magnis solet dubiisque terroribus, audacter magis quam considerate pleraque diei parte emensa, egressus cuneatim, properabat intrepidus. 6. Cumque eum provinciae moderator, apparitoris qui portam tuebatur indicio percitus,<sup>3</sup> festinato studio repperisset in suburbanis, ut remaneret enixius obsecrabat, et parum hoc impetrato, mortis aversus est metu. 7. Nec minus paulo postea

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<sup>1</sup> *uocatus*, V; *euocatus*, Her.      <sup>2</sup> *praesagibat*, Her.; *praesagiebat*, EAG; *praesagebat*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *indicio percitus*, Pet.; *percitus*, G; *imperatus*, vulgo; *inpercitus*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, he was given a so-called guard of honour, which kept him prisoner.

be held at the time with regard to the present situation of affairs, the said Papa was summoned with the courtesy due to his royal rank ; but at Tarsus in Cilicia he was put under guard as if it were doing him honour.<sup>1</sup> And when he could neither get access to the emperor's quarters, nor learn the reason for his urgent coming, since all kept silence, he finally found out through secret information, that Terentius by letters was advising the Roman ruler at once to appoint another king of Armenia, to prevent a nation that was useful to us from going over to the side of the Persians through hatred of Papa and the expectation that he would return ; for they were burning with the desire of seizing Armenia by force, or threats, or flattery.

5. The king, thinking over the matter, foresaw that he was threatened by a sad end. And being now aware of the plot, and seeing no other way to save himself except by a swift departure, at the advice of trusted friends he got together three hundred companions who had followed him from his native country ; and when the greater part of the day had passed they mounted swift horses and set out with more boldness than discretion, as is usual under pressing and doubtful alarms, and fearlessly hastened away in close order. 6. The governor of the province, aroused by a message from the officer who guarded the gate, proceeded in eager haste and overtook the king in the suburbs. He earnestly besought him to remain ; but since this request was not granted, he turned his back through fear of his life. 7. More than that, when a legion

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

legionem secutam, iamque adventantem ipse cum promptissimis retrorsus excurrans, fundensque in modum scintillarum sagittas, sed voluntate deerrans,<sup>1</sup> ita in fugam compulit ut cum tribuno milites universi perterrefacti, vividius quam venerant remearent ad muros. 8. Exin solutus omni formidine, biduo et binotio exanclatis itinerum laboribus magnis, cum ad flumen venisset Euphraten, et inopia navium, voraginosum amnem vado transire non posset, nandi imprudentia paventibus multis, ipse omnium maxime cunctabatur: et remansisset ni cunctis versantibus varia, id reperire potuisset effugium, in necessitatis abrupto tutissimum. 9. Lectulos in villis repertos binis utribus suffulserunt, quorum erat abundans prope in agris vinariis copia, quibus singulis procures insidentes, et regulus ipse, iumenta trahentes, praeruptos undarum occursantium fluctus obliquatis meatibus declinabant: hocque commento tandem ad ulteriorem ripam post extrema discrimina pervenerunt. 10. Residui omnes, equis invecti natantibus, et circumluente flumine saepe demersi iactatique,<sup>2</sup> infirmati periculoso madore, expelluntur ad contrarias margines, ubi paulisper refecti, expeditius quam diebus praeteritis incedebant.

<sup>1</sup> *deerrans*, or *voluntarie*, Her., c.c.; *errans ha*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *iactatique*, G; *actique*, Pet.; *iactique*, V.

followed him a little later and overtook him, Papa charged back upon them with his bravest men, pouring in his arrows like a shower of sparks. He missed intentionally but put them to flight, so that the whole legion with its tribune was terrified and they all returned to the walls more briskly than they had come. 8. Then, freed from all fear, after completing two days and two nights of very toilsome marching, he came to the bank of the Euphrates ; but since he had no boats he could not ford the eddying stream, so that many of his men, being unable to swim, were terrified, and the king himself hesitated most of all. Indeed, he would have remained there, if he had not, amid the various plans suggested by all, been able to find an expedient which seemed safest in their dire necessity. 9. They took the beds which they found in the farmhouses and supported each of them upon two bladders,<sup>1</sup> of which there was an abundant supply in the vine-producing fields. The prince himself and his most distinguished followers seated themselves each upon one of these, led their horses behind them, and by taking oblique courses avoided the high waves of the onrushing waters ; and by this device, after extreme dangers, they at length reached the opposite bank. 10. All the rest, carried by their swimming horses, and often submerged and tossed about by the flood swirling around them, exhausted by the danger and the wetting, were thrown out on the opposite bank. There they refreshed themselves with a brief rest and went on more rapidly than on the days just past.

<sup>1</sup> For holding wine.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

11. Hoc nuntiato, princeps ante dicti fuga percussus, quem elaqueatum fidem rupturum existimabat, cum sagittariis mille succinctis et levibus, Danielum mittit et Barzimerem, revocatuos eum —comitem unum, alterum scutariorum tribunum.

12. Hi locorum gnaritate confisi, quia<sup>1</sup> ille properans ut peregrinus et insuetus, maeandros faciebat et gyros, compendiosis vallibus eius itinera praevenierunt, et divisis inter se copiis, clausere vias proximas duas, trium milium intervallo distinctas, ut transiturus per utramvis caperetur improvidus : sed evanuit cogitatum hoc casu. 13. Viator quidam ad citeriora festinans, cum clivum armato milite vidisset oppletum, per posterulam tramitem medium, squalentem frutectis et sentibus, vitabundus excedens, in Armenios incidit fessos, et ductus ad regem, arcano sermone solum quae viderat docet, ac retinetur intactus. 14. Moxque metu dissimulato, eques mittitur clandestinus ad dextrum itineris latus, diversoria paraturus et cibum,<sup>2</sup> quo paulum progresso, in laevum tractum item alius talia facturus ire iubetur ocissime, alterum aliorum nesciens missum. 15. Quibus ita utiliter ordinatis, rex ipse cum suis, dumeta per quae venerat viatore<sup>3</sup> rele-

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<sup>1</sup> quia, Pet. ; quod, G ; que, V.      <sup>2</sup> paraturus et cibum, AG ; paratus et in cibum, V.      <sup>3</sup> uenerat viatore relegente, Pet. (legente, Her.) ; uenat relegenter, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., went in circles and made slow progress.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., from the Roman point of view ; the western bank.

11. When this was reported, the emperor, greatly troubled by the flight of the king, and thinking that after escaping this snare he would break faith, sent Danielus and Barzimeres (the one a general, the other tribune of the targeteers) with a thousand nimble and light-armed archers, to call him back. 12. They, trusting to their knowledge of the region, since the king, though in haste, yet being a foreigner and unacquainted with the neighbourhood, kept making meanders and circles,<sup>1</sup> got ahead of him by short cuts through the valleys. Then, dividing their forces, they beset the two nearest roads, which were separated by a distance of three miles, in order that, through whichever of the two he should pass, he might be caught off his guard; but the plan came to nothing through this chance event: 13. A wayfarer who was hastening towards the nearer<sup>2</sup> bank of the river, seeing the ascent filled with armed soldiers, in order to avoid them took to a by-path between the two roads, rough with thickets and brambles; falling in with the wearied Armenians, and being led before the king, he told him in a private interview what he had seen; he was then detained, but not harmed. 14. Presently the king, pretending that there was nothing to fear, secretly sent a horseman on the road to the right with orders to secure lodging and food; but after he had gone a little way, another was ordered to go with all speed towards the left on a similar errand, but without knowing that the other horseman had been sent in a different direction. 15. After these helpful precautions, the king himself, with his followers—the wayfarer tracing his way back amongst the thickets

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

gente retrorsus,<sup>1</sup> monstranteque hispidam et iumento onusto exiguam callem, post terga relictis militibus evolavit, qui captis eius ministris, missis ad mentes observantium praestringendas, quasi venaticiam praedam, modo non porrectis brachiis exspectabant. Dumque hi venturum operiuntur, ille regno incolumis restitutus, et cum gaudio popularium summo susceptus, fide pari deinde mansit immobilis,<sup>2</sup> iniuriis quas pertulerat omnibus demussatis.

16. Danielus post haec et Barzimeres, cum lusi iam revertissent, probrosis lacerati conviciis, ac si inertes et desides, ut hebetatae primo appetitu venenatae serpentes, ora exacuere letalia, cum primum potuissent, lapso pro virium copia nocituri. 17. Et leniendi causa flagitii sui vel fraudis, quam meliore consilio pertulerunt, apud imperatoris aures (rumorum omnium tenacissimas) incessebant falsis criminibus Papam, intentiones Circeas, in vertendis debilitandisque corporibus, miris modis eum callere fingentes: addentesque quod huius modi artibus, offusa sibi caligine, mutata sua suorumque<sup>3</sup> forma

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<sup>1</sup> *retrorsus*, Pet.; *eo ipso*, G; *et rursus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *fide pari deinde mansit immobilis*, Her.; *in fide grandi remansit inm.*, Haupt; *fiderandine mansueti mobilis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *mutata sua suorumque*, C. F. W. M.; *mutatas (-us, G) uasorumque*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Those who were lying in wait for him.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., being driven into a net.

through which he had come and showing a rough path very narrow indeed for a loaded pack-animal—left the soldiers<sup>1</sup> behind him, and made his escape. They, after capturing his messengers, who had been sent merely to confuse the minds of those who were lying in wait for the king, were almost expecting him to rush into their open arms, like a wild beast at a hunt.<sup>2</sup> But while they were waiting for his coming, he was restored safe and sound to his kingdom, where he was received with the greatest joy by his subjects; but thereafter he remained unmoved in true allegiance, bearing in silence all the wrongs that he had suffered.

16. After this, as soon as Danielus and Barzimeres, baffled, had returned, they were assailed with shameful reproaches as blunderers and slothful, and like venomous serpents whose bite had been blunted by the first attack, they sharpened their deadly fangs, intending as soon as they could and to the extent of their powers to injure him who had given them the slip. 17. And to palliate their fault or the deception which they had suffered from greater cleverness, they bombarded the ears of the emperor (most retentive of all gossip) with false charges against Papa, alleging that he was wonderfully skilled through the incantations of Circe<sup>3</sup> in changing and weakening men's bodies; and they added that, having by arts of that kind spread darkness round himself,<sup>4</sup> and by changing his own form and that of his followers, having passed through their lines,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Odys.* x. 233 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Offusa sibi caligine* refers to Papa, meaning that he had wrapped himself in a cloud.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

transgressus, tristes sollicitudines (si huic irrisioni superfuerit) excitabit.

18. Hinc in illum inexpiabile<sup>1</sup> auctum principis odium, et doli struebantur in dies, ut per vim ei vel clam vita adimeretur: agentique tunc in Armenia Traiano, et rem militarem curanti, id secretis committitur scriptis. 19. Qui illecebrosis regem insidiis ambiens, et modo serenae mentis Valentis indices literas tradens, modo ipse sese eius convivii ingerens, ad ultimum composita fraude, ad prandium verecundius invitavit: qui nihil adversum metuens venit, concessoque honoratiore discubuit loco. 20. Cumque apponerentur exquisitae cuppediae, et aedes amplae<sup>2</sup> nervorum et articulado flatilique sonitu resultarent, iam vino incalescente ipso convivii domino, per simulationem naturalis cuiusdam urgentis egresso, gladium dstrictum intentans, torvo lumine ferociens quidam immittitur barbarus asper, ex his quos scurras<sup>3</sup> appellant, confossurus iuvenem, ne exsilire posset etiam tum praepeditum. 21. Quo viso regulus forte prominens ultra torum, expedito dolone, adsurgens ut vitam omni ratione defenderet, perforato pectore deformis procubuit victima, multiplicatis ictibus<sup>4</sup> foede concisa. 22. Hocque figmento nefarie decepta credulitate, inter epulas quae reverendae sunt vel in Euxino ponto, hospitali

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<sup>1</sup> *inexpiabile*, Val.; *inexplicabile*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *amplae*, A; *pulsu*, G; *assidue*, Her.; *aedessas pleneruorum*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *scurras*, Wagner, Clark; *supras*, V, Gardt.      <sup>4</sup> *ictibus*,  
 added after *multiplicatis*, E, before m., G; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxix. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> For this combination, cf. xiv. 6, 18; Cic., *Pro Rosc. Amer.* 46, 134.      <sup>3</sup> "Guards"; cf. xxix. 4, 4, note.

if he survived this trickery, he would cause sad troubles.

18. In this way the irreconcilable hatred of the emperor for Papa was increased, and plots were devised every day for taking his life either by violence or secretly; and to Trajanus,<sup>1</sup> who was then in Armenia in command of the military forces, this work was entrusted through secret letters.

19. That general sought to win the king by treacherous flattery, now showing him letters of Valens as tokens of his calm state of mind, and now forcing himself upon his banquets; finally, when his plot was matured, he invited him with great respect to a luncheon. The king came, fearing no hostility, and took his place in the seat of honour granted him.

20. And when choice dainties were set before him, and the great building rang with the music of strings, songs, and wind-instruments,<sup>2</sup> the host himself, already heated with wine, went out, under pretence of a call of nature. Then a rude barbarian, fiercely glaring with savage eyes and brandishing a drawn sword, one of the class called *scurrae*,<sup>3</sup> was sent in to kill the young man, who had already been cut off from any possibility of escape. 21. At this sight the young king, who, as it happened, was leaning forward beyond his couch, drew his dagger and was rising to defend his life by every possible means, but fell disfigured, pierced through the breast like some victim at the altar, foully slain by repeated strokes. 22. By such treachery was credulity basely deceived, and at a banquet, which ought to be respected even on the Euxine Sea,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxii. 8, 33 f.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

numine contuente, peregrinus cruor in ambitiosa lintea<sup>1</sup> conspersus spumante sanie satietati superfuit convivarum, horrore maximo dispersorum. Ingemiscat, siquis vita digressis est dolor, huius arrogantiam facti Fabricius ille Luscinus, sciens qua animi magnitudine Democharen, vel (ut quidam scribunt) Niciam, ministrum reppulerit regium, colloquio occultiore pollicitum, quod Pyrrum Italiam tunc bellis saevissimis exurentem, veneno poculis necabit infectis, scripseritque ad regem, ut a citeriore<sup>2</sup> caveret obsequio. Tantum reverentiae locum apud priscam illam iustitiam vel hostilis mensae genialitas obtinebat. 23. Verum excusabatur recens inusitatum facinus et pudendum, necis exemplo Sertorianae, adulatoribus forsitan ignorantibus, quod (ut Demosthenes, perpetuum Graeciae decus, affirmat) numquam similitudine aut impunitate alterius criminis diluitur id quod contra ac liceat arguitur factum.

### 2. *Valens A. et Saporis P.R. de Armeniae et Hiberiae regnis contendentium legationes.*

1. Haec per Armeniam notabiliter gesta sunt. Sapor vero post suorum pristinam cladem, comperto

<sup>1</sup> *lintea*, Hadr. Val. ; *ambisitiosalain* et, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ut a citeriore*, Pet. ; *ut ab interiore*, AG ; *uia exteriore*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cic., *Pro Deiot.* 6, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy xxi. 53, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Gell. iii. 8 ; Cic., *Off.* iii. 22, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sil. Ital. xv. 537 (of Italy to Hasdrubal), *miseras quaerentem exurere belli reliquias*.

<sup>5</sup> Slain by his lieutenant-general Perperna at a banquet ; Plut., *Sert.* 26 ; Flor. ii. 10, 9 ; Vell. ii. 30, 1.

before the eyes of the god of hospitality<sup>1</sup> a stranger's blood was shed, which bespattered the splendid linen cloths with foaming gore, was more than enough to sate the guests, who scattered in utmost horror. If the dead can feel grief,<sup>2</sup> the famous Fabricius Luscinus might groan at this arrogant act, when he recalled with what greatness of soul he rejected the promise of Demochares or (as some write)<sup>3</sup> Nicias, the king's attendant, made in a secret conference ; for he said that he would kill king Pyrrhus, who at that time was reducing Italy to ashes<sup>4</sup> in cruel warfare, by mixing poison with his cups ; but Fabricius warned the king in a letter to beware of his more intimate servants. Such a place of respect in those days of old-time justice was held by the conviviality even of an enemy's table. 23. True, some sought to excuse this recent extraordinary and shameful deed by the example of the assassination of Sertorius,<sup>5</sup> but those flatterers perhaps did not know that no act which is proved to be contrary to law is justified because another crime was similar or went unpunished, as Demosthenes, eternal glory of Greece, declares.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. *The deputations of Valens Augustus and Sapor, king of the Persians, in their contest for the rule of Armenia and Hiberia.*

1. These are the noteworthy events that took place in Armenia. But Sapor, after the former disaster to his men, on learning of the murder of

<sup>6</sup> *In Androt.* 7, quoted by Quint. v. 14, 4 ; cf. Gell. x. 19.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

interitu Papae, quem sociare sibi impendio conabatur, maerore gravi percussus, augenteque nostri exercitus alacritate formidinem, maiora sibi praese-minans, (2.) Arrace<sup>1</sup> legato ad principem misso, perpetuam aerumnarum causam deseri<sup>2</sup> penitus suadebat Armeniam: si id displicuisset, aliud poscens, ut Hiberiae divisione cessante, remotisque inde partis Romanae praesidiis, Aspacures solus regnare permetteretur, quem ipse praefecerat genti. 3. Ad quae Valens in hanc respondit sententiam, nihil derogare se posse placitis ex consensu firmatis, sed ea studio curatiore defendere.<sup>3</sup> Glorioso proposito contrariae regis litterae hieme iam extrema perlatae sunt, vana causantis et tumida. Asseverarat<sup>4</sup> enim non posse semina radicitus amputari discordiarum, nisi intervenissent conscii pacis foederatae cum Ioviano, quorum aliquos vita didicerat abscessisse.

4. Ingravescente post haec altius cura, imperator eligere consilia quam invenire sufficiens, id conducere rebus existimans, Victorem magistrum equitum et Urbicium, Mesopotamiae ducem, ire propere iussit in Persas, responsum absolutum et uniusmodi perferentes: quod rex iustus et suo contentus, ut iactitabat, sceleste concupiscat Armeniam, ad arbitrium suum vivere cultoribus eius permissis: et<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arrace, V; Arsace, G.

<sup>2</sup> deseri, Wagner; deleri, V.

<sup>3</sup> lac. after defendere, Her.; no lac. in V.

<sup>4</sup> adseuerarat, Clark; adseruerat, Pet.; at seuerat, V.

<sup>5</sup> eius ex pacto permissis: et, G; permissi set, V; permissis sed, W<sup>2</sup>, vulgo.

Papa, whom he was making great efforts to enlist on his side, overwhelmed with heavy grief and with his fear increased by the activity of our army, sowed the seeds of greater troubles for himself. 2. Accordingly, he sent Arraces as an envoy to the emperor, advising him to withdraw entirely from Armenia, since it was a continual source of troubles; or if that was not acceptable, proposing as an alternative that abandoning the division of Hiberia<sup>1</sup> and withdrawing the garrisons of the Roman part, he should allow Aspacures, whom Sapor had made ruler of that nation, to reign alone. 3. To this Valens made answer to this effect: that he could not repeal anything of that which had been agreed upon by common consent, but would maintain it with the utmost vigour. In reply to this noble utterance a 377-8 letter was brought from the king when the winter was already nearly ended,<sup>2</sup> giving trivial and arrogant reasons. For he asserted that the weeds of discord could not be pruned away by the roots except in the presence of those who had been witnesses to the conclusion of the peace with Jovian, some of whom (as he had learned) had since died.

4. After this the emperor's cares grew heavier. 377 Now he was in condition rather to make a choice of plans than to discover any; and so, thinking it to be to the advantage of the State, he ordered Victor, commander of the cavalry, and Urbicius, general in Mesopotamia, to go quickly to the Persians, bearing an ultimatum in plain language: that it was criminal of a king who was just and contented with his own (as he boasted) wrongfully to covet Armenia, whose people had been granted permission to live independently;

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

ni Sauromaci praesidia militum impertita principio sequentis anni (ut dispositum est) impraepedita reverterint, invitus ea complebit, quae sponte sua facere supersedit. 5. Quae legatio recta quidem et libera,<sup>1</sup> ni deviasset in eo, quod absque mandatis, oblatas sibi regiones in eadem Armenia suscepit exiguas.

Qua regressa<sup>2</sup> advenit Surena potestatis secundae post regem, has easdem imperatori offerens partes, quas audacter nostri sumpserunt legati. 6. Quo suscepto liberaliter et magnifice, sed parum impetrato, quod poscebat, remisso, parabantur magna instrumenta bellorum, ut mollita hieme imperatore trinis<sup>3</sup> agminibus perrupturo Persidem, ideoque Scytharum auxilia festina celeritate mercante.

7. Proinde parum adeptus<sup>4</sup> ea quae spe vana conceperat, Sapor, utraque solitum asperatus, quod ad expeditionem accingi rectorem compererat nostrum : iram eius conculcans Surenae dedit negotium, ut ea, quae Victor comes susceperat et Urbicius, armis repeteret, si quisquam repugnaret, et milites Sauromacis praesidio destinati malis affligerentur extremis. 8. Haecque (ut statuerat) maturata confestim, nec emendari potuerunt nec vindicari, quia rem Romanam alius circumsteterat metus,<sup>5</sup> totius Gothiae Thracias licentius perrumpentis : quae

<sup>1</sup> *libera*, EAG ; *libera erat*, Her. ; *libora*, V.      <sup>2</sup> A fragment of M begins here, of which only about the first 30 letters of each line are preserved. For numerous variant readings see Clark's ed., pp. 529 ff. Cf. Robinson (see Preface, Vol. II).      <sup>3</sup> *imperatore trinis*, W<sup>2</sup>TN<sup>2</sup>G (restored by Novák) ; *imperatore tribus*, H, Gardt. ; *imperator ei*, MV.      <sup>4</sup> *adeptus*, W<sup>2</sup>HTNEAG ; *ademptus eaque*, MV (*ea quae*, W<sup>2</sup>HNAG).      <sup>5</sup> *metus*, MV.

and that, unless the guard of soldiers given to Sauro-maces<sup>1</sup> should return without hindrance at the beginning of the following year (as had been agreed), Sapor would be forced to do against his will what he had refrained from doing of his own accord. 5. This embassy was indeed straightforward and frank, had its members not erred in one particular; for they accepted without orders some small territories that offered themselves to them in that same Armenia.

On their return the Surena, who ranked next to the king, came and offered to the emperor these same lands that our envoys had recklessly taken. 6. He was received courteously and handsomely 377-8 entertained, but was sent back without obtaining what he asked, and in consequence great preparations were made for war, in the expectation that when the winter grew milder the emperor would invade Persia with three armies and for that purpose was in great haste hiring mercenaries from the Scythians.

7. Accordingly Sapor, having failed to gain that for which he had vainly hoped, and exasperated even more than usual because he had learned that our ruler was perparing for a campaign, defied Valens' anger and instructed the Surena to recover by arms, in case anyone made opposition, the lands which Count Victor and Urbicius had taken over; also to do all possible harm to the soldiers appointed for the protection of Sauromaces. 8. These instructions were hastily carried out, as he had ordered, and could not be remedied or punished, since the Roman state was encompassed by another danger from all the Gothic peoples, who were lawlessly overrunning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 12, 16.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

funera tunc explicari poterunt carptim, si ad ea quoque venerimus.

9. Haec per eos agitata<sup>1</sup> sunt tractus. Quorum inter seriem Africanas clades et legatorum Tripoleos manes, inultos etiam tum et errantes, sempiternus vindicavit Iustitiae vigor, aliquotiens serus, sed scrupulosus quaesitor gestorum recte vel secius, hoc modo. 10. Remigius (quem populanti provincias rettulimus comiti fuisse Romano), postquam Leo in eius locum magister esse coepit officiorum, a muneribus rei publicae iam quiescens, negotiis se ruralibus dedit prope Mogontiacum in genitalibus locis. 11. Quem ibi morantem securius, praefectus praetorio Maximinus reversum ad otium spernens, ut solebat dirae luis ritu grassari per omnia, laedere modis quibus poterat affectabat: utque rimaretur plura quae latebant, Caesarium antehac eius domesticum, postea notarium principis, raptum, quae Remigius egerit, vel quantum acceperit, ut Romani iuvaret actus infandos, per quaestionem cruentam interrogabat. 12. Quibus ille cognitis, cum esset (ut dictum est) in secessu, conscientia malorum urgente, vel rationem formidine superante calumniarum, innodato gutture laquei nexibus interiit.

<sup>1</sup> *agitata*, U<sup>2</sup>W<sup>2</sup>HTEAG; . . . *ta*, M; *eo osagitta*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxxi. 2-5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxviii. 6, 8; xxix. 5, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxviii. 6, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 5 ff.

Thrace; these disasters can briefly be set forth, when I come also to that part of my narrative.<sup>1</sup>

9. This is what happened in the eastern regions. During the course of these events the eternal power <sup>373</sup> of Justice, the judge, sometimes tardy, but always strict, of right or wrong actions, avenged the disasters in Africa and the still unsatisfied and wandering shades of the envoys of Tripolis,<sup>2</sup> in the following manner. 10. Remigius, who (as we have said <sup>3</sup>) favoured the general Romanus in his oppression of the provinces, after Leo had been appointed chief marshal of the court in his place, was now resting from public duties and gave himself up to rural life in his native place near Mayence. 11. While he was there passing a care-free life, Maximinus,<sup>4</sup> the praetorian prefect, scorning him, now that he turned back to a life of leisure, and being wont to overrun all things like a dire pestilence, aspired to injure him in every possible manner. And in his desire to discover more secrets, he seized Caesarius, who had formerly been in the service of Remigius and later a secretary of the emperor, and tried by cruel tortures to learn what Remigius had done, and how much he had received for aiding the criminal acts of Romanus. 12. When Remigius (who, as has been said, was in retirement) learned of this, either driven by the consciousness of guilt or because the dread of false charges overcame his reason, he strangled himself, and so died.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

### 3. *Valentinianus A. post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, cum Macriano Alamannorum rege colloquitur, ac pacem facit.*

1. Secuto post haec anno Gratiano asscito in trabeae societatem Aequitio consule, Valentiniano post vastatos aliquos Alamanniae pagos, munimentum aedificanti prope Basiliam, quod appellant accolae Robur, offertur praefecti relatio Probi, docentis Illyrici clades. 2. Quibus ille ut cunctatorem decuerat ducem, examinatus lectis, attonitus cogitationibus anxiis, Paterniano notario misso, negotium scrupulosa quaesivit indagine, moxque veris per eum nuntiis gestorum acceptis, evolare protinus festinarat,<sup>1</sup> ausos temerare<sup>2</sup> limitem barbaros, primo fragore (ut mente conceperat), oppressurus armorum. 3. Quia igitur abeunte autumnno multa impediabant et aspera, annitebantur omnes per regiam optimates, ut ad usque veris principium<sup>3</sup> oratum retinerent<sup>4</sup> et exoratum: primum durata pruinis itinera, ubi nec adultae in pastum herbae reperirentur, nec cetera usui congrua, penetrari non posse firmantes: dein vicinorum Galliis regum immanitatem, maximeque omnium Macriani, ut formidati, tunc praetendentes, quem constabat

<sup>1</sup> *festinorat*, Günther; *festinabat*, EG; *destinarat*, Harmon; *festinaret*, MV.

<sup>2</sup> The imperfect fragment of M ends with *teme* . . . ; a complete fragment begins with *rare* . . . *tem*.

<sup>3</sup> *ueris* after *principium*, added by EAG (transposed by Harmon); MV omit.

<sup>4</sup> *retinerent*, Momm.; *pertinerent*, GM; *perciperent*, V.

3. *Valentinian Augustus, after devastating some cantons of the Alamanni, has a conference with their king Macrianus, and makes peace.*

1. In the year following these events, Gratianus was made consul as the colleague of Aequitius; and Valentinian, who after devastating several cantons of the Alamanni was building a fortification near Basle, which the neighbours call Robur,<sup>1</sup> received the report of the prefect Probus, telling of the devastation in Illyricum.<sup>2</sup> 2. On reading this with careful attention, as became a cautious general, he was distracted by anxious reflections and sending the secretary Paternianus, gave the matter the most searching investigation. As soon as he received through him a true account of what had happened, he hastened to set out at once, in order (as he intended) to crush by the first clash of his arms the savages who had ventured to violate our frontier. 3. But since autumn was waning and many difficulties stood in the way, all the principal men at the court strove by entreaties and prayers<sup>3</sup> to hold him back until the beginning of spring. In the first place, they urged that the roads, hardened with frost, where neither any growth of grass would be found for fodder nor anything else fit for the use of the army, could not be penetrated. In the second place, they set before him the alleged savagery of the kings bordering on Gaul, and most of all of Macrianus, who was formidable, and (as was well known) had been left

<sup>1</sup> Near modern Hünningen.

<sup>2</sup> By the Quadi; xxix. 6, 6, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ter., *Andr.*, 592, *gnatam ut det oro, vixque id exoro.*



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

impacatum relictum etiam ipsa urbium moenia temptaturum. 4. Haec memorantes, addentesque utilia, reducere eum in meliorem sententiam, statimque (ut conducebat rei communi), prope Mogontiacum blandius rex ante dictus accitur, proclivis ipse quoque ad excipiendum foedus (ut apparebat). Et venit immane quo quantoque flatu distentus, ut futurus arbiter superior pacis, dieque praedicto colloqui ad ipsam marginem Rheni, caput altius erigens, stetit hinc inde sonitu scutorum intonante gentilium. 5. Contra Augustus escensis<sup>1</sup> amnicis lembis, saeptus ipse quoque multitudine castrensium ordinum, tutius prope ripas accessit, signorum fulgentium nitore conspicuus, et immodestis gestibus murmureque barbarico tandem sedato, post dicta et audita ultro citroque versus,<sup>2</sup> amicitia media sacramenti<sup>3</sup> fide firmatur. 6. Hisque perfectis, discessit turbarum rex artifex delenitus, futurus nobis deinceps socius, et dedit postea ad usque vitae tempus extremum, constantis in concordiam animi facinorum documentum pulchrorum. 7. Periit autem in Francia postea, quam dum internecive vastando perrupit avidius, oppetit, Mallobaudis<sup>4</sup> bellicosi regis insidiis circumventus. Post foedus tamen sollemni ritu

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<sup>1</sup> *escensis*, Eyssen.; *ascensis*, G; *esensis*, MV.    <sup>2</sup> *uersus*, G; *multa et controuersa*, Her. (cf. xxxi. 16, 1); *uersus*, MV (added by V<sup>2</sup>).    <sup>3</sup> *sacramenti et inti fide*, MV; *et inti*, del. W<sup>2</sup> (HTEAG omit); *et ritus*, sugg. by Clark.    <sup>4</sup> *Mallobaudis*, Lind.; *Mello*-, MV; *Mel*-, the other MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxix. 4, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the same as the *lusoriae naves* of xvii. 2, 3, note; xviii. 2, 12.

unsubdued,<sup>1</sup> and would actually attack even fortified cities. 4. Calling to mind these things and adding other salutary advice, they led the emperor to a better opinion, and at once (as was for the advantage of the state) the said king was courteously summoned to the vicinity of Mayence, being himself also inclined (as was evident) to accepting a treaty. And he arrived enormously puffed up in every way, as if he expected to be the supreme arbiter of peace, and on the day set for the conference, with head high uplifted, he stood at the very edge of the Rhine while the clashing shields of his countrymen thundered all about him. 5. On the other side the Augustus embarked on some river-boats,<sup>2</sup> himself also hedged by a throng of military officers and conspicuous amid the brilliance of flashing standards, and cautiously<sup>3</sup> approached the shore. Finally, the savages ceased their immoderate gesticulation and barbaric tumult, and after much had been said and heard on both sides, friendship was confirmed between them<sup>4</sup> by the sanctity of an oath. 6. When this was accomplished, the king who had caused the disturbances withdrew pacified, henceforth to be our ally; and after that up to the very end of his life he gave proof by noble conduct of a spirit of steadfast loyalty. 7. He found his death later in the land of the Franks; for while amid murderous devastation he penetrated that country too eagerly, he was lured into an ambush by the warlike king Mallobaudes and perished. But after

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *cunctator et tutus*, xxvii. 10, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *in medio*, xviii. 5, 7, *quodam medio fetiali*.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

impletum, Treveros Valentinianus ad hiberna discessit.

### 4. *Modestus praefectus praetorio a iure dicundo Valentem avertit ; et de causidicina atque iurisconsultis, et variis advocatorum generibus.*

1. Haec per Gallias et latus agebantur arctoum. At in eois partibus alto externorum silentio, intestina pernicies augebatur, per Valentis amicos et proximos, apud quos honestate utilitas erat antiquior. Navebatur<sup>1</sup> enim opera diligens, ut homo rigidus audire cupiens lites, a studio iudicandi<sup>2</sup> revocaretur, metu ne ita ut Iuliani temporibus, defensione innocentiae<sup>3</sup> respirante, frangeretur potentium tumor, assumpta licentia latius solitus evagari. 2. Ob haec et similia, concordi consensu dehortantibus multis, maximeque Modesto, praefecto praetorio, regionum arbitrio spardonum exposito, et subagreste ingenium, nullis vetustatis lectionibus<sup>4</sup> expolitum, coacto vultu fallente, et asserente, quod infra imperiale columnen causarum essent minutiae privatarum ; ille ad humilitandam celsitudinem potestatis negotiorum examina spectanda<sup>5</sup> instituta esse arbitratus (ut monebat),

<sup>1</sup> *nouabatur*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *iudicandi*, MV ; *indicandi*, K ; *diuindicandi*, sugg. by Clark.      <sup>3</sup> *innocentiae*, H. Michael ; *innocentia*, MV.      <sup>4</sup> *lectionibus*, V<sup>2</sup> ; *legationibus*, MV.      <sup>5</sup> Frag. M ends with *spec-*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxii. 9, 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xix. 12, 6. He was general in the Orient under Constantius and was made praetorian prefect by Julian.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 330, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *humilitati*, xxix. 2, 15.

the solemn ratification of the treaty Valentinian retired to Treves for winter quarters.

4. *Modestus, the praetorian prefect, leads Valens to give up the administration of justice; a discussion of the pleader's profession, of jurisconsults, and of various classes of advocates.*

1. This is what took place throughout Gaul and Before 378 the northern part of the empire. But in the regions of the East, amid the profound quiet of foreign affairs, destructive internal corruption was increasing through the friends and intimates of Valens, with whom advantage prevailed over honour. For diligent efforts were exerted to turn the emperor, as a severe man and eager to hear cases at law, from his desire to act as judge; for fear that as in the times of Julian,<sup>1</sup> if the defence of innocence should revive, the arrogance of powerful men, which under the licence that they had assumed was in the habit of always reaching out farther, might be checked. 2. On these and similar grounds many united in a common attempt at dissuasion and in particular the praetorian prefect Modestus,<sup>2</sup> a man wholly subjected to the influence of the eunuchs of the court, of a boorish nature refined by no reading of the ancient writers. He, wearing a forced and deceptive expression, declared that the trivialities of private cases at law were beneath the dignity of the imperial majesty. Accordingly Valens, thinking that the examination of swarms<sup>3</sup> of legal cases was devised to humble<sup>4</sup> the loftiness of the royal power, in accordance with the advice of Modestus, abstained from it

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

abstinuit penitus, laxavitque rapinarum fores quae roborabantur in dies, iudicum advocatorumque pravitae sentientium paria, qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus, vel intra palatium validis venditantes, aut opes aut honores quaesivere praeclaros.

3. Hanc professionem oratorum forensium, πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (id est civilitatis particulae umbram) vel adulationis partem quartam esse definit amplitudo Platonis, Epicurus autem κακοτεχνίαν nominans<sup>1</sup> inter artes numerat malas. Tisias suasionis opificem esse memorat assentiente Leontino Gorgia. 4. Quam a veteribus ita determinatam, orientalium quorundam versutia ad usque bonorum extulit odium, unde etiam retinaculis temporis praestituti frenatur. Ergo absolutis super eius indignitate perpaucis,<sup>2</sup> quam in illis partibus agens expertus sum, ad coeptorum cursum regrediar institutum.

5. Florebant elegantiae praeae patrociniis tribunalia, cum oratores concitae facundiae, attenti studiis doctrinarum, ingenio fide copiis ornamentisque dicendi pluribus eminebant, ut Demosthenes, quo dicturo concursus audiendi causa ex tota Graecia

<sup>1</sup> *nominans*, V; *annominans*, Clark, c.c.  
*perpaucis*, Baehrens; *paucis*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *per-*

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<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Gorgias*, 463 b. For *amplitudo Platonis*, cf. xxii. 16, 22, *sermonum amplitudine Iovis aemulus Platon*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the lowest of the four parts.

<sup>3</sup> The art of deceiving; cf. Quintilian, ii. 15, 2; 20, 2. Epicurus denied that it was an art.

<sup>4</sup> One of the earliest rhetoricians, a teacher of Gorgias; see Cic., *Brut.* 12, 46.

wholly, thereby opening the doors to robbery ; and this grew stronger day by day through the wickedness of judges and advocates in collusion ; for they sold their decisions of the cases of poorer people to officers in the army, or to powerful men within the palace, and thus gained either wealth or high position.

3. This trade of forensic oratory the great Plato defined as πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον (that is, the shadow of a small part of the science of government <sup>1</sup>) or as the fourth part of flattery ; <sup>2</sup> but Epicurus counts it among evil arts, calling it κακοτεχνία.<sup>3</sup> Tisias <sup>4</sup> says that it is the artist of persuasion, and Gorgias of Leontini agrees with him. 4. This art, thus defined by the men of old, the cunning of certain Orientals raised to a degree hateful to good men, for which reason it is even confined by the restraints of a time fixed beforehand.<sup>5</sup> Therefore after having described in a very few words its unworthiness, with which I became acquainted while I was living in those parts, I shall return to the course of the narrative with which I began.

5. Formerly judgement-seats gained glory through the support of old-time refinement, when orators of fiery eloquence,<sup>6</sup> devoted to learned studies, were eminent for talent and justice, and for the fluency and many adornments of their diction ; for example Demosthenes, to hear whom, when he was going to speak, as the Attic records testify, the people were wont to flock together from all Greece <sup>7</sup> ; and

<sup>5</sup> So, at Athens, to a space of time marked by the emptying of the clepsydra, or water-clock.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *concitatus orator*, xiv. 7, 18.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Cic., *Brutus*, 84, 289.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

feri solitos monumentis Atticis continetur, et Callistratus, quem nobilem illam super Oropo causam (qui locus in Euboea <sup>1</sup> est) perorantem, idem Demosthenes, Academia cum Platone relicta, sectatus est : ut Hyperides et Aeschines et Andocides et Dinarchus et Antiphon ille Rhamnusius, quem ob defensum negotium omnium primum antiquitas prodidit accepisse mercedem. 6. Nec minus apud Romanos, Rutilii et Galbae et Scauri vita moribus frugalitatemque spectati, et postea per varias aevi sequentis aetates, censorii et consulares multi et triumphales, Crassi et Antonii et cum Philippis Scaevolae alique numerosi, post exercitus prosperrime ductos, post victorias et tropaea, civilibus stipendiorum officiis floruerunt, laureasque fori speciosis certaminibus occupantes, summis gloriae honoribus fruebantur. 7. Post quos excellentissimus omnium Cicero, orationis imperiosae fluminibus saepe depressos aliquos iudiciorum eripiens flammis, " Non defendi homines sine vituperatione fortasse posse, neglegenter defendi sine scelere non posse " firmabat.

8. At nunc videre est per eos <sup>2</sup> omnes tractus violenta et rapacissima genera hominum, per fora omnia volitantium, et subsidentium divites domus,

<sup>1</sup> *Boeotia* sugg. by Clark ; *Euboea*, WAG ; *eubda*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *eos*, Loiseil from cod. Valent. ; *eos*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Xen., *Hell.* vi. 2, 39 ; cf. 3, 3 ; and Diod. Sic., xv. 29, 6, he flourished shortly before the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.).

Callistratus,<sup>1</sup> to whom, when he pleaded in that celebrated case in defence of Oropos (which is a place in Euboea<sup>2</sup>) that same Demosthenes attached himself, forsaking the Academy and Plato; also, Hyperides, Aeschines, Andocides, Dinarchus, and the famous Antiphon of Rhamnus, who, according to the testimony of antiquity, was the first of all to accept a fee for conducting a defence. 6. Not less eminent among the Romans were men like Rutilius, Galba, and Scaurus, conspicuous for their life, their character, and their uprightness; and later in the various epochs of subsequent times many former censors and consuls, and men who had been honoured with triumphs, such as Crassus, Antonius, Philippus, Scaevola,<sup>3</sup> and many others, after successful campaigns, after victories and trophies, distinguished themselves by civic services to the State, and winning laurels in the glorious contests of the Forum, enjoyed Fame's highest honours. 7. After these Cicero, the most eminent of them all, by the floods of his all-conquering oratory often saved the oppressed from the fiery ordeal of the courts, and declared: "It might perhaps be pardonable to refuse to defend some men, but to defend them negligently could be nothing but criminal."<sup>4</sup>

8. But now it is possible to see in all the regions of the Orient powerful and rapacious classes of men flitting from one forum to another, besieging the homes of the wealthy, and like Spartan or Cretan

<sup>2</sup> It is really on the frontier of Attica and Boeotia opposite Euboea. The words are probably a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> All these men are mentioned in Cicero's *Brutus*; see Index.

<sup>4</sup> Preserved only here; cf. *In Caec.* 18, 60.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

ut Spartanos canes aut Cretas, vestigia sagacius colligendo, ad ipsa cubilia pervenire causarum.

9. In his primus est coetus eorum, qui seminando <sup>1</sup> diversa iurgia per vadimonia mille iactantur, viduarum postes et orborum limina deterentes, et aut inter discordantes amicos, aut propinquantes, vel affines, si simultatum levia senserint receptacula, odia struentes infesta: in quibus aetatis progressu non ut aliorum vitia intepescunt, sed magis magisque roborantur: inter rapinas insatiabiles inopes, ad capiendam versutis orationibus iudicum fidem, quorum nomen ex iustitia natum est, sicam ingenii destringentes. 10. Horum obstinatione libertatem temeritas, constantiam audacia praeceps, eloquentiam inanis quaedam imitatur affluentia <sup>2</sup> loquendi: quarum artium scaevitate, ut Tullius asseverat, nefas est <sup>3</sup> religionem decipi iudicantis. Ait enim “Cumque nihil tam incorruptum esse debeat in re publica quam suffragium, quam sententia, non intellego cur qui ea pecunia corruperit, poena dignus sit: qui eloquentia, laudem etiam ferat. Mihi quidem hoc plus mali facere videtur, qui oratione, quam qui pretio iudicem corrumpit: quod pecunia corrumpere prudentem nemo potest, dicendo potest.”

11. Secundum est genus eorum, qui iuris professi scientiam, quam repugnantium sibi legum abolvere

<sup>1</sup> *seminando*, A; *rimando*, Her.; *liminando*, V. <sup>2</sup> *ad-*  
*fluentia*, Her. (for *ad-*, see note 3); *fluentia*, V. <sup>3</sup> *est*  
*ad*, V; G omits *ad*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxix. 3, 3; these were famous breeds; see Virg., *Georg.* iii. 405; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, iii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For *receptacula*, cf. xxviii. 1, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Called by Wagner *insipida translatio*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Quint. iv. 1, 9, *iudex religiosus*.

### XXX., 4, 8-11

hounds <sup>1</sup>sagaciously picking up the tracks until they come to the very lairs of lawsuits.

9. Among these the first class consists of those who, by sowing the seeds of all sorts of quarrels, busy themselves with thousands of recognisances, wearing out the doors of widows and the thresholds of childless men ; and if they have found even slight retreats <sup>2</sup> of secret enmity, they rouse deadly hatred among discordant friends, kinsfolk, or relatives. And in these men their vices do not cool down in course of time, as do those of others, but grow stronger and stronger. Poor amid insatiable robbery, they draw the dagger <sup>3</sup> of their talent to lead astray by crafty speeches the good faith of the judges, whose title is derived from justice. 10. By their persistence rashness tries to pass itself off as freedom of speech ; and reckless audacity as firmness of purpose ; a kind of empty flow of words as eloquence. By the perversity of these arts, as Cicero insists, it is a sin for the conscientiousness of a judge <sup>4</sup> to be deceived. For he says : " And since nothing in a state ought to be so free from corruption as the suffrage and judicial decisions, I do not understand why one who corrupts them by money deserves punishment, while one who corrupts them by his eloquence is even praised. For my part, I think that he does more evil who corrupts a judge by a speech than one who does so by money ; for no one can corrupt a sensible man by money, but he can do so by words." <sup>5</sup>

11. A second class consists of those who profess a knowledge of law, which, however, the self-contradictory statutes have destroyed, and reticent

<sup>5</sup> *De Re Pub.* v. 11, preserved by Ammianus.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

discidia, velut vinculis ori impositis reticentes, iugi silentio umbrarum sunt similes propriarum. Hi velut fata natalicia praemonstrantes, aut Sibyllae oraculorum interpretes, vultus gravitate ad habitum composita tristiores, ipsum quoque venditant, quod oscitantur. 12. Hi ut altius videantur iura callere, Trebatium loquuntur et Cascellium et Alfenum, et Auruncorum Sicanorumque iam diu leges ignotas, cum Evandri matre abhinc saeculis obrutas multis. Et si voluntate matrem tuam finxeris occidis, multas tibi suffragari absolutionem lectiones reconditas pollicentur, si te senserint esse nummatum.

13. Tertius eorum est ordo, qui ut in professione turbulenta clarescant, ad expugnandam veritatem ora mercenaria procudentes, per prostitutas frontes vilesque latratus, quo velint aditus sibi patefaciunt crebros: qui inter sollicitudines iudicum per multa distentas, irresolubili nexu vincientes negotia, laborant, ut omnis quies litibus implicetur, et nodosis quaestionibus de industria iudicia circumscribunt, quae cum recte procedunt, delubra sunt aequitatis: cum depravantur, foveae fallaces et caecae: in quas si captus ceciderit quisquam, non nisi per multa exsiliet lustra, ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus.

<sup>1</sup> Or, refer *ipsum* to *silentio*. They make no pleas, only promise them, and boast of their recondite studies of the law.

<sup>2</sup> Horace, *Serm.* ii. 1; Cicero, *Ad Fam.* vii. 5, 8, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Of the time of the first triumvirate; cf. Val. Max., vi. 2, 12; Hor., *A.P.* 371.

<sup>4</sup> Alfenus Varus, cf. Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 130.

<sup>5</sup> Typical of antiquity; cf. Virg., *Aen.* viii. 51 ff.; Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 91; Gell. i. 10, 1, 2.

### XXX., 4, 11-13

as if they were muzzled, in never-ending silence they are like their own shadows. These men, as though revealing destinies by nativities or interpreting a Sibyl's oracles, assume a solemn expression of severe bearing and try to make even their yawning saleable.<sup>1</sup> 12. In order to seem to have a deeper knowledge of the law, they talk of Trebatius,<sup>2</sup> Cascellius,<sup>3</sup> and Alfenus,<sup>4</sup> and of the laws of the Aurunci and Sicani,<sup>5</sup> which were long since forgotten and buried many ages ago along with Evander's mother.<sup>6</sup> And if you pretend that you have purposely murdered *your* mother, they promise, if they have observed that you are a moneyed man,<sup>7</sup> that their many recondite studies will secure an acquittal for you.

13. A third group consists of those who, in order to gain glory by their troublous profession, sharpen their venal tongues<sup>8</sup> to attack the truth, and with shameless brow and base yelping often gain entrance wherever they wish. When the anxious judges are distracted by many cares, they tie up the business in an inexplicable tangle, and do their best to involve all peace and quiet in lawsuits and purposely by knotty inquiries they deceive the courts, which, when their procedure is right, are temples of justice, when corrupted, are deceptive and hidden pits: and if anyone is deluded and falls into those pits, he will not get out except after many a term of years, when he has been sucked dry to his very marrow.

<sup>6</sup> A humorous superlative of *antiquus*. Evander is typical of antiquity (Hor., *Serm.* i. 3, 91; etc.), and his mother carries us back a generation.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. xiv. 6, 12, note 3; Cic., *Agr.*, ii. 22, 59.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ingenium procudere*, xv. 2, 8; *procudere linguas*, xxxi. 16, 9.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

14. Quartum atque postremum est genus impudens, pervicax et indoctum, eorum qui cum immature a litterariis<sup>1</sup> eruperint ludis, per angulos civitatum discurrent, mimiambos non causarum remediis congrua commentantes, fores divitum deterendo, cenarum ciborumque aucupantes delicias exquisitas. 15. Qui cum semel umbraticis lucris, et inhiandae undique pecuniae sese dediderint, litigare frustra quoslibet innocentes hortantur, et ad defendendam causam admissi, quod raro contingit, suscepti nomen et vim negotii sub ore disceptatoris inter ipsos conflictuum articulos instruuntur, circumlocutionibus indigestis ita scatentes, ut in colluvione<sup>2</sup> tæterrima<sup>3</sup> audire existimes ululabili clamore Thersiten. 16. Cum autem ad inopiam muniendarum venerint allegationum, ad effrenatam deflectunt conviciandi licentiam: quo nomine ob assidua in personas honorabiles probra, diebus dictis aliquotiens sunt damnati, e quibus ita sunt rudes non nulli, ut numquam se codices habuisse meminerint. 17. Et si in circulo doctorum auctoris veteris inciderit nomen, piscis aut edulii peregrinum esse vocabulum arbitrantur: si vero advena quisquam inusitatum sibi antea Marcianum (verbo tenus) quaesierit oratorem,

<sup>1</sup> *litterariis*, AG; *litterarum*, Novák; *litteris*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ut in conluuione*, Pet.; *ut conluuionis*, G; *utconlu* (deleted by V<sup>2</sup>) *utconluinones*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *teterimae*, E<sup>2</sup>G; *teterrima*, V, restored by Pet. (*tæ-*).

### XXX., 4, 14-17

14. The fourth and last class, shameless, headstrong, and ignorant, consists of those who have broken away too soon from the elementary schools, run to and fro through the corners of the cities, thinking out mimiambic lines,<sup>1</sup> rather than speeches suitable to win law-suits, wearing out the doors of the rich, and hunting for banquets and fine choice food. 15. When they have once devoted themselves to shady gain and to eagerness for money from any and every source, they urge all kinds of innocent people to involve themselves in vain litigations. And when they are allowed to defend suits, which rarely happens, amidst the very turning-points of the disputes they learn the name of their client and the purport of the business in hand from the mouth of the judge, and they so overflow with disarranged circumlocutions that in the foul hotchpotch you would think you were hearing a Thersites<sup>2</sup> with his howling din. 16. But when they find themselves in the end unable to defend the charges, they turn to unbridled licence in abuse; and on this account, because of their constant insults of persons of rank, they are prosecuted and often condemned; and among them are some who are so ignorant that they cannot remember that they ever possessed a law-book. 17. And if in a circle of learned men the name of an ancient writer happens to be mentioned, they think it is a foreign word for some fish or other edible; but if any stranger asks for the orator Marcianus (for example),<sup>3</sup> who was

<sup>1</sup> By *mimiambi* are meant either farces or songs written in iambs. See Pliny, *Epist.* vi. 21, 4; Gell. xx. 9, 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Here a typical name for a foul-mouthed rascal; *Iliad*, ii. 211 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Here a typical name.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

omnes confestim Marcianos appellari se fingunt. 18. Nec iam fas ullum prae oculis habent, sed tamquam avaritiae venundati et usucapti, nihil praeter interminatam petendi licentiam norunt. Et siquem semel intra retia ceperint, cassibus mille impedicant, per morborum simulationem vicissim consulto cessantes : utque pervulgati iuris proferatur lectio vana, septem vendibiles introitus praeparant, dilationum examina longissima contextentes. 19. Et cum nudatis litigatoribus dies cesserint et menses et anni, tandem obtrita vetustate controversia intromissa, ipsa capita splendoris ingressa, alia secum advocatorum simulacra inducunt. Cumque intra cancellorum venerint saepta, et agi coeperint alicuius fortunae vel salus, atque laborari debeat ut ab insonte gladius vel calamitosa detrimenta pellantur, corrugatis hinc inde frontibus brachiisque histrionico gestu formatis, ut contionaria Gracchi fistula sola<sup>1</sup> post occipitium desit, consistitur altrinsecus diu : tandemque ex praemeditato colludio, per eum qui est in verba fidentior, suave quoddam principium

<sup>1</sup> *sola*, added by Schneider (cf. xxviii. 4, 13); V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> A favourite word of Ammianus, used literally in xviii. 3, 1; figuratively in xvi. 12, 11; xx. 7, 15; xxi. 5, 4. Wagner takes *examina* here in the sense of investigations (*examina* : a *stateris ducta metaphora*).

<sup>2</sup> The heads of the knighthood (*ordo splendidus*); cf. xxiii. 6, 83, *nobilitas omnis et splendor*.

<sup>3</sup> = *fori cancelli*; cf. Cic., *Sest.* 58, 124, *tantus est ex omnibus spectaculis usque a Capitolio, tantus ex fori cancellis plausus excitatus*.

before unknown to him, at once they all pretend that their own name is Marcianus. 18. And they no longer have before their eyes any right, but as if sold to and enslaved by avarice, they understand nothing except endless licence in making demands. And if once they have caught anyone in their nets, they entangle him in a thousand toils, purposely defaulting by pretending sicknesses one after another ; and they prepare seven plausible preambles in order that the useless reading of well-known law may be introduced, thus weaving swarms<sup>1</sup> of long delays. 19. And when the contending parties are stripped of everything, and days, months and years are used up, at last the case, now worn out with age, is introduced, and those brilliant principals<sup>2</sup> come forth, bringing with them other shadows of advocates. And when they have come within the barriers<sup>3</sup> of the court, and the fortunes or safety of some one begins to be discussed, and they ought to work to turn the sword or ruinous loss from an innocent person, the advocates on both sides wrinkling their brows and waving their arms in semblance of the gestures of actors (so that they lack only the oratorical pipe<sup>4</sup> of Gracchus behind them) stand for a long time opposite each other. At last, in accordance with a prearranged agreement, the one who is more confident in speech utters a kind of a sweet prologue, promising to emulate the ornamental language of

<sup>4</sup> See Cic., *De Orat.* iii. 60, 225 ; Plut., *Tib. Gracch.* 2, 4-5 ; Gaius Gracchus is said to have had a player on a pipe stationed behind him, when he made a speech, to regulate the force of his delivery ; Val. Max. viii. 10, 1 ; Quint. i. 10, 27 ; Gell. i. 11, 10 ff.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

dicendi exoritur,<sup>1</sup> Cluentianae vel pro Ctesiphonte orationum aemula ornamenta promittens: et in eam conclusionem cunctis finem cupientibus desinit, ut nondum se patroni post speciem litis triennium editam causentur instructos, spatioque prorogati temporis impetrato, quasi cum Antaeo vetere col-luctati, perseveranter flagitant pulveris periculosi mercedes.

20. Verum tamen haec cum ita sint, non desunt advocatis incommoda plurima, parum sustinenda recte victuro. Namque sellulariis quaestibus ines-cati, inter se hostiliter dissident, et abrupta<sup>2</sup> male-dicendi ferocia (ut dictum est) multos offendunt: quam tunc effutiunt, cum commissarum sibi causa-rum infirmitatem rationibus<sup>3</sup> validis convallare<sup>4</sup> non possunt. 21. Et iudices patiuntur interdum doctos ex Philistionis aut Aesopi cavillationibus, quam ex Aristidis illius Iusti vel Catonis disciplina productos: qui aere gravi mercati publicas potestates, ut credi-tores molesti, opes cuiusque<sup>5</sup> modi fortunae rimantes, alienis gremiis excutiunt praedas. 22. Ad ultimum id habet causidicina cum ceteris metuendum et grave, quod hoc ingenitum est paene litigantibus cunctis, ut cum iurgia mille casibus cadant, accidentia

<sup>1</sup> *exoritur*, Pet., Gudeman; *exeritur*, G; *etaritur*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *abrupta*, Momms.; *erupta*, Gardt.; *praeerupta*, Novák;  
*rupta*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *rationibus*, Lind.; *orationibus*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *con-*  
*uallare*, Gruter; *conuelare*, G; *conualere*, V.    <sup>5</sup> *cuiusque*,  
Lind.; *cuiusce*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Of Cicero.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes' *Oration on the Crown*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxviii. 1, 46, note.

<sup>4</sup> With the underlying sense of "base, contemptible."

a speech for Cluentius<sup>1</sup> or Ctesiphon;<sup>2</sup> and when all are wishing for the end, such is the method of his peroration that the advocates, after the semblance of a trial has gone on for three years, allege that they are not yet fully informed; and after they have obtained a further postponement, as if they had struggled with Antaeus<sup>3</sup> of old, they persistently demand the pay for their danger and toil.

20. But yet, in spite of this, advocates suffer many inconveniences, not easy to be endured by a man who would live rightly. For, allured by the profits of their sedentary<sup>4</sup> trade, they differ among themselves and become enemies, and they offend many by their outbursts of abusive ferocity (as has been said), which they blab out in a torrent when they have no arguments strong enough to fortify the weakness of the cases which have been entrusted to them.

21. And they have to deal with judges who sometimes are taught by the sophisms of Philistion or Aesopus,<sup>5</sup> rather than reared in the discipline of your Aristides the Just or Cato. Such men, having bought public office for large sums of money, like tiresome creditors prying into the resources of every kind of fortune, shake out booty from other men's bosoms. 22. Finally, the profession of advocate has, with the rest, this serious and dangerous evil, which is native to almost all litigants, that although their cases may be lost by a thousand accidents, they

<sup>5</sup> Lindenbrog thought Aesopus was the famous tragic actor, but that seems doubtful because of the connection; cf. xxvi. 6, 15, *mimicam cavillationem*; Solinus, ch. x. (on Sicily). Valesius took him to be the celebrated writer of fables; Wagner believed that both Philistion and Aesopus were writers of mimes contemporary with Cicero.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

secus in potestate esse existiment patronorum, et omnem certaminum exitum eisdem soleant assignare, et non vitiis rerum, aut iniquitati aliquotiens disceptantium, sed solis defensantibus irascantur. Verum unde huc declinavimus, revertamur.

5. *Valentinianus Sarmatis et Quadis Pannoniarum populatoribus bellum illaturus, in Illyricum proficiscitur, et transito Danubio Quadorum pagos vastat, vicos incendit, barbaros cuiusque aetatis iugulat.*

1. Pubescente iam vere, Valentinianus a Treveris motus, per nota itinera gradu celeri contendebat, eique regiones adventanti quas petebat, legatio Sarmatarum offertur: pedibusque eius prostrata, orabat pacifica prece, ut propitius veniret et lenis, nullius diri facinoris participes popularis suos inventurus aut conscios. 2. Quibus saepe eadem iterantibus, hactenus perpensa deliberatione respondit, haec in locis ubi dicuntur admissa, quaerenda verissimis documentis et vindicanda. Cumque exinde Carnuntum Illyriorum oppidum introisset, desertum quidem nunc et squalens, sed ductori exercitus perquam

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus takes up his narrative from the end of chapter 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxvi. 4, 5; xxix. 6, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Haimburg, in Pannonia, on the Danube; near Vienna.

think their ill-success lies wholly in the ability of their advocates, and they are accustomed to attribute the outcome of every contest to them; and they vent their anger not on the weakness of their case or the frequent injustice of the magistrate who decides it, but only on their defenders. But let us return to the point from which we made the digression.

5. *Valentinian goes to Illyricum to make war on the Sarmatians and the Quadi, who are devastating Pannonia. Crossing the Danube he lays waste the cantons of the Quadi, burns their villages, and massacres savages of all ages.*

1. When spring was already ripening,<sup>1</sup> Valentinian moved from Trier and hastened by quick marches along the familiar roads; and when he came to the regions for which he was aiming, he was met by a deputation of the Sarmatians,<sup>2</sup> who threw themselves at his feet and begged in peaceful terms that his visit might be favourable and merciful to them, since he would find that their countrymen were neither participants in, nor aware of, any outrage. 2. When they often repeated these same statements, after mature deliberation the emperor made this answer: that these acts must be investigated, in the place where they were said to have been committed, and punished in the light of the most reliable evidence. And when thereafter he entered Carnuntum,<sup>3</sup> a town of the prefecture of Illyricum, now indeed deserted and in ruins, but very convenient for the leader of an army, he proceeded (whenever chance or design gave

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

opportunum, ubi fors copiam dedisset aut ratio, e statione proxima reprimebat barbaricos appetitus.

3. Et quamquam terrori cunctis erat dum sperabatur, ut acer et vehemens, mox iudices damnari iussurus, quorum perfidia vel secessione Pannoniarum nudatum est latus: cum illuc venisset, ita intepuit, ut neque in Gabinii regis inquireret necem, necque inusta rei publicae vulnera, quo sinente vel agente segnius evenissent, curatius<sup>1</sup> vestigaret: eo videlicet more, quo erat severus in gregariis corrigendis, remissior erga maiores fortunas vel verbis asperioribus incessendas. 4. Solum tamen incitato petebat odio Probum, numquam ex quo eum viderat minari desinens vel mitescens: cuius rei causae nec obscurae fuerunt nec leves. Hic praefecturam praetorio non<sup>2</sup> tunc primitus nactus, eamque multis atque utinam probabilibus modis, in longum proferre gestiens,<sup>3</sup> non ut prosapiae suae claritudo monebat, plus adulationi quam verecundiae dedit. 5. Contemplatus enim propositum principis, quaerendae undique pecuniae vias absque iustorum iniustorumque discretionem scrutantis, errantem non reducebat ad aequitatis tramitem (ut saepe moderatores fecere tranquilli) sed ipse quoque flexibilem sequebatur atque transversum. 6. Unde graves oboedientium

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<sup>1</sup> *curatius*, Bent., Novák; *accuratius*, EG; *ut curatius*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *non tunc*, Her. (cf. xvii. 11, 1); *haud* (for *tunc*), Momms.; V omits *non*.  
<sup>3</sup> *spatium gestiens*, Her. c.c.; *gestiens tempus*, Novák; *gestiens*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxix. 6, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *furori incitatissimo*, xxxi. 2, 11.

the opportunity) to check the attacks of the savages from a station near by.

3. And though he was a terror to all while his arrival was waited for, since he was likely in bitter anger to order at once the punishment of officials who through perfidy or desertion had exposed that side of Pannonia, yet on his arrival he became so mild that he neither made inquiry into the murder of King Gabinius,<sup>1</sup> nor carefully investigated the wounds branded on the body of the state to learn through whose negligence or guilt they had come about. And indeed it was his way to be severe in punishing common people, but more lenient towards personages of higher rank, even when they deserved a severe rebuke in harsh words. 4. Probus alone he attacked with bitter<sup>2</sup> hatred, never ceasing to threaten him from the first time he had seen him, nor showing him any mildness; and for this conduct there were obvious weighty reasons. Probus had then, not for the first time, attained the rank of praetorian prefect, and in his longing to prolong his tenure of office in many ways (I only wish that they had been justifiable), he relied more on flattery than on worth otherwise than the glory of his stock<sup>3</sup> admonished him. 5. For considering the emperor's inclination to seek out ways of getting money from every quarter without distinction between right and wrong, he did not call him back when he strayed from the path of justice (as peace-loving counsellors have often done), but himself also followed the emperor on his devious and perverse course. 6. Hence resulted the grievous

<sup>3</sup> He was descended from the family of the Anicii; cf. xvi. 8, 13.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

casus, et<sup>1</sup> exitialia provisorum nomina titulorum, iuxta opulentas et tenues enervatas succidere fortunas, argumentis aliis post alia validioribus,<sup>2</sup> usu laedendi reperiente longaevo. Denique per<sup>3</sup> tributorum onera vectigaliumque augmenta multiplicata, optimatum quosdam ultimorum metu exagitatos, mutare compulit<sup>4</sup> sedes, et flagitantium ministro- rum amaritudine quidam expressi, cum non sup- peteret quod daretur, erant perpetui carcerum inquilini: e quibus aliquos, cum vitae iam taederet et lucis, suspendiorum exoptata remedia consump- serunt. 7. Haec ita illecebrosius atque inhumanus agi loquebatur quidem pertinax rumor; Valentini- anus vero tamquam auribus cera illitis ignorabat, indifferenter quidem<sup>5</sup> lucrandi vel ex rebus minimis avidus, idque tantum cogitans quod offerebatur, parsurus tamen fortasse Pannoniis, si haec ante ingemiscenda compendia<sup>6</sup> comperisset, quae nimium sero tali didicit casu. 8. Ad provincialium residu- orum exemplum, etiam Epirotae acturos sibi gratias a praefecto mittere compulsi legatos, Iphiclem quendam philosophum, spectatum robore pectoris hominem, adegere (non sponte propria) pergere ad id munus implendum. 9. Qui cum imperatorem vidisset, agnitus adventusque sui causam inter-

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<sup>1</sup> *et*, add. Her.; V omits.    <sup>2</sup> *aliis post alia validioribus*, Her.; *aliis post aliis*, G; *aliis post u. aliis*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *per*, add. Her.; V omits.    <sup>4</sup> *compulit*, V, rest. by Val.; *compulerunt*, G.    <sup>5</sup> *quidem*, V, deleted by Her., Nov., Pet.; uel, G.    <sup>6</sup> *compendia*, V; *dispendia*, Her., Nov.

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<sup>1</sup> For *tituli* in this sense see xxvii. 3, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *illecebrosus insidiis*, xxx. 1, 19.

troubles of his subjects, and the ruinous items of imposts<sup>1</sup> that had been instituted, long-continued practice in oppression finding one pretext after another, each more effective than the others, enfeebled and cut the sinews of the fortunes of rich and poor alike. Finally, the burden of tributes and the repeated increase in taxes compelled some of the most distinguished families, hounded by the fear of the worst, to leave their country; others, crushed by the severity of the dunning tax-collectors, having nothing to give, became permanent inmates of the prisons; and some of these, now weary of life and light, died by the noose as a welcome release. 7. These things, as persistent rumour maintained, went on thus with increasing treachery<sup>2</sup> and ruthlessness; but Valentinian knew nothing of them, as if his ears were stopped with wax, being eager for indiscriminate gain even from the slightest things, and taking into consideration only what was offered. Yet perhaps he would have spared Pannonia,<sup>3</sup> if he had known earlier of these lamentable sources of profit, of which he learned all too late from the following chance occurrence. 8. After the example of the rest of the provincials the Epirotes also were compelled by the prefect to send envoys to the emperor to offer him their thanks,<sup>4</sup> and forced a philosopher called Iphicles,<sup>5</sup> a man renowned for his strength of soul, against his own desire to go and perform that duty. 9. And he, when he came into the emperor's presence, being recognized and asked the reason for his coming,

<sup>1</sup> As his native land; cf. 7, 2, below.

<sup>2</sup> For the merits of the governor.

<sup>3</sup> A Cynic, formerly intimate with Julian.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

rogatus, Graece respondit, atque ut philosophus veritatis professor, quaerente curatius principe, si hi qui misere ex animo bene sentiunt de praefecto, "gementes," inquit, "et inviti." 10. Quo ille verbo tamquam telo percussus, actus eius ut sagax bestia rimabatur, genuino percunctando sermone quos noscitabat, ubinam ille esset (verbi gratia) honore suos antecellens<sup>1</sup> et nomine, vel ille dives, aut alius ordinis<sup>2</sup> primus. Cumque disceret perisse aliquem laqueo, abisse alium trans mare, conscivisse sibi alium mortem aut plumbo vita erepta extinctum, in immensum excanduit, urente irarum nutrimenta tunc officiorum magistro Leone (pro nefas!) ipso quoque praefecturam, ut e celsiore scopulo caderet, affectante: quam si adeptus rexisset, prae his quae erat ausurus, administratio Probi ferebatur in caelum.

11. Agens itaque apud Carnuntum imperator per continuos tres menses aestivos arma parabat et alimenta, siqua fors secundasset, pervasurus opportune Quados, tumultus atrocis auctores; in quo oppido Faustinus, filius sororis Viventii praefecti

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<sup>1</sup> *suos antecellens*, Her.; *inter suos antecellens*, G.; *ante suos cellens*, Val., V (tr.).      <sup>2</sup> *ordinis*, V; *sui ordinis*, Her. (cf. xxviii. 6, 4).

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<sup>1</sup> *plumbo* probably refers to a lash with balls of lead fastened to it; cf. xxviii. 1, 29, note; Erfurdt-Wagner say "*in eculeo*," which seems to mean that the victim was lashed as he bestrode the *eculeus*; or it may refer to weights attached to the victim's feet; see xxvi. 10, 13, note 3.

replied in Greek; and when the emperor asked explicitly whether those who sent him thought well of the prefect in their hearts, he said, as became a philosopher who made a profession of truth: "With groans and against their will." 10. By these words the emperor was struck as by a dagger, and like a keen-scented hound he searched into all the conduct of the prefect, asking Iphicles in his native tongue about people whom he personally knew: where in the world, for example, was so and so who excelled his countrymen in honour and reputation; or another, who was rich; or still another of high rank. And when he learned that one had fallen victim to the noose, that another had gone across the sea, that a third had committed suicide or had died under the blows of the knout,<sup>1</sup> he burned with tremendous rage, to which Leo, who was then chief marshal of the Court (oh, horror!), added blazing fuel, a man who himself aspired to the prefecture, in order to fall from a greater height.<sup>2</sup> And if he had attained and ruled the office, in comparison with what he would have dared, the administration of a Probus would be praised to the skies!

11. And so the emperor remained at Carnuntum, where throughout the entire three summer months he was preparing arms and supplies, intending, if in anyway fortune favoured, to find opportunity to attack the Quadi, the instigators of the terrible uprising. It was in that town that Faustinus, nephew of Viventius,<sup>3</sup> the praetorian prefect, when

<sup>2</sup> A common idea; see Juv. x. 105 ff., *numerosa parabat excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset casus*, and Mayor's note on 106.

<sup>3</sup> See xxvii. 3, 11. He succeeded Florentius in Gaul.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

praetorio, notarius militans, Probo spectante negotium, carnificis manu peremptus est post tormenta, vocatus in crimen, quod asinum occidisse dicebatur ad usum artium secretarum, ut asserebant quidam urgentes; ut autem aiebat ille ad imbecillitatem firmandam fluentium<sup>1</sup> capillorum. 12. Alio quoque in eum perniciose composito, quod petenti per iocum cuidam Nigrino, ut eum notarium faceret, exclamavit ille hominem ridens: "Fac me imperatorem, si id volueris impetrare." Hocque ludibrio inique interpretato, et Faustinus ipse et Nigrinus et alii sunt interfecti.

13. Praemisso igitur Merobaude cum militari peditum manu, quam regebat, ad vastandos cremandosque barbaricos pagos, comite adiuncto Sebastiano, Valentinianus Acincum propere castra commovit, navigiisque ad repentinum casum coniunctis, et contabulato celeri studio ponte, per partem aliam transiit in Quados, speculantes quidem ex diruptis montibus eius adventum, quo plerique ancipites, incertique accidentium, cum suis caritatibus cecesserunt: sed stupore defixos, cum in regionibus suis, contra quam opinabantur, augusta cernerent signa. 14. Progressus ergo coacto gradu in quantum res tulit, iugulataque aetate promiscua, quam etiam tum

<sup>1</sup> *autem . . . fluentium*, added in G; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *fluentium*, cf. Celsus, vi. 1; *fluor capillorum*, Seren. Samm. 6; and on remedies from asses, Plin., N.H. xxviii. 180; cf. xxix. 106.

serving as a state-secretary, after an investigation conducted by Probus, was first tortured and then put to death by the hand of the executioner. The charge was that he had killed an ass, as some of his accusers alleged, for use in secret arts, but as he himself declared, to strengthen the weakness of his hair, which was falling out.<sup>1</sup> 12. According to another, who was also suborned to ruin him, when one Nigrinus in jest asked for an appointment as state-secretary, Faustinus laughed at the man and said: "Make me emperor, if you want to get that office." Since this jest was unjustly interpreted, Faustinus himself, as well as Nigrinus and others, were put to death.

13. Valentinian now sent Merobaudes<sup>2</sup> on ahead with the division of foot-soldiers under his command, and in company with Count Sebastianus, to plunder and burn the cantons of the barbarians; the emperor himself quickly moved his camp to Acincum,<sup>3</sup> joined together boats for the sudden emergency, and having with swift energy made a bridge of planks upon them, crossed through another quarter into the territory of the Quadi. They indeed were watching for his coming from the steep mountains, to which most of them, in doubt and uncertain what was happening, had withdrawn with their families; but they were overcome with amazement when, contrary to their expectation, they saw the imperial standards in their territories. 14. Valentinian then advanced forcing the pace as far as occasion demanded, put to death without distinction of age all those who were still roaming about and were taken unawares

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zos., iv. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Ofen.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

palantem subito occupavit excursus, et tectis combustis, redit cum incolumibus cunctis, quos duxerat secum, itidemque apud Acincum moratus, autumnopraecipiti, per tractus conglaciari frigoribus assuetos, commoda quaerebat hiberna, nullaue sedes idonea reperiri praeter Savariam<sup>1</sup> poterat, quamvis eo invalidam tempore, assiduisque malis afflictam. 15. Unde hoc, etiam si magni intererat, paulisper sequestrato, impigre motus, peragrata fluminis ripa, castrisque praesidio competenti munitis atque castellis, Bregitionem pervenit, ibique diu compositum ad quietem principis fatum sortem denuntiabat ei supremam, prodigiis<sup>2</sup> ingerentibus multis. 16. Namque diebus ante paucissimis, ruinas fortunarum indicantia celsarum, arsere crinita sidera cometarum, quorum originem supra docuimus. Ante apud Sirmium repentinofragore nubium fulmen excussum, palatii et curiae partem incendit et fori, et apud Savariam<sup>3</sup> eodem adhuc constituto, bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens, occentansque funebria, nullaiacientium sagittas et lapides contemplabili dextera cadere potuit, certatim licet ardenti studio petebatur. 17. Item cum ab urbe praedicta tenderet ad propincium, per portam voluit unde introiit exire, ut omen colligeret, quod cito remeabit ad Gallias.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sauariam*, Her. ; *sabariam*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *prodigiis*, V ;  
*prodigiis se*, Pet.      <sup>3</sup> *Sauariam*, Her. ; *Sabariam*, EG ;  
*suariam*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> In Pannonia, modern Stein-am-Anger.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., selecting winter quarters.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the need of rest for his soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> Szoeny near Comorn.

<sup>5</sup> See xxv. 10, 3.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "by taking aim."

by his sudden onset, burned the dwellings, and returned without losing a man of those whom he had led with him. He also lingered at Acincum, since the autumn was swiftly passing on, and being in lands where the cold weather always covered everything with ice, he looked about for suitable winter quarters; and he could find no convenient place except Savaria,<sup>1</sup> although that town was then weak and had suffered from repeated misfortunes. 15. Therefore, setting this <sup>2</sup> aside for a time, in spite of the great need for a halt,<sup>3</sup> he quickly moved from there, marched along the banks of the river, and having protected his camp with an adequate force and with castles came to Bregitio.<sup>4</sup> There the fate which had long been designed to end the emperor's labours foretold his approaching end by a repeated series of portents. 16. For a very few days before his arrival comets blazed in the heavens; these foreshadow the downfall of men of high position, and of their origin I have already given an account.<sup>5</sup> Before that, at Sirmium, with sudden crash of the clouds, a thunderbolt fell and set fire to a part of the palace, the senate house, and the forum. Also at Savaria, where the emperor was still settled, an owl perched on the top of the imperial bath, and uttered notes foretelling death; and no skilful <sup>6</sup> hand could bring it down with arrows or with stones, although many vied with one another in eager attacks upon it. 17. Again, when he was on his way from the aforesaid city to a campaign, he wished to go out through the same gate by which he had entered, in order to gain an omen that he would quickly return to Gaul; but while the neglected

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

Dumque<sup>1</sup> locus aggestis ruderibus neglectus purgatur, lapsam forem ferratam, quae exitum obseravit, multitudo remove non potuit, viribus magnis enisa, et ille ne<sup>2</sup> frustra tereret diem, coactus per aliam egressus est portam. 18. Nocteque quam lux ereptura eum vita secuta est (ut per quietem solet) videbat coniugem suam absentem, sedere passis capillis, amictu squalenti contactam : quam aestimari dabatur Fortunam eius esse, cum taetro habitu iam discessuram. 19. Progressus deinde matutinus, contractiore vultu subtristis, cum eum oblatus non susciperet equus, anteriores pedes praeter morem erigens in sublime, innata feritate concitus, ut erat immanis, dexteram stratoris militis iussit abscidi, quae eum insilientem iumento fulserat<sup>3</sup> consue<sup>4</sup>te : perissetque cruciabiliter innocens iuvenis, ni tribunus stabuli Cerealis dirum nefas cum sui periculo distulisset.

6. *Idem dum legatis Quadorum populares suos purgantibus respondet iratus, ictu sanguinis exstinguitur.*

1. Post haec Quadorum venere legati, pacem cum praeteritorum oblitteratione, suppliciter obsecrantes,

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<sup>1</sup> *dumque*, Bent., C. F. W. M. ; *cumque*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ille ne*, sugg. by Fletcher ; *ne ibidem*, Momms. ; *dum*, G ; *ne tandem*, C. F. W. M. ; *ideo ne*, Her. ; *idene*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *fulserat*, W<sup>2</sup>, Pet. ; *pulsarat*, C. F. W. M., Corn. ; *pulserat*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *consue<sup>te</sup>*, Pet. ; *inconsulto*, Kiess., Corn. ; *consuetu*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> See xxix. 3, 5, note.

<sup>2</sup> And since the death of Valentinian gave Valens other things to think of, the sentence was, as the language implies, probably not carried out.

place was being cleared of accumulated débris, the iron-clad door which barred the exit was found to have fallen, and could not be removed by the greatest efforts of a large number of men; and to avoid wasting a day there, he was forced to go out by another gate. 18. And on the night before the day which was to deprive him of life, he had a vision (as men often do in their sleep); he saw his absent wife sitting with disordered hair and dressed in mourning attire; and it was possible to infer that she was his own Fortune, on the point of leaving him in the garb of sorrow. 19. Then the next morning, when he came out somewhat gloomy and with frowning brow, the horse that was brought to him would not allow him to mount, but reared its fore feet high in the air contrary to its usual manner; whereupon the emperor fell into one of his innate fits of anger and, being naturally cruel, ordered the groom's<sup>1</sup> right hand, which as usual had supported him in leaping on to the animal, to be cut off. And the guiltless young man would have suffered a cruel fate, had not Cerealis, the tribune in charge of the stable, at the risk of his own life postponed the terrible wrong.<sup>2</sup>

6. *Valentinian, while making an angry reply to the envoys of the Quadi, who were trying to excuse their fellow-countrymen, dies of apoplexy.*

1. After this, envoys of the Quadi appeared, humbly begging for peace and forgetfulness of their past offences; and in order to obtain this without



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quam ut adipisci sine obstaculo possent, et tirocinium et quaedam utilia rei Romanae pollicebantur. 2. Quos quoniam suscipi placuit, et redire indutiis, quae poscebantur, indultis, quippe eos vexari diutius, nec ciborum inopia, nec alienum tempus anni patiebantur, in consistorium, Acquitio suadente, sunt intromissi. Cumque membris incurvatis starent metu debiles et praestrici, docere iussi quae ferebant, usitatas illas causationum species iurandi fidem addendo firmabant; nihil ex communi mente procerum gentis delictum asseverantes in nostros, sed per extimos quosdam latrones, amnique confines evenisse, quae incivilter gesta sunt, etiam id quoque addendo, ut sufficiens ad facta purganda firmantes, quod munimentum extrui coeptum nec iuste nec opportune ad ferociam animos agrestes accendit. 3. Ad haec imperator, ira vehementi perculsus, et inter exordia respondendi tumidior, increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem ut beneficiorum immemorem et ingratam. Paulatimque lenitus, et ad molliora<sup>1</sup> propensior, tamquam ictus e caelo, vitalique via voceque simul obstructa,<sup>2</sup> suffectus igneo lumine cernebatur; et repente cohibito<sup>3</sup> sanguine, letali sudore perfusus, ne laberetur spectantibus multis et vilibus,<sup>4</sup> concursu ministrorum

<sup>1</sup> *et ad molliora*, added in G; V omits. <sup>2</sup> *obstructa*, A, C. F. W. M.; *adstricta*, Her.; *abstricta*, V. <sup>3</sup> *et repente cohibito*, G; *erumpente subito*, EA; *etrepene cubito*, V. <sup>4</sup> *utilioribus*, Fletcher, c.c.; *multis*, Her., *peregrinis*, Pet., c.c. But see crit. note 1, p. 212.

<sup>1</sup> Chief marshal of the court, xxxi. 12, 15.

<sup>2</sup> See xxix. 6, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxiv. 4, 30.

<sup>4</sup> On the death of Valentinian see Zos. iv. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. § 5, below.

hindrance, they promised to provide recruits and some other things helpful to the Roman state. 2. When it was decided that the envoys be received and allowed to return home with the grant of the truce for which they were asking (for neither lack of supplies nor the unfavourable time of year allowed further attacks upon them), on the advice of Aequitius<sup>1</sup> they were admitted to the council-chamber. And as they stood there with bended limbs weak and stricken by fear, on being bidden to tell their mission, they gave the usual series of excuses and supported them by adding the pledge of an oath. They declared that there had been no common consent of the chiefs of their race in any wrong that had been done us, but that the hostile acts had been committed by bands of foreign brigands dwelling near the river; and they added, and maintained that it was a valid excuse for their conduct, that the building of a barrier,<sup>2</sup> which was begun both unjustly and without due occasion, roused their rude spirits to anger. 3. At this the emperor burst into a mighty fit of wrath, and being particularly incensed during the first part of his reply, he railed at the whole nation in noisy and abusive language, as ungrateful and forgetful of acts of kindness. Then he gradually calmed himself and seemed more inclined to mildness, when, as if struck by a bolt from the sky, he was seen to be speechless and suffocating,<sup>3</sup> and his face was tinged with a fiery flush.<sup>4</sup> On a sudden his blood was checked<sup>5</sup> and the sweat of death broke out upon him. Then, that he might not fall before the eyes of a throng of the common sort, his body-servants rushed to him

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

vitae secretioris ad conclave ductus est intimum.

4. Ubi locatus in lecto, exiguas spiritus reliquias trahens, nondum intellegendi minuto vigore, cunctos agnoscebat adstantes, quos cubicularii, nequis eum necatum suspicaretur, celeritate maxima corrogarant. Et quoniam viscerum flagrante compage, laxanda erat necessario vena, nullus inveniri potuit medicus, hanc ob causam quod eos per varia sparserat, curaturos militem pestilentiae morbo temptatum. 5. Unus tamen repertus, venam eius iterum saepiusque pungendo, ne guttam quidem cruoris elicere potuit, internis nimietate calorum ambustis, vel (ut quidam existimabant), arefactis ideo membris, quod meatus aliqui (quos haemorrhoidas nunc appellamus), obserati sunt gelidis frigoribus con crustati. 6. Sensit immensa vi quadam urgente morborum, ultimae necessitatis adesse praescripta, dicereque conatus aliqua vel mandare, ut singultus ilia crebrius pulsans, stridorque dentium et brachiorum motus velut caestibus dimicantium indicabat, iam superatus, liventibusque maculis interfusus, animam diu colluctatam efflavit, aetatis quinquagesimo anno et quinto, imperii (minus centum dies) secundo et decimo.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Virg. *Aen.* ix. 415.

and led him into an inner chamber. 4. There he was laid upon a bed; but although he was drawing more feeble remnants of breath, the vigour of his mind was not yet lessened, and he recognized all those who stood about him, whom the chamberlains had summoned with all speed, in order to avert any suspicion that he had been murdered. And since all parts of his body were burning hot, it was necessary to open a vein, but no physician could be found, since he had sent them to various places, to give attention to the soldiers who were attacked by the plague. 5. At last however one was found, but although he repeatedly pierced a vein, he could not draw even a single drop of blood, since the emperor's inner parts were consumed by excessive heat, or (as some thought) because his body was dried up, since some passages for the blood (which we now call hæmorrhoidæ) were closed and incrustated by the cold chills. 6. He felt the disease crushing him with a mighty force, and knew that the fated end of his life was at hand; and he tried to speak or give some orders, as was indicated by the gasps that often heaved his sides,<sup>1</sup> by the grinding of his teeth, and by movements of his arms as if of men fighting with the cestus; but finally his strength failed him, his body was covered with livid spots, and after a long struggle for life he breathed his last, in the fifty-fifth year of his age and the twelfth of his reign, less a hundred days.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> He was made Augustus A.D. Kal. Mart. (Feb. 23), 364, and died A.D. xv. Kal. Dec. (Nov. 18), 375.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

### 7. *Quo patre natus sit, et quas res princeps gesserit.*

1. Replicare nunc <sup>1</sup> est opportunum (ut aliquotiens fecimus), et ab ortu primigenio patris huius <sup>2</sup> principis ad usque ipsius obitum, actus eius discurrere per epilogos brevis, nec vitiorum praetermisso discrimine, vel bonorum, quae potestatis amplitudo monstravit, nudare solita semper animorum interna.

2. Natus apud Cibalas, Pannoniae oppidum, Gratianus maior ignobili stirpe, cognominatus est a pueritia prima Funarius, ea re quod nondum adultus, venalem circumferens funem, quinque militibus eum rapere studio magno conatis, nequaquam cessit: aemulatus Crotoniaten Milonem, cui mala saepe cohaerenter laeva manu retinenti vel dextra, nullamquam virium fortitudo abstraxit. 3. Ob ergo validi corporis robur, et peritiam militum more luctandi, notior multis, post dignitatem protectoris atque tribuni, comes praefuit rei castrensi per Africam, unde furtorum suspitione contactus, digressusque multo postea pari potestate Britannicum <sup>3</sup> rexit exercitum, tandemque honeste sacramento solutus, revertit ad larem, et agens procul a strepitu, multatione bonorum afflictus est a Constantio, hoc nomine, quod civili flagrante discordia, hospitio

<sup>1</sup> *nunc*, AG; *non* V.      <sup>2</sup> *huius*, Her. (*ce* = correctura vocis *non*; see note 1); *huiusce*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *Brittanicum*, Her.; *britannum*, V.

7. *Valentinian's parentage and his deeds as ruler.*

1. It is now in place to go back and (as we have often done) in a brief epilogue run through the deeds of this emperor, from the very birth of his father to his own decease, without omitting to distinguish his faults or his good qualities, brought to light as they were by greatness of power, which is always wont to lay bare a man's inmost character.

2. His father, the elder Gratianus, was born at Cibalae, a town of Pannonia, of a humble family, and from his early boyhood was surnamed Funarius,<sup>1</sup> because when he was not yet grown up and was carrying round a rope for sale, and five soldiers tried with all their might to tear it from him, he gave way not an inch; he thus rivalled Milo of Croton, from whom no possible exercise of strength could ever take an apple, when he held it tightly in his left or his right hand, as he often did. 3. Hence, because of his mighty strength of body and his skill in wrestling in the soldiers' fashion<sup>2</sup> he became widely known, and after holding the position of one of the bodyguard and of a tribune, he commanded the army in Africa with the title of count. There he incurred the suspicion of theft, but he departed long afterwards and commanded the army in Britain with the same rank; and at last, after being honourably discharged, he returned to his home. While he was living there far from the noise and bustle, his property was confiscated by Constantius, on the ground that when civil discord was raging he was said to have shown hospitality to Magnentius when the usurper

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pseud.-Aurel. Vict., *Epit.*, 45, 2.

<sup>2</sup> On this see Capit., *Max. Duo*, 6, 5 ff.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

dicebatur suscepisse Magnentium, per agrum suum ad proposita festinantem.

4. Cuius meritis Valentinianus ab ineunte adulescentia commendabilis, contextu suarum quoque suffragante virtutum, indutibus imperatoriae maiestatis apud Nicaeam ornatus, in Augustum collegium fratrem Valentem adscivit, ut<sup>1</sup> germanitate ita concordia sibi iunctissimum, inter probra medium et praecipua, quae loco docebimus competenti. 5. Igitur Valentinianus post periculorum molestias plures, dum esset privatus, emensas, imperitare exorsus, ut arces prope flumina sitas et urbes muniret,<sup>2</sup> Gallias petit, Alamannicis patentes excursibus, reviviscentibus erectius cognito principis Iuliani interitu, quem post Constantem solum omnium formidabant. 6. Ideo autem etiam Valentinianus merito timebatur, quod auxit et exercitus valido supplemento, et utrubique Rhenum celsioribus castris munivit atque castellis, ne latere usquam hostis ad nostra se<sup>3</sup> proripiens possit.

7. Utque multa praetereamus, quae egit moderatoris auctoritate fundati, quaeque per se vel duces correxit industrios, post Gratianum filium in societatem suae potestatis assumptum, Vithicabium<sup>4</sup> regem Alamannorum, Vadomario genitum, adulescentem in flore primo genarum, nationes ad tumultus

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<sup>1</sup> *ut*, added by EA ; V omits.    <sup>2</sup> *urbes* (vulgo) *muniret*, Her. ; *turbines et*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *se* G ; *sese*, Löfstedt ; *sepe*, V.  
<sup>4</sup> *Vithicabium*, Gardt. ; *withigabium*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., not yet emperor (cf. Lucan, v. 666, of Julius Caesar, quoted on p. 520, n. 1).    <sup>2</sup> xxviii. 2, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvii. 10, 3.

was hastening through Gratianus's land to carry out his designs.

4. Because of his father's services Valentinian was favoured from early youth, and being commended also by the addition of his own merits, he was clad in the insignia of imperial majesty at Nicaea. He took as his imperial colleague his brother Valens, to whom he was greatly attached both by the tie of fraternity and by sympathy, a man with an equal amount of excellent and bad qualities, as we shall point out in the proper place. 5. Valentinian, then, after suffering many annoyances and dangers while he was a private citizen,<sup>1</sup> had no sooner begun to reign than he went to Gaul, to fortify the strongholds and cities lying near the rivers ; for these were exposed to the raids of the Alamanni, who were raising their heads higher after learning of the death of the emperor Julian, who was absolutely the only one whom they feared after the death of Constans. 6. But Valentinian also was rightly dreaded by them, both because he increased the armies with a strong reinforcement and because he so fortified both banks of the Rhine with lofty castles and strongholds, that nowhere should an enemy be able to hurl himself at our territories unobserved.<sup>2</sup>

7. And to pass over many things which he did with the authority of an established ruler, and the reforms that he effected either personally or through energetic generals, after admitting his son Gratianus to a share in his power, he secretly, since he could not do so openly, caused Vithicabius, king of the Alamanni,<sup>3</sup> son of Vadomarius, a young man in the first bloom of manhood, to be stabbed, because he



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

cientem et bella, clam (quia non potuit aperte) confodit; et Alamannis congressus, prope Solicinum locum, ubi insidiis paene perierat, circumventus, ad exitium ultimum delere potuit universos, ni paucos velox effugium tenebris amendasset.

8. Inter haec tamen caute gesta, iam <sup>1</sup> conversos ad metuendam rabiem Saxonas, semper quolibet inexplorato ruentes, delatosque tunc ad maritimos <sup>2</sup> tractus, quorum spoliis paene redierant locupletes, <sup>3</sup> malefido quidem sed utili commento peremit, praeda raptoribus vi fractis excussa.

9. Itidemque Britannos, catervas superfusorum hostium non ferentes, spe meliorum assumpta, in libertatem et quietem restituit placidam, nullo paene redire permissio grassatorum ad sua.

10. Efficacia pari Valentinum quoque, Pannonium exsulem, per has provincias molientem otium turbare commune, antequam negotium effervescat, oppressit.

Africam deinde malo repentino percussam, <sup>4</sup> discriminibus magnis exemit, cum voracis militarium fastus ferre nequiens Firmus, ad omnes dissensionum motus perflabiles gentes Mauricas concitasset.

Similique fortitudine clades ingemiscendas Illyrici

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<sup>1</sup> *gesta, iam, G; gradiens, Pet.; graviterque peracta, Novák; graviam conuersus, V.*

<sup>2</sup> *ad maritimos, G; ad terrestres, vulgo; tunc (lac. 12 letters) restructus, V.*

<sup>3</sup> *locupletes, vulgo; onusti, G; (lac. 8 letters) tetes, V.*

<sup>4</sup> *percussam, EA; perturbatam, G; per (lac. 6 letters), V.*

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<sup>1</sup> Part of Schwetzingen; cf. xxvii. 10, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxviii. 5, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxvii. 8, 5.

was rousing his people to rebellion and war. And joining battle with the Alamanni near a place called Solicinum,<sup>1</sup> where, after falling into an ambuscade and all but losing his life, he could have utterly destroyed their entire army, had not swift flight saved a few of them under cover of darkness.

8. While he was accomplishing these exploits with due caution, the Saxons,<sup>2</sup> who had already broken out into formidable madness and were always rushing wherever they pleased without reconnaissances, had then invaded the maritime districts, and had almost returned enriched with the spoils which they took; but by a device which was treacherous but expedient he overwhelmed and stripped of their booty the robbers thus forcibly crushed.

9. Again, when the Britons could not resist the hordes of enemies that were overrunning their country, he restored them to freedom and quiet peace with the hope of better conditions, and allowed almost none of the plunderers to return to his home.<sup>3</sup>

10. With like effectiveness he also crushed Valentinus, the exile from Pannonia, who was trying to disturb the public peace in that province, before his design came to a head.<sup>4</sup>

Next, he saved Africa from great dangers, when that country was in the throes of an unexpected disaster; for Firmus was unable to endure the greed and arrogance of the military officials and had aroused the Moorish tribes, whose ardour can always easily be fanned to any plan of dissension.<sup>5</sup>

With equal courage he would have avenged the lamentable catastrophes in Illyricum, had he not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 3, 4 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. xxix. 5, 3, 15, 25.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

vindicasset, ni morte praeventus reliquisset rem seriam imperfectam.

11. Ac licet opera<sup>1</sup> praestabilium ducum haec quae rettulimus consummata sunt, tamen ipsum quoque satis constat, ut erat expeditae mentis usuque castrens negotii diuturno firmatus, egisse complura; inter quae illud elucere clarius potuit, si Macrianum regem ea tempestate terribilem, vivum capere potuisset, ut industria magna temptarat, postquam eum evassisse Burgundios, quos ipse ad-moverat Alamannis, maerens didicisset et tristis.

### 8. *Eius saevitia, avaritia, invidia, et timor.*

1. Haec super actibus principis brevi sunt textu percurra: nunc confisi quod nec metu nec adulandi foeditate constricta posteritas, incorrupta praeteritorum solet esse spectatrix, summatim eius numerabimus vitia, post et praecipua<sup>2</sup> narraturi. 2. Adsimulavit<sup>3</sup> non numquam clementiae speciem, cum esset in acerbitem naturae calore propensior, oblitus profecto quod regenti imperium omnia nimia, velut praecipites<sup>4</sup> scopuli, sunt evitanda. 3. Nec enim usquam reperitur miti coercitione contentus, sed aliquotiens quaestiones multiplicari iussisse cruentas, per<sup>5</sup> interrogationes funestas, non nullis ad usque discrimina vitae vexatis: et ita erat effusior

<sup>1</sup> opera, AG (cf. xxxi. 4, 5); per opera, E; per operam, Momm; propera que, V.

<sup>2</sup> praecipua, Val.; bene merita, G; praeterita, V.

<sup>3</sup> adsimulavit, without lac. G; (lac. 9 letters) ad (lac. 7 letters) bit, V.

<sup>4</sup> praecipites, Clark; praerupti, AG; praecuti, Novák; praeteritis copuli, V.

<sup>5</sup> per, W. Meyer Spir.; post, V.

been overtaken by death and left that important matter unfinished.<sup>1</sup>

11. And although these successes which I have mentioned were brought about by his admirable generals, yet it is also well known that he himself, being a man of nimble mind and hardened by long experience in military life, performed very many exploits; and among these it would have been a most glorious feat<sup>2</sup> if he had been able to take King Macrianus alive, who was at that time formidable. He had made great efforts to do so after he learned with grief and sorrow that the king had escaped from the Burgundians, whom Valentinian himself had aroused against the Alamanni.

*8. His cruelty, greed, jealousy, and cowardice.*

1. This is a brief account of the emperor's deeds. Now, in the belief that posterity, being bound neither by fear nor by base flattery, is usually an uncorrupted judge of the past, I shall give a summary of his defects, to be followed by an account of his excellent qualities. 2. He sometimes assumed an appearance of mildness, although his hot temper made him more inclined to severity; for he evidently forgot that a ruler should avoid all excess, as he would a precipice. 3. For he was never found to be content with a mild punishment, but he continually ordered blood-thirsty investigations one after the other; and in his cruel inquisitions some were tortured even to the danger of their lives; in fact, he was so prone to cruelty that he never rescued from

<sup>1</sup> xxix. 6, 12 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxix. 4, 2, 5.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

ad nocendum ut nullum aliquando damnatorum capitis eriperet morte, subscriptionis elogio leni, cum id etiam principes interdum fecere saevissimi. 4. Atquin potuit exempla multa contueri maiorum, et imitari peregrina atque interna humanitatis et pietatis, quas sapientes consanguineas virtutum esse definiunt bonas. E quibus haec sufficiet poni. Artaxerxes Persarum ille rex potentissimus, quem Macrochira membri unius longitudo commemoravit,<sup>1</sup> suppliciorum varietates, quas natio semper exercuit cruda, lenitate genuina castigans, tiaras ad vicem capitum quibusdam noxiis amputabat : et ne secaret aures more regio pro delictis, ex galeris fila pendentia praecidebat : quae temperantia morum ita tolerabilem eum fecit et verecundum, ut annitentibus cunctis, multos et mirabiles actus impleret, Graecis scriptoribus celebratos. 5. Praenestino praetore, qui bello quodam Samnitico properare iussus ad praesidium venerat segnius, ad crimen diluendum exhibito, Papirius Cursor, ea tempestate dictator, securem per lictorem expediri homineque abiecta purgandi se fiducia stupefacto, visum prope fruticem iussit abscidi : hocque ioci genere castigatum, cum

<sup>1</sup> commemoravit, V ; cognominavit, E, C. F. W. M.

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<sup>1</sup> Μακρόχειρ, Longhand.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *ad vicem*, cf. xv. 10, 2 ; xxvii. 3, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Livy, ix. 16, 17 ff. ; Pliny, *N.H.* xvii. 81 ; Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *De Viris Illustr.*, 3, 14 ff.

death any of those who had been capitally condemned, by merciful terms in a warrant which was presented for his subscription, although sometimes this has been done even by the most savage of princes. 4. And yet he could have contemplated many examples of the men of old, and might have imitated native and foreign instances of humanity and righteous mercy, which philosophers call the kind sisters of the virtues. Of these it will suffice to mention the following. Artaxerxes, that mighty king of the Persians, whom the length of one of his limbs made known as Macrochir,<sup>1</sup> with inborn mildness corrected various punishments which that cruel nation had always practised, by sometimes cutting off the turbans of the guilty, in lieu of<sup>2</sup> their heads; and instead of cutting off men's ears for various offences, as was the habit of the kings, he sheared off threads hanging from their head-coverings. This moderation of character so won for him the contentment and respect of his subjects, that through their unanimous support he accomplished many noteworthy deeds, which are celebrated by the Greek writers. 5. A general of Praeneste in one of the Samnite wars had been ordered to hasten to his post, but had been slow to obey, and was summoned to expiate that misdeed; Papirius Cursor, who was dictator at the time, ordered the lictor to make ready his axe, and in sight of the man, who was overcome with terror and had given up hope of excusing himself, he gave orders that a bush seen near should be cut down, by a jest of this kind<sup>3</sup> at the same time punishing and acquitting the man; and thereby he suffered no loss of respect, and he

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

eum absolveret,<sup>1</sup> non ideo contemptus,<sup>2</sup> bella diuturna patrum<sup>3</sup> superavit et gravia, solus ad resistendum aptus Alexandro Magno, si calcasset Italiam, aestimatus.

6. Haec forsitan Valentinianus ignorans, minimeque reputans, afflicti solacium<sup>4</sup> status semper esse lenitudinem principum, poenas per ignes augebat et gladios: quod ultimum in adversis rebus remedium pietas reperit animorum, ut Isocratis memorat pulchritudo: cuius vox est perpetua docentis, ignosci debere interdum armis superato rectori, quam iustum<sup>5</sup> quid sit ignoranti. 7. Unde motum existimo Tullium praeclare pronuntiasse, cum defenderet Oppium: "Et enim multum posse ad salutem alterius, honori multis; parum potuisse ad exitium, probro nemini umquam<sup>6</sup> fuit."

8. Aviditas plus habendi, sine honesti pravique differentia, et indagandi quaestus varios per alienae vitae naufragia, exundavit in hoc principe flagrantius adulescens. Quam quidam praetendentes imperatorem Aurelianum purgare temptabant, id affirmando

<sup>1</sup> cum eum absolueret, Her.; eum absoluit, G; loci gener (lac. 9 letters) tum eum ausolaret, V.

<sup>2</sup> contemptus ut qui, Val.; c. suis, Gronov; ut qui contemptus, V; deleted as dittogr. by Clark.

<sup>3</sup> patrum, Gronov; per se, Val.; parum, V.

<sup>4</sup> solacium, Haupt; solatia, G; solacio, V.

<sup>5</sup> quam iustum, V; quasi or tamquam iustum, Haupt (quam added to um of neminium (see note 6) by Her.).

<sup>6</sup> nemini umquam, W<sup>2</sup>A, Her. (see note 5); neminium, V.

### XXX., 8, 5-8

brought to an end the long and difficult wars of his fathers and was considered the only man capable of resisting Alexander the Great, if that king should have set foot on Italian soil.<sup>1</sup>

6. Valentinian, who perhaps knew nothing of these instances, and did not consider that slowness to anger in rulers is always a solace for unhappy circumstances, increased the number of punishments by fire and sword, which a righteous spirit regards as the last resort in times of stress, as the splendid writer Isocrates says ;<sup>2</sup> there is an utterance of his for all time whereby he teaches that sometimes a ruler who has been overcome by arms ought to be pardoned, more than one who did not know what is just. 7. I think it was under the influence of this that Cicero made the glorious statement in his defence of Oppius :<sup>3</sup> "and indeed, to have great power for the salvation of another has brought honour to many ; to have had too little power to destroy him has never been a reproach to anyone."

8. The greed for greater possessions without distinguishing right from wrong, and of seeking advantages of various kinds through the shipwreck of others' lives, grew ever greater and became excessive in this emperor. This fault some tried to excuse by offering the example of the emperor Aurelian, declaring that as, when the treasury was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy, ix. 17, 2 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Panath.* 185, θαυμάζω δ', εἴ τις τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένης μὴ νομίζουσιν αἰσχίους εἶναι καὶ πλεόνων ὀνειδῶν μεστὰς ἢ τὰς ἡττάς τὰς ἀνευ κακίας συμβαινούσας.

<sup>3</sup> This speech of Cicero has not survived.



## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

quod ut ille post Gallienum, et lamentabilis rei publicae casus, exinanito aerario, torrentis ritu ferebatur in divites, ita hic quoque post procinctus Parthici clades, magnitudine indigens impensarum, ut militi supplementa suppeterent et stipendium,<sup>1</sup> crudelitati cupiditatem opes nimias congerendi miscebat: dissimulans scire, quod sunt aliqua quae fieri non oportet, etiam si licet, Themistoclis illius vere<sup>2</sup> dissimilis, qui cum post pugnam agminaque deleta Persarum, licenter obambulans, armillas aureas vidisset humi proiectas, et torquem, "Tolle" inquit "haec," ad comitum quendam prope adstantem versus,<sup>3</sup> "quia Themistocles non es," quodlibet spernens in duce magnanimo lucrum. 9. Huius exempla<sup>4</sup> continentiae similia plurima in Romanis exuberant ducibus: quibus omissis, quoniam non sunt perfectae virtutis indicia, (nec enim aliena non rapere laudis est), unum ex multis constans innocentiae vulgi veteris specimen ponam. Cum proscriptorum locupletes domus diripiendas Romanae plebei Marius dedisset et Cinna, ita<sup>5</sup> vulgi rudes animi sed humana soliti respectare, alienis laboribus pepercerunt, ut nullus egens reperiretur aut infimus, qui de civili luctu fructum contrectare pateretur sibi concessum.

<sup>1</sup> *stipendium*, Kell.; *inpendium*, VAG.      <sup>2</sup> *vere*, Clark (see note 3); *ueteris*, Val.; *uerecundi*, Her.; *uersimilis* (*dissimilis*, G) V.      <sup>3</sup> *uersus*, Gardt.; *tu*, G; *puer*, Eyssen.; *uere*, V; del. by Her.; tr. by Clark (see note 2).  
<sup>4</sup> *huius exempla*, without lac., G (*huiusce*, Brakman); *lucrum* (lac. 13 letters) *hu* (lac. 6 letters) *pla*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *Cinna ita*, Pet.; *Cinna*, EAG; *cinnata*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Probably at Plataea.

<sup>2</sup> 87 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Val. Max. iv. 3, 14. At the time of Sulla's proscription (82-81 B.C.), the conduct of the commons was different.

exhausted after Gallienus and the lamentable disasters to the state, he fell upon the rich like a torrent, so Valentinian, after the losses of the Parthian campaign, feeling the need of a vast quantity of expenditure in order to provide reinforcements and pay for his troops, mingled with cruelty the desire to amass excessive wealth, affecting not to know that there are some things which ought not to be done, even if one has the power to do them. In this he was quite unlike the famous Themistocles, for when after the fight with the Persians and the annihilation of their army<sup>1</sup> the Athenian was aimlessly strolling about, and saw golden bracelets and a neck-chain lying on the ground, he turned to one of his attendants who stood near by and said: "Pick up these, since you are not Themistocles," thus showing his scorn of any love of money in a noble leader. 9. Like instances of this same self-restraint are found in abundance in Roman generals. Passing these by, since they are no indication of perfect virtue (for not to seize the property of others deserves no praise), I will give one certain indication (among many) of the integrity of the common people of early days. When Marius and Cinna<sup>2</sup> had turned over to the Roman plebeians the rich dwellings of the proscribed to be plundered, the rough spirit of the commons, wont however to respect human misfortunes, so spared what had been gained by the toil of others that no one of the poor or of the lowest class was found who allowed himself, though permission was given him, to handle profits from the woes of his country.<sup>3</sup>

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

10. Invidia praeter haec ante dictus medullitus urebatur, et sciens pleraque vitiorum imitari solere virtutes, memorabat assidue, livorem severitatis rectae potestatis esse individuum<sup>1</sup> sociam. Utque sunt dignitatum apices maximi, licere sibi cuncta existimantes, et ad suspicandum<sup>2</sup> contrarios, exturbandosque meliores pronius inclinati, bene vestitos oderat et eruditos et opulentos et nobiles, et fortibus detrahebat, ut solus videretur bonis artibus eminere, quo vitio exarsisse principem legimus Hadrianum.

11. Arguebat hic idem princeps timidos saepius, maculosos tales appellans et sordidos, et infra sortem humilem amendandos, ipse<sup>3</sup> ad pavores irritos aliquotiens abiectius pallens, et quod nusquam erat, ima mente<sup>4</sup> formidans. 12. Quo intellecto, magister officiorum Remigius, cum eum<sup>5</sup> ex incidentibus ira fervere sentiret, fieri motus quosdam barbaricos, inter alia subseribat : hocque ille audito, quia timore mox frangebatur, ut Antoninus Pius erat serenus et clemens. 13. Iudices<sup>6</sup> numquam consulto malignos elegit, sed si semel promotos agere didicisset<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *individuum*, Val.; *invidiam esse*, G; *invidiam*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *susplicandum*, Pet.; *supplicandum*, V. <sup>3</sup> *ipse*, added by Bent.; V omits.

<sup>4</sup> *ima mente*, Lind.; *menta*, V.

<sup>5</sup> *cum eum*, A; *remigis fumium*, V. <sup>6</sup> *iudices*, added in G; V omits. <sup>7</sup> *didicisset*, Novák; *didicit*, G; *dedit*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Part. orat.*, 81 *cernenda autem sunt diligenter, ne fallant ea nos vitia quae virtutem videntur imitari*; Seneca, *Epist.* 45, 7; Juv. xiv. 109.

<sup>2</sup> See Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 15, summed up in 15, 13, "*non recte suadetis, familiares, qui non patimini me illum*

### XXX., 8, 10-13

10. Besides this there was a fire of envy in the very marrow of this same emperor, and knowing that most vices are wont to assume the appearance of virtues,<sup>1</sup> he had ever upon his lips the saying, that malice of severity is the inseparable associate of rightful power. And as men of the highest position always think that everything is allowed them, and they are strongly inclined to suspect those who oppose them and to overthrow better men than themselves, so he hated the well dressed, the learned, the rich, and the high-born; and he depreciated brave men, in order to give the appearance of surpassing all men in good qualities, a fault, as we read, by which the emperor Hadrian was inflamed.<sup>2</sup>

11. This same prince often denounced cowards, calling such men sullied, unclean, and deserving to be thrust down below the humblest estate; and yet he himself, in the presence of empty terrors, sometimes turned abjectly pale and dreaded in his inmost soul something that did not exist at all. 12. It was the knowledge of this that led Remigius, marshal of the court, when he perceived that the emperor was boiling with anger at something which had occurred, to hint among other things that some outbreaks of the barbarians threatened; and when Valentinian heard this, immediately he was so overcome with fear that he became as calm and mild as Antoninus the Good<sup>3</sup> himself. 13. He never intentionally chose cruel judges, but if he had learned that those whom he had once advanced<sup>4</sup> were acting cruelly,

*doctiorem omnibus credere, qui habet triginta legiones*"; so also Caligula; see Suet., *Calig.* 35.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Antoninus Pius; cf. xvi. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> To that rank.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

immaniter, Lycurgos invenisse praedicabat et Cassios, columnina iustitiae prisca, scribensque hortabatur assidue, ut noxas vel leves acerbius vindicarent. 14. Nec afflictis (si fors ingruisset inferior) erat ullum in principis benignitate perfugium, quod semper, ut agitato mari iactatis, portus patuit exoptatus. Finis enim iusti imperii (ut sapientes docent) utilitas oboedientium aestimatur et salus.

### 9. *Eiusdem virtutes.*

1. Consentaneum est venire post haec ad eius actus, sequendos recte sentientibus et probandos: ad quos<sup>1</sup> si reliqua temperasset, vixerat ut Traianus et Marcus. In provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas: oppidorum et limitum conditor tempestivus: militaris disciplinae censor eximius, in hoc tantum deerrans, quod cum gregariorum etiam levia puniret errata, potiorum ducum flagitia progredi sinebat in maius, ad querellas in eos motas aliquotiens obsurdescens: unde Britanici strepitus et Africanae clades et vastitas emersit Illyrici.

2. Omni pudicitiae cultu domi castus et foris, nullo contagio conscientiae violatus obscenae, nihil

<sup>1</sup> *ad quos*, added by Her. ; *cum quibus*, G ; *probandus si*, without lac., V.

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<sup>1</sup> Not the Spartan lawgiver, but a contemporary of Demosthenes ; see xxii. 9, 9, note.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxii. 9, 9, note ; and for Cato and Cassius, xxvi. 10, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Marcus Aurelius.

he maintained that he had found men like Lycurgus<sup>1</sup> and Cassius,<sup>2</sup> those ancient pillars of justice; and he often urged them in writing to punish even light offences with all severity. 14. Those in trouble, whom a reverse of fortune had befallen, found no refuge in the kindness of their prince, which has always been a longed-for haven, as it were, for those tossed on a stormy sea. For the purpose of a just rule (as the philosophers teach) is supposed to be the advantage and safety of its subjects.

### 9. *His virtues.*

1. It is fitting after this to pass to those acts of his which were praiseworthy and to be imitated by right-thinking men; and if he had regulated the rest of his conduct in accordance with these, his career would have been that of a Trajan or a Marcus.<sup>3</sup> He was very indulgent towards the provincials and everywhere lightened the burden of their tributes; he was always timely in founding towns and establishing frontier defences. He was an excellent critic of military discipline, failing only in this, that while he punished even slight offences of the common soldiers, he suffered the serious offences of his higher commanders to go to excess, often turning a deaf ear to the complaints made against them.<sup>4</sup> The result of this was turmoil in Britain, disaster in Africa, and the devastation of Illyricum.

2. In every observance of chastity he was pure at home and abroad; he was stained by the foul touch of no obscene feelings or lewdness; and for

<sup>4</sup>Cf. 5, 3, and Zos. iv. 16.

## VALENTINIANUS VALENS GRATIANUS

incestum : hancque ob causam tamquam retinaculis petulantiam frenarat aulae regalis, quod custodire facile potuit, necessitudinibus suis nihil indulgens, quas aut in otio reprimebat, aut mediocriter honoravit absque fratre, quem temporis compulsus angustiis, in amplitudinis suae societatem assumpsit.

3. Scrupulosus in deferendis potestatibus celsis nec imperante eo provinciam nummularius rexit, aut administratio venundata, nisi inter imperandi exordia,<sup>1</sup> ut solent occupationis spe impune quaedam sceleste<sup>2</sup> committi.

4. Ad inferenda propulsandaque bella sollertissime cautus, aestu Martii pulveris induratus, boni praveque suasor et desuasor admodum prudens, militaris rei ordinum scrutantissimus : scribens decore, venusteque pingens et fingens, et novorum inventor armorum : memoria sermoneque incitato quidem sed raro, facundiae proximo vicens, amator munditiarum, laetusque non profusis epulis sed exultis.

5. Postremo hoc moderamine principatus inclaruit, quod inter religionum diversitates medius stetit, nec quemquam inquietavit, neque ut hoc coleretur, imperavit aut illud : nec interdictis minacibus

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<sup>1</sup> *imperandi exordia*, added by Her. ; *initia*, by G ; no lac. in V.    <sup>2</sup> *spe impune quaedam sceleste* (*scelesta*, G), Her. ; *impunitatis*, Eyssen. : *incuriae*, Pet. ; *impuniae*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nummularius* is used in a broad sense, including bankers; for a dishonest money-changer, see Suet., *Galba*, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Text and exact meaning are uncertain ; the sense apparently is that some persons commit crimes, hoping that amid the press of business by which the new emperor is overwhelmed he will be forced to overlook them.

that reason he controlled the wantonness of the imperial court as if by a curb ; and this course he could easily keep ; he showed no indulgence to his own kindred, whom he either restrained in retirement or honoured with unimportant posts, with the exception of his brother, whom, compelled by press of circumstances, he admitted to a share in his own eminence.

3. He was most cautious in bestowing high official positions : under his rule no money-changer<sup>1</sup> governed a province, no office was ever sold, except at the beginning of his reign, a time when it is usual for some crimes to be committed with impunity through reliance on the distractions of a new ruler.<sup>2</sup>

4. In war, whether offensive or defensive, he was most skilful and careful, a veteran in the heat and dust of the battlefield. In council he was a foresighted persuader of what was right and a dissuader of wrong, most strict in examining all ranks of the military service. He wrote a neat hand, was an elegant painter and modeller, and an inventor of new kinds of arms.<sup>3</sup> His memory was lively ; so was his speech (although he spoke seldom), and he was vigorous therein, almost to the point of eloquence. He loved neatness, and enjoyed banquets that were choice but not extravagant.

5. Finally, his reign was distinguished by toleration, in that he remained neutral in religious differences neither troubling anyone on that ground nor ordering him to reverence this or that. He did

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pseud.-Aurel. Vict., *Epit.* 45, 6 : *pingere venustissime . . . fingere cero seu limo simulacra, nova arma meditari.*



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

subiectorum cervicem ad id, quod ipse coluit, inclinabat, sed intemeratas reliquit has partes ut repperit.

6. Corpus eius lacertosum et validum, capilli fulgor colorisque nitor cum oculis caesiis, semper obliquum intuentibus<sup>1</sup> et torvum, atque pulchritudo staturae, liniamentorumque recta compago, maiestatis regiae decus implebat.

### 10. *Valentinianus iunior, Valentiniani filius, in castris apud Bregetionem Augustus appellatur.*

1. Post conclamata imperatoris suprema, corpusque curatum<sup>2</sup> ad sepulturam, ut missum Constantinopolim inter divorum reliquias humaretur, suspensio instante procinctu, anceps rei timebatur eventus cohortibus Gallicanis, quae non semper dicatae legitimorum principum fidei, velut imperiorum arbitri, ausurae novum quoddam in tempore sperabantur: hoc temptandae novitatis spes adiciante,<sup>3</sup> quod gestorum ignarus etiam tum Gratianus agebat tum<sup>4</sup> apud Treveros, ubi profecturus eum morari disposuerat pater. 2. Cum negotium in his

<sup>1</sup> *tum oculi caesii . . . intuentes*, Pet.; comma after *nitor* deleted by Her.; *intuentibus*, Lind. <sup>2</sup> *curatum*, Lind.; *conditum*, EA; *curdatum*, V. <sup>3</sup> *hac . . . res adnuente*, Pet. (*novitatis spes*, Momms.; *n. spem*, Her.); *hoc novitati res adnuente* (*adiciante*, Her.), V. <sup>4</sup> *tum*, deleted by Novák.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *membrorum recta compago*, xiv. 11, 28.

<sup>2</sup> The *conclamatio*, or last call to the dead, to see whether any life remained. Or it may mean, after the public lamentations for his death, the completion of his funeral rites.

not bend the necks of his subjects to his own belief by threatening edicts, but left such matters undisturbed as he found them.

6. His strong and muscular body, the gleam of his hair, his brilliant complexion, his grey eyes, with a gaze that was always sidelong and stern, his fine stature, and his regular features<sup>1</sup> completed a figure of regal charm and majesty.

10. *The younger Valentinian, son of the late emperor, is hailed as Augustus in the camp at Bregetio.*

1. After the last invocation of the emperor<sup>2</sup> his<sup>375</sup> body was prepared for burial, in order to be sent to Constantinople and interred among the remains of the deified rulers. Meanwhile the campaign that was approaching was suspended, and an uncertain outcome of the situation was feared, because of the cohorts serving in Gaul, which were not always of devoted loyalty to legitimate emperors, and regarded themselves as arbiters of the imperial power;<sup>3</sup> and it was suspected that they might take the opportunity to venture on some new step; and this fact added some hopes of attempting a revolution—that Gratianus was still at Trier (where his father, when he was on the point of beginning his march, had arranged for him to stay) and even then knew nothing of what had happened.

2. When affairs were in this critical state, and all

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vopiscus, *Saturninus*, 7, 1: *Gallus, ex gente hominum inquietissima et avida semper vel faciendi principis vel imperii.*

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

esset angustiis, et tamquam in eadem navi futuri periculorum (si accidissent) participes, omnes eadem formidarent : sedit summatum consilio, avulso ponte quem <sup>1</sup> compaginarat ante necessitas, invadens terras hostilis, ut superstitis Valentiniani mandatu <sup>2</sup> Mero-baudes protinus acciretur. 3. Hocque ille ut erat sollertis ingenii, quod evenerat ratus, aut forte doctus ab eo per quem vocabatur, rupturum concordiae iura Gallicanum militem suspicatus, missam ad se tesseram finxit redeundi cum eo, ad observandas Rheni ripas quasi furore barbarico crudescente : utque erat secrete mandatum, Sebastianum principis adhuc ignorantem excessum, longius amendavit, quietum quidem virum et placidum, sed militari favore sublatum, ideo maxime tunc cavendum.

4. Reverso itaque Merobaude, altiore cura prospectum, expedito consilio, Valentinianus puer defuncti filius tum quadrimus, vocaretur in imperium cooptandus, centesimo lapide disparatus, degensque cum Iustina matre in villa, quam Murocinctam appellant. 5. Hocque concinenti <sup>3</sup> omnium sententia

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<sup>1</sup> *quem compaginarat*, EA ; *que* (lac. 11 letters) *paginarat* (p, V<sup>a</sup> from r, V<sup>1</sup>), V.      <sup>2</sup> *mandatu*, C. F. W. M. ; *mandato*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *concinenti*, Lind. ; *continenti*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> A common proverb ; cf. Cic., *Ad Fam.* ii. 5, 1 ; Livy, xliv. 22, 12.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *sedit*, cf. xiv. 1, 5 ; xix. 7, 6, *sedit consilium*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 5, 13.

<sup>4</sup> This Valentinianus is not to be confounded with another boy of the same name, then nine years old and the son of Valens, although the ancient writers often confuse them. This Valentinian, son of the emperor of

were equally in dread, and likely to share in whatever dangers that might arise, as if in the same boat,<sup>1</sup> it was agreed<sup>2</sup> in accordance with the advice of the highest officers, after having torn down the bridge, which they had previously built under necessity when invading the enemy's territory, that Merobaudes at once<sup>3</sup> should be summoned by order of Valentinian when he was still alive. 3. He, being a sharp-witted man, either guessing what had happened, or perhaps having learned it from the messenger who summoned him, and suspecting that the Gallic troops would violate the terms of peace, pretended that an order-ticket had been sent to him to return with the messenger, in order to guard the banks of the Rhine because the barbarians were getting wilder. And Sebastianus, who was still unaware of the emperor's death, he sent to a more distant post, which had been secretly ordered; for although Sebastianus was a quiet and peace-loving man, he stood in high favour with the troops, and hence he was particularly to be feared at that time.

4. Accordingly, after Merobaudes turned back, the matter of succession was carefully considered and the plan was unfolded that the boy Valentinianus,<sup>4</sup> son of the deceased emperor and then four years old, should be summoned and given a share in the rule. He was at the time a hundred miles distant, living with his mother Justina<sup>5</sup> at the country house called Murocincta. 5. When this had been approved by unanimous consent, the boy's uncle

the same name, met a violent death in 392, according to Hieronymus.

<sup>5</sup> According to Zos. iv. 43, she was formerly the wife of Magnentius. Cerealis was her brother.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

confirmato, Cerealis avunculus eius ocius missus, eundem puerum lecticae <sup>1</sup> impositum, duxit in castra sextoque die post parentis obitum imperator legitime declaratus, Augustus nuncupatur more sollemni. 6. Et licet cum haec agerentur, Gratianum indigne laturum existimantes, absque sui permissu principem alium institutum, postea tamen <sup>2</sup> sollicitudine discussa vivere securius, quod ille (ut erat benivolut et pius) <sup>3</sup> consanguineum pietate nimia dilexit et educavit.

## LIBER XXXI

### 1. *Caedis Valentis A. et cladis a Gothis inferendae prodigia.*

1. Inter haec <sup>4</sup> Fortunae volucris rota, adversa prosperis <sup>5</sup> semper alternans, Bellonam furiis in societatem adscitis, armabat, maestosque transtulit ad Orientem eventus, quos adventare praesagiorum fides clara monebat, et portentorum. 2. Post multa enim quae vates auguresque praedixere veridice, resultabant canes ululantibus lupis, et querulum

<sup>1</sup> *lecticae*, Novák; *lectica*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *tamen*, Pet.; *metus*, Lind.; *mens*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *pius*, Bent. (afterwards deleted); *peritus*, A; *pertus*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *Inter haec*, Her.; *interea et*, A; *int* (lac. 7 letters) (*interea*, V<sup>3</sup>) *et*, V.      <sup>5</sup> *adversa prosperis*, V<sup>3</sup>W<sup>2</sup>A; *diversa pros*, V.

Cerealis was immediately sent to the place, put him in a litter, and brought him to the camp; and on the sixth day after the passing of his father he was in due form declared emperor, and after the customary manner hailed as Augustus.<sup>1</sup> 6. And although, while this was being done, there was some thought that Gratianus would take it amiss that another emperor was chosen without his permission, this fear later vanished and men lived free from care, since Gratianus, besides being a kindly and righteous man, loved his kinsman with great affection and saw to his education.<sup>2</sup>

## BOOK XXXI

### 1. *Omens of the death of Valens Augustus and of the impending defeat by the Goths.*

1. Meanwhile Fortune's rapid wheel, which is always interchanging adversity and prosperity, armed Bellona in the company of her attendant Furies, and transferred to the Orient melancholy events, the coming of which was foreshadowed by the clear testimony of omens and portents. 2. For after many true predictions of seers and augurs, dogs leaped back when wolves howled, night birds

<sup>1</sup> A distinction seems to be made between *declaratio* and the ceremonial *nuncupatio*; the former perhaps took place at Murocineta, the latter in the camp.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ausonius, *Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum*, 7: "*piissimo: huius vero laudis . . . testimonium est . . . instar filii ad imperium frater adscitus.*"

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

quoddam nocturnae volucres tinniebant et flebile, et squalidi solis exortus hebetabant matutinos diei candores, et Antiochiae per rixas tumultusque vulgares id in consuetudinem venerat, ut quisquis<sup>1</sup> vim se pati existimaret, "Vivus ardeat Valens" licentius clamitaret, vocesque praeconum audiebantur, assidue mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini lavacri succensionem, studio ipsius principis conditi. 3. Quae hunc illi impendere exitum vitae modo non aperte loquendo monstrabant. Super his larvale simulacrum Armeniae regis, et miserabiles umbrae paulo ante in negotio Theodori caesorum, per quietem stridendo carmina quaedam neniarum<sup>2</sup> horrenda, multos diris terroribus agitabant. 4. Vaccula<sup>3</sup> gurgulione consecto, exanimis visa est iacens, cuius mors publicorum funerum aerumnas indicabat amplas et pervulgatas. Denique cum Chalcedonos subverterentur veteres muri, ut apud Constantinopolim aedificaretur lavacrum, ordine resoluta saxorum, in quadrato lapide qui structura latebat in media, hi Graeci versus incisi reperti sunt, futura plene pendentes :

<sup>1</sup> *quisquis*, C<sup>2</sup>, Bent., C. F. W. M.; *quisque*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *neniarum*, Gronov, pater; *nimum*, E; *nimirum*, A;  
*nimiarum*, V (a deleted by V<sup>2</sup>). <sup>3</sup> *uaccula*, Bent.,  
Haupt (*uacula*, E); *uagula*, V, G, Pighius; *aquila*, Val.;  
*gracula*, Novák.

rang out a kind of doleful lament, the sun rose in gloom and dimmed the clear morning light ; at Antioch, in quarrels and riots of the common people, it became usual that whoever thought that he was suffering wrong shouted without restraint : " Let Valens be burned alive ! " and the words of public criers were continually heard, directing the people to gather firewood, to set fire to the baths of Valens, in the building of which the emperor himself had taken such interest. 3. All this almost in plain speech showed that this kind of death<sup>1</sup> threatened him. Furthermore, the ghostly form of the king of Armenia and the piteous shades of those who shortly before had been executed in connection with the fall of Theodorus,<sup>2</sup> shrieking horrible songs at night, in the form of dirges, tormented many with dire terrors. 4. A heifer was found lying lifeless with its windpipe cut, and its death was an indication of great and widespread sorrow from funerals of the people. Finally, when the old walls of Chalcedon were torn down,<sup>3</sup> in order that a bath<sup>4</sup> might be built at Constantinople, and the rows of stones were taken apart, there was found on a squared block hidden in the midst of the structure of the wall an inscription containing the following Greek verses, clearly revealing what was to happen :

<sup>1</sup> I.e., death by fire.

<sup>2</sup> See xxix. 1, 8 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Because of the conduct of the inhabitants at the time of the uprising of Procopius ; cf. Socr., *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 8, and xxvi. 8, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Constantinianæ thermae, Socrates, iv. 8.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

5. ἀλλ' ὁπότεν νύμφαι δροσεραὶ κατὰ ἄστυ χορεΐη  
 τερπόμεναι στρωφῶνται<sup>1</sup> ἐνστεφέας κατ' ἀγνιάς,  
 καὶ τείχος λουτροῖο πολύστονον ἔσσειται ἄλκαρ,  
 δὴ τότε μυρία φύλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων  
 Ἰστρον καλλιρόοιο πόρον περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ,  
 καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαίαν,  
 Παιονίης δ' ἐπιβάντα σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένησιν  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ βιότοιο τέλος καὶ δῆρις<sup>2</sup> ἐφέξει.

### 2. *De Hunnorum et Alanorum, aliarumque Scythiae Asiaticae gentium sedibus et moribus.*

1. Totius autem sementem exitii et cladum originem diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito<sup>3</sup> miscendo cuncta concivit, hanc comperimus causam. Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit. 2. Ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens, corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, compactis omnes firmisque membris et opimis cervicibus, prodigiose<sup>4</sup> deformes<sup>5</sup> et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigiatī stipites dolantur incompte. 3. In hominum autem figura, licet insuavi, ita victu<sup>6</sup> sunt asperi, ut neque igni neque saporatis indigeant cibis,

<sup>1</sup> στρωφῶνται, Bent.; στροφῶνται, Eyssen.; στροφῶντε, V.

<sup>2</sup> δῆρις, Val.; δῆριν, Pet.; δηρειν, V.

<sup>3</sup> insolito, Pet.; incensio et solito, V.

<sup>4</sup> prodigiose, V, Kell., Corn.

<sup>5</sup> deformes, A, Kell., Corn.; formae, E; formes, V.

<sup>6</sup> ita victu, Her.; ita uisi, Val.; ta nisi, V.

## XXXI., 1, 5—2, 1-3

5. When gaily through the city's festal streets  
Shall whirl soft maidens in a happy dance,  
When mournfully a wall shall guard a bath,  
Then countless hordes of men spread far and wide  
With warlike arms shall cross clear Istrus' stream  
To ravage Scythia's fields and Mysia's land.  
But mad with hope when they Pannonia raid,  
There battle and life's end their course shall check.

### 2. *Of the homes and customs of the Huns, the Halani, and other nations of Asiatic Scythia.*

1. However, the seed and origin of all the ruin and various disasters that the wrath of Mars aroused, putting in turmoil all places with unwonted fires, we have found to be this. The people of the Huns,<sup>1</sup> but little known from ancient records, dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of savagery. 2. Since there the cheeks of the children are deeply furrowed with the steel<sup>2</sup> from their very birth, in order that the growth of hair, when it appears at the proper time, may be checked by the wrinkled scars, they grow old without beards and without any beauty, like eunuchs. They all have compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges.<sup>3</sup> 3. But although they have the form of men, however ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that they have no need

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zos. iv. 20; Sozom. vi. 37; Agathias, 5, 11 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sidonius, *Paneg. ad Avitum*, 243 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Used for adorning the parapets of bridges. Cf. Jordanes, 24.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, et semicruda cuiusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua equorumque<sup>1</sup> terga subsertam, fotu calefaciunt brevi. 4. Aedificiis nullis umquam tecti, sed haec velut ab usu communi discreta sepulcra declinant. Nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest. Sed vagi montes peragrantes et silvas, pruinas famem sitimque perferre ab incunabulis adsuescunt. Peregre tecta (nisi adigente maxima necessitate) non subeunt: nec enim<sup>2</sup> se tutos<sup>3</sup> existimant esse sub tectis morantes.<sup>4</sup> 5. Indumentis operiuntur linteis vel ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis; nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis. Sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta, non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos diffluerit<sup>5</sup> defrustata. 6. Galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes haedinis, eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. Qua<sup>6</sup> causa ad pedestres parum adcommodati sunt pugnas, verum equis prope affixi, duris quidem sed deformibus, et muliebriter eisdem non numquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. Ex ipsis quivis in hac natione perniox et perdius emit et vendit, cibumque sumit et potum, et inclinatus cervici angustae iumenti, in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunditur somniorum. 7. Et deliberatione super rebus

<sup>1</sup> *equorumque*, E, Gardt.; *uectorumque*, Pet. (cf. Apuleius); *uaporumque*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *enim apud eos*, V; *apud eos* del. C. F. W. M. (cf. § 4, line 3).      <sup>3</sup> *se tutos*, C. F. W. M.; *securos*, EA; *ecutos*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *morantes*, added by Novák; lac. 10 letters, V.      <sup>5</sup> *diffluerit*, Ernesti in Index; *defluxerit*, EA; *deffluxerit*, V.      <sup>6</sup> *qua*, EA; *qua ex*, Clark; *quas*, V.

of fire nor of savory food, but eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of any kind of animal whatever, which they put between their thighs and the backs of their horses, and thus warm it a little. 4. They are never protected by any buildings, but they avoid these like tombs, which are set apart from everyday use. For not even a hut thatched with reed can be found among them. But roaming at large amid the mountains and woods, they learn from the cradle to endure cold, hunger, and thirst. When away from their homes they never enter a house unless compelled by extreme necessity; for they think they are not safe when staying under a roof. 5. They dress in linen cloth or in the skins of field-mice sewn together, and they wear the same clothing indoors and out. But when they have once put their necks into a faded tunic, it is not taken off or changed until by long wear and tear it has been reduced to rags and fallen from them bit by bit. 6. They cover their heads with round caps and protect their hairy legs with goatskins; their shoes are formed upon no lasts, and so prevent their walking with free step. For this reason they are not at all adapted to battles on foot, but they are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly, and sometimes they sit them woman-fashion and thus perform their ordinary tasks. From their horses by night or day every one of that nation buys and sells, eats and drinks, and bowed over the narrow neck of the animal relaxes into a sleep so deep as to be accompanied by many dreams. 7. And when deliberation is called for about weighty

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti, perrumpunt quicquid inciderit. 8. Et pugnant non<sup>1</sup> numquam lacessiti, ineuntes<sup>2</sup> proelia cuneatim, variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. Utque ad pernecitatem sunt leves et repentini, ita subito de industria dispersi incessunt,<sup>3</sup> et<sup>4</sup> incomposita acie, cum caede vasta discurrunt, nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes, prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur. 9. Eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine, arte mira coagmentatis, et distantiis decursis<sup>5</sup> comminus ferro sine sui respectu confligunt, hostisque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris, equitandi vel gradiendi adimant facultatem. 10. Nemo apud eos arat nec stivam aliquando contingit. Omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare vel lege aut victu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contextunt, et coeunt cum maritis, et pariunt, et ad usque

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<sup>1</sup> *non*, deleted by Bent.      <sup>2</sup> *sed ineuntes*, V; *sed*, deleted by Her. as correction of *sed* in § 7.      <sup>3</sup> *incessunt*, Kellerbauer; *uigescunt*, W. Soisell; *ingescunt*, V.      <sup>4</sup> *et*, V; *ut*, Her.      <sup>5</sup> *distantiis decursis*, Brackman; *sed distint* (lac. 13 letters), V.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., on horseback.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., of metal (bronze or iron).

<sup>3</sup> This device was used also by the Sagartian nomads; see Hdt. vii. 85; Val. Flaccus, vi. 132 ff.; etc.

## XXXI., 2, 7-10

matters, they all consult as a common body in that fashion.<sup>1</sup> They are subject to no royal restraint, but they are content with the disorderly government of their important men, and led by them they force their way through every obstacle. 8. They also sometimes fight when provoked, and then they enter the battle drawn up in wedge-shaped masses, while their medley of voices makes a savage noise. And as they are lightly equipped for swift motion, and unexpected in action, they purposely divide suddenly into scattered bands and attack, rushing about in disorder here and there, dealing terrific slaughter; and because of their extraordinary rapidity of movement they are never seen to attack a rampart or pillage an enemy's camp. 9. And on this account you would not hesitate to call them the most terrible of all warriors, because they fight from a distance with missiles having sharp bone, instead of their usual points,<sup>2</sup> joined to the shafts with wonderful skill; then they gallop over the intervening spaces and fight hand to hand with swords, regardless of their own lives; and while the enemy are guarding against wounds from the sabre-thrusts, they throw strips of cloth plaited into nooses over their opponents and so entangle them that they fetter their limbs and take from them the power of riding or walking.<sup>3</sup> 10. No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by the wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nullusque apud eos interrogatus respondere unde oritur potest, alibi conceptus natusque procul, et longius educatus. 11. Per indutias infidi et inconstantes,<sup>1</sup> ad omnem auram incidentis spei novae perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes. Inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes, flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine immensa flagrant, adeo permutabiles et irasci faciles ut eodem aliquotiens die a sociis nullo irritante saepe desciscant, itidemque propitientur, nemine leniente.

12. Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus, externa praedandi aviditate flagrans immani, per rapinas finitimorum grassatum et caedes, ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetarum, qui unde sint vel quas incolant terras (quoniam huc res prolapsa est), consentaneum est demonstrare, geographica perplexitate monstrata, quae diu multimoda tractans<sup>2</sup> et varia, tandem repperit veritatis interna.<sup>3</sup>

13. Abundans aquarum<sup>4</sup> Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti Sauromatas praetermeat, ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Asiam terminat

<sup>1</sup> et inconstantes, Clark; inconstantes, N<sup>2</sup>A; infidi (at end of line) constantes, V. <sup>2</sup> multimoda tractans, Pet.;

indagans acute, Pighius (cf. Cic., Verr. 2, 2, 135); lac. of 9 letters, V. <sup>3</sup> interna (lac. 14 letters) ad hister, V.

<sup>4</sup> abundans, Gardt.; aquarum, added by Her.; ad Ister, A; interna, amnium adauctus Hister, Pighius (cf. xv. 4, 4; Mela, ii. 8, etc.).

husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty. None of their offspring, when asked, can tell you where he comes from, since he was conceived in one place, born far from there, and brought up still farther away. 11. In truces they are faithless and unreliable, strongly inclined to sway to the motion of every breeze of new hope that presents itself, and sacrificing every feeling to the mad impulse of the moment. Like unreasoning beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the difference between right and wrong; they are deceitful and ambiguous in speech, never bound by any reverence for religion or for superstition. They burn with an infinite thirst for gold, and they are so fickle and prone to anger, that they often quarrel with their allies without provocation, more than once on the same day, and make friends with them again without a mediator.

12. This race of untamed men, without encumbrances, aflame with an inhuman desire for plundering others' property, made their violent way amid the rapine and slaughter of the neighbouring peoples as far as the Halani, once known as the Massagetae. And since we have come to this point, it is in place to tell of the origin and dwelling-place of this people also, and to point out the confused opinions of geographers, who after many different attempts to deal with the subject have at last come upon the core of the truth.<sup>1</sup>

13. The Hister,<sup>2</sup> filled to overflowing by a great number of tributaries, flows past the Sauromatians, and these extend as far as the river Tanaïs,<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> The passage is fragmentary and the exact meaning is uncertain. Only the general sense can be given.

<sup>2</sup> The Danube.

<sup>3</sup> The Don.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

ab Europa. Hoc transito in immensum extentas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paulatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt (ut Persae). 14. Inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos praeruptos geluque torpentes, aquilones adstringunt. Post quos Vidini sunt et Geloni, perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus, indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoria. Gelonis Agathyrsi collimitant, interstincti<sup>1</sup> colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius<sup>2</sup> fucatis et densioribus notis. 15. Post hos Melanchlaenas et Anthrophagos palari accepimus per diversa, humanis corporibus victitantes, quibus ob haec alimenta nefanda desertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. Ideoque plaga omnis orienti aestivo obiecta, usque dum venit ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit. 16. Parte alia prope Amazonum sedes, Halani sunt

<sup>1</sup> *interstincti*, Lind. ; *interstincto*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *latius*, Bent. ; *latis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> The Hister (Danube).

<sup>2</sup> Alanos ("Αλανος).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxii. 8, 40; these are the Neuri of Herodotus (iv. 105).

<sup>4</sup> The Budini of Herodotus, iv. 108-9.

<sup>5</sup> See Mela, ii. 1, 14.

<sup>6</sup> This detail is not mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 104).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 80; Mela, ii. 1, 10.

<sup>8</sup> According to Herodotus, iv. 107, they get their name from their black clothing.

<sup>9</sup> *Oriens aestivus*, north-east (Pliny, *N.H.* xvii. 105), so called because the sun rises in that quarter in summer.

separates Asia from Europe. On the other side of this river<sup>1</sup> the Halani, so called from the mountain range of the same name,<sup>2</sup> inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the peoples whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name. 14. Among these the Nervii<sup>3</sup> inhabit the interior of the country near the lofty, precipitous peaks nipped by the north winds and benumbed with ice and snow. Behind these are the Vidini<sup>4</sup> and the Geloni, exceedingly savage races, who strip the skins from their slain enemies to make clothing for themselves and coverings for their horses in war.<sup>5</sup> On the frontier of the Geloni are the Agathyrsi, who checker their bodies and dye their hair with a blue colour<sup>6</sup>—the common people with a few small marks, but the nobles with more and broader spots of dye.<sup>7</sup> 15. Beyond these are the Melanchlaenae<sup>8</sup> and the Anthropophagi, who according to report lead a nomadic life and feed upon human flesh; and because of this abominable food they are left to themselves and all their former neighbours have moved to distant parts of the earth. And so the entire north-eastern<sup>9</sup> tract, until one comes to the Seres,<sup>10</sup> has remained uninhabitable. 16. In another part of the country, near the abodes of the Amazons, the Halani mount to the eastward, divided

*Hibernus oriens* for south-east also occurs, and *occidens aestivus* for north-west (Columella, i. 6, 2); *o.h.*, Livy, xlv. 46, 5. Cf. Gesner, *Lex. Rusticum*, s.v. *aequinoctialis oriens*.

<sup>10</sup> "Chinese" of Central and E. Asia (see xxiii. 6, 64). The Seres and the Ganges are not mentioned by Herodotus, nor the Halani except perhaps as Massagetae (i. 204).

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

orienti acclines,<sup>1</sup> diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangem accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem australe.

17. Hi bipertiti<sup>2</sup> per utramque mundi plagam Halani, quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert, licet dirempti spatiis longis, per pagos (ut Nomades) vagantur immensos, aevi tamen progressu, ad unum concessere vocabulum, et summam omnes Halani cognominantur, ob<sup>3</sup> mores et modum efferatum vivendi,<sup>4</sup> eandemque armaturam.<sup>5</sup>

18. Nec enim ulla sunt illis vel<sup>6</sup> tuguria, aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis, plaustriis supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt sine fine distentas. Cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis,<sup>7</sup> ferino ritu vescuntur, absumptisque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt, maresque supra cum feminis coeunt, et nascuntur in his et educantur infantes, et habitacula sunt haec illis perpetua, et quocumque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem. 19. Armenta prae se agentes, cum gregibus pascunt, maximeque equini pecoris est eis sollicitior cura. Ibi campi semper herbescunt, intersitis pomiferis locis: atque ideo transeuntes quolibet,

<sup>1</sup> *acclines*, Lind.; *adclines*, EA; *declines*, V. <sup>2</sup> *hi bipertiti*, Her.; *bipertiti*, Gardt.; *ibi pertiti*, V. <sup>3</sup> *ob*, added by Val.; V omits. <sup>4</sup> *modum efferatum vivendi*, Gardt.; *modum et efferatum vivendi*, V. <sup>5</sup> *eandemque armaturam*, Gardt.; *similem et armaturam*, Val.; lac. indic. by Wagner, Eyssen.; *etiam immatarum*, V. <sup>6</sup> *illis vel*, Her. (cf. 2, 4); *illisce*, WA; *illis celu gurria*, V. <sup>7</sup> *sarracis*, Lind.; *sarraclis*, V.

into populous and extensive nations ; these reach as far as Asia, and, as I have heard, stretch all the way to the river Ganges, which flows through the territories of India and empties into the southern ocean.

17. Thus the Halani (whose various peoples it is unnecessary now to enumerate) are divided between the two<sup>1</sup> parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as Nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name, and are, for short, all called Halani because of the similarity in their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons. 18. For they have no huts and care nothing for using the plowshare, but they live upon flesh and an abundance of milk, and dwell in wagons, which they cover with rounded canopies of bark and drive over the boundless wastes. And when they come to a place rich in grass, they place their carts in a circle and feed like wild beasts. As soon as the fodder is used up, they place their cities, as we might call them, on the wagons and so convey them : in the wagons the males have intercourse with the women, and in the wagons their babes are born and reared ; wagons form their permanent dwellings, and wherever they come, that place they look upon as their natural home. 19. Driving their plow-cattle before them, they pasture them with their flocks, and they give particular attention to breeding horses. In that land the fields are always green, and here and there are places set thick with fruit trees. Hence, wherever

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Europe and Asia, in which Africa was often included.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent, quod efficit umectum solum et crebri fluminum praetermeantium cursus. 20. Omnis igitur aetas et sexus imbellis, circa vehicula ipsa versatur,<sup>1</sup> muniisque dstringitur mollibus: iuventus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coalescens, incedere pedibus existimat vile, et omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. Unde etiam Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae, pugnandi sunt peritissimi.

21. Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, et armorum levitate veloces, Hunisque per omnia suppare, verum victu mitiores et cultu, latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna, et Cimmerium Bosporum, itidemque Armenios discurrentes, et Mediam. 22. Utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula iuvant et bella. Iudicatur ibi beatus, qui in proelio profuderit animam, senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos, ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur, nec quicquam est quod elatius iactent, quam homine quolibet occiso, proque exuviis gloriosis interfectorum, avulsis capitibus, detractas pelles pro phaleris iumentis accommodant bellatoriis. 23. Nec templum apud eos visitur aut

<sup>1</sup> *uersatur*, V; *uersatus*, Her.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, the Parthians; for their Scythian origin, cf. Q. Curtius, vi. 2, 11, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the meaning with the punctuation of the text, based on the clausulae. The skins are commonly understood to be those of the head (i.e. scalps),

they go, they lack neither food for themselves nor fodder for their cattle, because of the moist soil and the numerous courses of rivers that flow hard by them. 20. Therefore, all those who through age or sex are unfit for war remain close by the wagons and are occupied in light tasks ; but the young men grow up in the habit of riding from their earliest boyhood and regard it as contemptible to go on foot ; and by various forms of training they are all skilled warriors. From the same causes the Persians <sup>1</sup> also, who are Scythians by origin, are highly expert in fighting.

21. Moreover, almost all the Halani are tall and handsome, their hair inclines to blond, by the ferocity of their glance they inspire dread, subdued though it is. They are light and active in the use of arms. In all respects they are somewhat like the Huns, but in their manner of life and their habits they are less savage. In their plundering and hunting expeditions they roam here and there as far as the Maeotic Sea and the Cimmerian Bosporus, and also to Armenia and Media. 22. Just as quiet and peaceful men find pleasure in rest, so the Halani delight in danger and warfare. There the man is judged happy who has sacrificed his life in battle, while those who grow old and depart from the world by a natural death they assail with bitter reproaches, as degenerate and cowardly ; and there is nothing in which they take more pride than in killing any man whatever : as glorious spoils of the slain they tear off their heads, then strip off their skins <sup>2</sup> and hang them upon their war-horses as trappings. 23. No temple or sacred but apparently wrongly ; cf. 2, 14, above, of the Vidini and Geloni.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcolunt<sup>1</sup> praesulem, verecundius colunt. 24. Futura miro praesagiunt modo. Nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamenti quibusdam secretis, praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portenditur<sup>2</sup> norunt. 25. Servitus quid sit ignorant,<sup>3</sup> omnes generoso semine procreati, iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt diuturno bellandi usu spectatos. Sed ad reliqua textus propositi revertamur.

3. *Hunni Alanos Tanaitas armis aut pactis sibi adiungunt, Gothosque izvadunt, ac suis sedibus pellunt.*

1. Igitur Huni pervasis Halanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo cognominavit,<sup>4</sup> interfectisque multis et spoliatis, reliquos sibi concordandi fide pacta iunxerunt, eisque adhibitis<sup>5</sup> confidentius Ermenrichi late patententes et

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<sup>1</sup> *circumcolunt*, Her.; *circumcircant*, Voss; *circumcircunt*, V. <sup>2</sup> *portenditur*, Val.; *portendatur*, Hadr. Val.; *portetur*, V. <sup>3</sup> *ignorant*, Pet.; *ignorabant*, V. <sup>4</sup> *cognominavit*, Her. c.c.; *nominauit*, V. <sup>5</sup> *adhibitis*, Her.; *adscitis*, Pet.; *adiuitis*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the leader of the dance of the Salian priests of Mars was called *praesul*, the term is appropriate here. On this custom see Mela, ii. 1, 15; cf. Justinus, xliii. 3, *ab origine rerum pro dis immortalibus hastas coluere*, Herodotus, iv. 62; and xvii. 12, 21 above (of the Quadi).

place is to be seen in their country, not even a hut thatched with straw can be discerned anywhere, but after the manner of barbarians a naked sword is fixed in the ground and they reverently worship it as their god of war, the presiding deity of those lands over which they range.<sup>1</sup> 24. They have a remarkable way of divining the future ; for they gather very straight twigs of osier and sort them out at an appointed time with certain secret incantations, and thus clearly learn what impends.<sup>2</sup> 25. They do not know the meaning of slavery, since all are born of noble blood, and moreover they choose as chiefs<sup>3</sup> those men who are conspicuous for long experience as warriors. But let us return to what remains of our chosen subject.

3. *The Huns compel the Halani on the Tanaïs to join them, either by force of arms or by treaties ; they invade the Goths, and drive them from their homes.*

1. The Huns, then, having overrun the territories of those Halani (bordering on the Greuthungi) to whom usage has given the surname Tanaïtes, killed and plundered many of them, and joined the survivors to themselves in a treaty of alliance ; then in company with these they made the more boldly a sudden inroad into the extensive and rich cantons of Ermenrichus,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus is too brief to be clear. The twigs were marked with certain signs (*notae*) from which the predictions were made ; see Hdt. iv. 67 ; Caesar, *B.G.* i. 50, 4-5 ; Tac., *Germ.* 10.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *index* in § 4, below, and *Introd.*, p. xxvi, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Called Ermanarich in Jordanes' *Gothic History*.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicosissimi regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis nationibus formidati. 2. Qui vi subitae procellae percussus, quamvis manere fundatus et stabilis diu conatus est, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatus fama, magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit. 3. Cuius post obitum, rex Vithimiris creatus, restitit aliquantis per Halanis, Hunis aliis fretus, quos mercede sociaverat partibus suis. Verum post multas quas pertulit clades, animam effudit in proelio, vi superatus armorum. Cuius parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam susceptam Alatheus tuebatur et Saphrax, duces exerciti et firmitate pectorum noti, qui cum tempore arto praeventi, abiecerent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius discedentes, ad amnem Danastium pervenerunt, inter Histrum et Borysthenem, per camporum ampla spatia diffluentem. 4. Haec ita praeter spem accidisse doctus Athanarichus, Theruingorum iudex (in quem ut ante relatum est, ob auxilia missa Procopio, dudum Valens commoverat signa) stare gradu fixo temptabat, surrecturus in vires, si ipse quoque lacesseretur, ut ceteri. 5. Castris denique prope Danastii<sup>1</sup> margines a Greuthungorum vallo<sup>2</sup> longius opportune metatis, Munderichum ducem postea limitis per Arabiam, cum Lagarimano et optimatibus aliis,

<sup>1</sup> *Danastii*, Her. ; *Danasti*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *a Greuthungorum vallo*, Pet. ; *agere ut ungoru uallem*, V.

<sup>1</sup> For *vulgatus*, cf. xv. 3, 6; xvii. 4, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Also called the Tyras, to-day the Dniester.

<sup>3</sup> To-day the Dnieper.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xxvii. 5, 6.

a most warlike monarch, dreaded by the neighbouring nations because of his many and varied deeds of valour. 2. He was struck with consternation at the violence of this sudden storm; for a long time he did his best to maintain a firm and continued stand, but since rumour gave wide currency to<sup>1</sup> and exaggerated the horror of the impending dangers, he put an end to his fear of these great perils by a voluntary death. 3. After his demise Vithimiris was made king and resisted the Halani for a time, relying on other Huns, whom he had paid to take his side. But after many defeats which he sustained, he was overcome by force of arms and died in battle. In the name of his little son, Viderichus, the management of affairs was undertaken by Alatheus and Saphrax, experienced generals known for their courage; but since the stress of circumstances compelled them to abandon confidence in resistance, they cautiously retreated until they came to the river Danastius,<sup>2</sup> which flows through the wide extent of plain between the Hister and the Borysthenes.<sup>3</sup> 4. On learning of these unexpected events, Athanarichus, the chief of the Theruingi (against whom, as has been told before,<sup>4</sup> because of aid which he had sent to Procopius, Valens had recently taken the field) attempted to stand his ground, and if he too should be attacked like the rest, was ready to put forth all his strength. 5. Accordingly, he established his camp near the banks of the Danastius, conveniently at some distance from the stockade of the Greuthungi, and sent Munderichus, afterwards in charge of the frontier throughout Arabia, with Lagarimanus and some other men of high rank, to a distance of twenty miles in advance, to observe

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

ad usque vicensimum lapidem misit, hostium speculatu-  
 rous adventum, ipse aciem nullo turbante, interim  
 struens. 6. Verum longe aliter quam rebatur  
 evenit. Huni enim (ut sunt in coniectura sagaces),  
 multitudinem esse longius aliquam suspicati, prae-  
 termissis quos viderant, in quietem tamquam nullo  
 obstante compositis, rumpente noctis tenebras  
 luna, vado fluminis penetrato, id quod erat potissi-  
 mum elegerunt, et veriti ne praecursorius index  
 procul agentes absterreat, Athanaricum ipsum ictu  
 petivere veloci. 7. Eumque stupentem ad im-  
 petum primum, amissis quibusdam suorum,  
 coegerunt ad effugia properare montium praerup-  
 torum. Qua rei novitate, maioreque venturi pavore  
 constrictus, a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque  
 Danubium, Taifalorum terras praestringens, muros  
 altius erigebat: hac lorica diligentia celeri con-  
 summata, in tuto locandam securitatem suam existi-  
 mans et salutem. 8. Dumque efficax opera susci-  
 tatur, Huni passibus eum citis urgebant, et iam  
 oppresserant adventantes, ni gravati praedarum  
 onere destitissent.

Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas  
 gentes, quod invisitatum<sup>1</sup> antehac hominum genus,  
 modo, nivium ut<sup>2</sup> turbo montibus celsis, ex ab-  
 dito sinu coortum apposita quaeque convellit et

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<sup>1</sup> *invisitatum*, Bent., Ernesti; *invisitatu*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *modo*  
*nivium*, Gronov; before *ut* V has *modo nivium*; *m. nim-*  
*borum*, Momms.; *modo ruinae*, Her. after *convellit*, below.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *cura constrictus*, xx, 4, 19.

<sup>2</sup> To-day the Pruth on the eastern frontier of ancient Dacia.

<sup>3</sup> For *lorica* in this sense, cf. 15, 4, below.

the advance of the enemy, while he himself in the meantime, disturbed by no one, was preparing his army for battle. 6. But the result was far other than he expected. For the Huns, who are shrewd in arriving at conclusions, suspecting that there was some large force farther off, disregarded the troops which they had seen, and who had disposed themselves to rest, as if there was nothing to disturb them; then, when the moon broke into the darkness of night, they chose what seemed to be the best course, crossed the river by a ford, and fearing lest some informer should get ahead of them and frighten off the enemy who were at a distance, they made a swift attack on Athanaricus himself. 7. As he was stunned by their first onset, they forced him to take speedy refuge in the steep mountains, after losing a few of their own men. Athanaricus, troubled<sup>1</sup> by this unexpected attack and still more through fear of what might come, had walls built high, skirting the lands of the Taifali from the banks of the river Gerasus<sup>2</sup> as far as the Danube, thinking that by this hastily but diligently constructed barrier<sup>3</sup> his security and safety would be assured. 8. But while this well-planned work was being pushed on, the Huns swiftly fell upon him, and would have crushed him at once on their arrival had they not been so loaded down with booty that they gave up the attempt.

Yet when the report spread widely among the other Gothic peoples, that a race of men hitherto unknown had now arisen from a hidden nook of the earth, like a tempest of snows from the high mountains, and was seizing or destroying everything in its way, the greater part of the people, who,

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

corrumpit: populi pars maior, quae Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat, quaeritabat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum, diuque deliberans, quas eligeret sedes, cogitavit Thraciae receptaculum gemina ratione sibi conveniens, quod et caespitis est feracissimi, et amplitudine fluentorum Histri distinguitur ab arvis patentibus iam peregrini fulminibus Martis: hoc quoque idem residui velut mente cogitare communi.

4. *Pars maior Gothorum cognomine Theruingorum finibus suis expulsa, permissu Valentis a Romanis transportatur in Thraciam, obsequium et auxilia pollicita. Greuthungi quoque, pars altera Gothorum, furtim ratibus Histrum transeunt.*

1. Itaque duce Alavivo<sup>1</sup> ripas occupavere Danubii, missisque oratoribus ad Valentem, suscipi se humili prece poscebant, et quiete victuros se pollicentes, et daturus (si res flagitasset) auxilia. 2. Dum aguntur haec in externis, novos maioresque solitis casus versare gentes arctoas, rumores terribiles diffuderunt: per omne quicquid ad Pontum a Marcomannis praetenditur et<sup>2</sup> Quadis, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum, vi subita sedibus pulsam, circa flumen Histrum, vagari cum caritatibus

<sup>1</sup> *duce Alavivo*, Lind.; *uiuo*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *et*, added by Lind.; *-que* after *Quadis*, Brakman; V omits connective.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps war-god, since Mars was born in Thrace; see Manilius, iv. 691, *Threce Martem sortita colonum*; cf. Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, iv. 25.

worn out by lack of the necessities of life, had deserted Athanaricus, looked for a home removed from all knowledge of the savages; and after long deliberation what abode to choose they thought that Thrace offered them a convenient refuge, for two reasons: both because it has a very fertile soil, and because it is separated by the mighty flood of the Hister from the fields that were already exposed to the thunderbolts of a foreign war<sup>1</sup>; and the rest of the nation as if with one mind agreed to this plan.

4. *The greater part of the so-called Theruingian Goths, driven from their lands, are transported to Thrace by the Romans with Valens' consent, after promising obedience and help in war. The Greuthungi also, another division of the Goths, secretly cross the Hister on rafts.*

1. Therefore, under the lead of Alavivus, they 376 took possession of the banks of the Danube, and sending envoys to Valens, with humble entreaty begged to be received, promising that they would not only lead a peaceful life but would also furnish auxiliaries, if circumstances required. 2. While this was happening in foreign parts, terrifying rumours spread abroad that the peoples of the north were stirring up new and uncommonly great commotions: that throughout the entire region which extends from the Marcomanni and the Quadi to the Pontus, a savage horde of unknown peoples, driven from their abodes by sudden violence, were roving about the river Hister in scattered

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

suis disseminantes. 3. Quae res aspernanter a nostris inter initia ipsa accepta est, hanc ob causam, quod illis tractibus non nisi peracta aut sopita audiri procul agentibus consueverant bella. 4. Verum pubescente<sup>1</sup> fide gestorum, cui robur adventus gentilium addiderat legatorum, precibus et obtestatione petentium, citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem: negotium laetitiae fuit potius quam timori, eruditis adulatoribus in maius fortunam principis extollentibus, quae<sup>2</sup> ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis et alienigenis viribus, invictum haberet exercitum, et pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus. 5. Hacque spe mittuntur diversi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam. Et navabatur opera diligens, nequi Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur, vel quassatus morbo letali. Proinde permissu imperatoris transeundi Danubium copiam, colendique adepti Thraciae partes, transfretabantur in dies et noctes, navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis agminatim impositi, atque per amnem longe omnium difficillimum, imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum, ob densitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam, et natare conati, hausti sunt plures.

<sup>1</sup> *pubescente iam*, EA; *p. ueraci*, Günther; *p. rapide*, Pet., deleted by Novák; *pubiscenter ad*, V. <sup>2</sup> *quae*, Bent., Pet.; *quod*, EA; *que*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xix. 11, 7, notes 1 and 2.

bands with their families. 3. In the very beginning this news was viewed with contempt by our people, because wars in those districts were not ordinarily heard of by those living at a distance until they were ended or at least quieted for a time. 4. But when the belief in what had taken place gained strength, and was confirmed by the coming of the foreign envoys, who begged with prayers and protestations that an exiled race might be received on our side of the river, the affair caused more joy than fear; and experienced flatterers immoderately praised the good fortune of the prince, which unexpectedly brought him so many young recruits from the ends of the earth, that by the union of his own and foreign forces he would have an invincible army; also that instead of the levy of soldiers which was contributed annually by each province, there would accrue to the treasuries<sup>1</sup> a vast amount of gold. 5. In this expectation various officials were sent with vehicles to transport the savage horde, and diligent care was taken that no future destroyer of the Roman state should be left behind, even if he were smitten with a fatal disease. Accordingly, having by the emperor's permission obtained the privilege of crossing the Danube and settling in parts of Thrace, they were ferried over for some nights and days embarked by companies in boats, on rafts, and in hollowed tree-trunks<sup>2</sup>; and because the river is by far the most dangerous of all and was then swollen by frequent rains, some who, because of the great crowd, struggled against the force of the waves and tried to swim were drowned; and they were a good many.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 11, 9, note; xiv. 2, 10.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

6. Ita turbido instantium studio orbis Romani perniciēs ducebatur.<sup>1</sup> Illud sane neque obscurum est neque incertum, infaustos transvehendi barbaram plebem ministros, numerum eius comprehendere calculo saepe temptantes, conquievisse frustratos, ut eminentissimus memorat vates,

“Quem qui scire velit, Libyci velit aequoris idem Discere, quam multae zephyro trudentur<sup>2</sup> harenae.”

7. Resipiscant tandem memoriae veteres, Medicas acies ductantes ad Graeciam: quae dum<sup>3</sup> Hellespontiacos<sup>4</sup> pontes,<sup>5</sup> et discidio quodam fabrili, mare sub imo Athonis<sup>6</sup> pede quaesitum exponunt et turmatim apud Doriscum exercitus recensetos, concordante omni posteritate, ut fabulosae sunt lectae. 8. Nam postquam innumerae gentium multitudines, per provincias circumfusae, pandentesque se in spatia ampla camporum, regiones omnes et cuncta opplevē montium iuga, fides quoque vetustatis recenti documento firmata est. Et primus cum Alavivo suscipitur Fritigernus, quibus et alimenta pro tempore, et subigendos agros tribui statuerat imperator.

9. Per id tempus nostri limitis reseratis obici-

<sup>1</sup> *ducebatur*, V; *adducebatur*, Momm.; *augebatur*, Her. (cf. xxx. 4, 1). <sup>2</sup> *turbentur*, A, Bent., from Virgil; *trudentur*, V. <sup>3</sup> *dum*, Madvig; *ductum*, Voss.; *dudum*, V. <sup>4</sup> *Hellespontiacos*, Madvig; *Hellesponti*, W; *hellis ponti occupantes*, V. <sup>5</sup> *pontes*, Madvig; *occupantes*, EA; for V see note 4. <sup>6</sup> *mare sub imo Athonis*, Voss., Madvig; *maris, litus montanum*, Gardt.; *maris ubi montonis*, V.

6. With such stormy eagerness on the part of insistent men was the ruin of the Roman world brought in. This at any rate is neither obscure nor uncertain, that the ill-omened officials who ferried the barbarian hordes often tried to reckon their number, but gave up their vain attempt; as the most distinguished of poets says:

Who wishes to know this would wish to know  
How many grains of sand on Libyan plain  
By Zephyrus are swept.<sup>1</sup>

7. Well then, let the old tales revive of bringing the Medic hordes to Greece; for while they describe the bridging of the Hellespont, the quest of a sea at the foot of Mount Athos by a kind of mechanical severing,<sup>2</sup> and the numbering of the armies by squadrons at Doriscus,<sup>3</sup> later times have unanimously regarded all this as fabulous reading. 8. For after the countless swarms of nations were poured through the provinces, spreading over a great extent of plain and filling all regions and every mountain height, by this new evidence the trustworthiness also of old stories was confirmed. First Fritigern and Alavivus were received, and the emperor gave orders that they should be given food for their present needs and fields to cultivate.

9. During this time, when the barriers of our 376 f. frontier were unlocked and the realm of savagery

<sup>1</sup> Virg., *Georg.* ii. 106 ff.; see crit. note 2.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., cutting a canal through the isthmus of the peninsula on which the mountain stands.

<sup>3</sup> Because they were too numerous to be counted as individuals, an enclosure which would hold 10,000 closely packed men was built; see Hdt. vii. 60.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

bus, atque (ut Aetnaeas favillas armatorum agmina diffundente barbaria), cum difficiles necessitatum articuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos : quasi laevo quodam numine deligente, in unum quaesiti potestatibus praefuere castrensibus homines maculosi : quibus Lupicinus antistabat et Maximus, alter per Thracias comes, dux alter exitiosus, aemulae ambo<sup>1</sup> temeritatis. 10. Quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit. Nam (ut alia omitamus, quae memorati vel certe, sinentibus eisdem, alii perditis rationibus in commeantes peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt) illud dicetur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices absolvere ulla poterat venia, triste et inauditum. 11. Cum traducti barbari victus inopia vexarentur, turpe commercium duces invisissimi cogitarunt, et quantos undique insatiabilitas colligere potuit canes, pro singulis dederunt<sup>2</sup> mancipiis, inter quae et filii<sup>3</sup> ducti sunt optimatum.

12. Per hos dies interea etiam Vithericus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo et Saphrace, quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio, propinquans Histri marginibus, ut simili susciperetur humanitate,

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<sup>1</sup> *aemulae ambo*, tr. by Novák, c.c.; *ambo aemulae*, V. <sup>2</sup> *dederunt*, Lind.; *dederant*, N<sup>2</sup> Günther; *dederat*, V. <sup>3</sup> *et filii*, added by Val., no lac. in V; *propinqui* after *optimatum*, Novák in lac. indic. by Eyssen.

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<sup>1</sup> Ammianus seems to forget that the Goths were required first to hand over their weapons; but this order was frequently evaded through the negligence of the imperial officials.

<sup>2</sup> Cic., *Deiot.* 2, 4, *nemo enim fere est, qui sui periculi iudex, non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat.*

was spreading far and wide columns of armed<sup>1</sup> men like glowing ashes from Aetna, when our difficulties and imminent dangers called for military reformers who were most distinguished for the fame of their exploits: then it was, as if at the choice of some adverse deity, that men were gathered together and given command of armies who bore stained reputations. At their head were two rivals in recklessness: one was Lupicinus, commanding general in Thrace, the other Maximus, a pernicious leader. 10. Their treacherous greed was the source of all our evils. I say nothing of other crimes which these two men, or at least others with their permission, with the worst of motives committed against the foreign new-comers, who were as yet blameless; but one melancholy and unheard-of act shall be mentioned, of which, even if they were their own judges<sup>2</sup> of their own case, they could not be acquitted by any excuse. 11. When the barbarians after their crossing were harassed by lack of food, those most hateful generals devised a disgraceful traffic; they exchanged every dog that their insatiability could gather from far and wide for one slave each, and among these were carried off also sons of the chieftains.

12. During these days also Vithericus,<sup>3</sup> king of the Greuthungi, accompanied by Alatheus and Saphrax, by whose will he was ruled, and also by Farnobius, coming near to the banks of the Danube, hastily sent envoys and besought the emperor that

<sup>1</sup> He was a young boy; cf. xxxi. 3, 3, where the name is given as Viderichus.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

obsecravit imperatorem legatis propere missis. 13. Quibus (ut communi rei conducere videbatur) repudiatis, et quid capessèrent anxiis, Athanarichus paria pertimescens abscessit, memor Valentem dudum cum foederaretur concordia despexisse, affirmantem se religione devinctum, ne calcaret solum aliquando Romanum, hacque causatione, principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegisse: quam simultatem veritus, ut adhuc durantem, ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine silvarum inaccessum et montium, cum suis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extrusis.

5. *Theruingi fame et inopia pressi ac pessime habiti, ducibus Alavivo et Fritigerno a Valente deficiunt, ac Lupicinum cum suis fundunt.*

1. At vero Theruingi, iam dudum transire permissi, prope ripas etiam tum vagabantur, duplici impedimento adstricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciosa, nec victui congruis sunt adiuti, et tenebantur consulto nefandis nundinandi commerciis. 2. Quo intellecto, ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium verti<sup>1</sup> mussabant, et Lupicinus ne iam deficerent pertimescens, eos admotis militibus adigebat ocius proficisci.

<sup>1</sup> *uerti*, Pet.; *uertendi*, WE, Val.; *uerter di*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvii. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *dissimulatio*, cf. xxviii. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> See 4, 11. The meaning is, in order that the Roman generals might carry the practice on longer.

<sup>4</sup> That is, into the interior of the country.

he might be received with like kindness. 13. When these envoys were rejected, as the interests of the state seemed to demand, and were in doubt what course to take, Athanarichus, fearing a like fate, departed, remembering that he had some time before treated Valens with contempt when they were making a treaty of friendship, declaring that he was prevented by conscientious scruples from ever setting foot on Roman soil; and by this excuse he had forced the emperor to conclude peace in the middle of the river.<sup>1</sup> Fearing that the grudge caused by this still endured, Athanaricus withdrew with all his followers to Caucalanda, a place inaccessible because of high mountains and deep forests, from which he first drove out the Sarmatians.

5. *The Theruingi, hard pressed by famine and want, and shamefully treated, under the lead of Alavivus and Fritigern revolt from Valens, and rout Lupicinus and his army.*

1. But now the Theruingi, who had long since been permitted to cross, were still roaming about near the banks of the river, detained by a twofold obstacle, both because, through the ruinous negligence<sup>2</sup> of the generals, they were not supplied with the necessities of life, and also because they were purposely held back by an abominable kind of traffic.<sup>3</sup> 2. When this became clear to them, they muttered that they were being forced to disloyalty as a remedy for the evils that threatened them, and Lupicinus, fearing that they might soon revolt, sent soldiers and compelled them to move out<sup>4</sup> more quickly.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

3. Id tempus opportunum nacti Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultro citroque discurrere solita, transgressum eorum prohibentia, quiescere perspexissent, ratibus transiere male contextis, castraque a Fritigerno locavere longissime.

4. At ille genuina praevidendi sollertia, venturos muniens casus, ut et imperiis oboediret, et regibus validis iungeretur, incedens<sup>1</sup> segnius, Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis. Ubi aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitium faces furiales accendit. 5. Alavivo et Fritigerno ad convivium corrogatis, Lupicinus ab oppidi moenibus barbaram plebem, opposito milite, procul arcebat, introire ad comparanda victui necessaria, ut dicioni nostrae obnoxiam et concordem, per preces assidue postulantem, ortisque maioribus iurgiis inter habitatores et vetitos, ad usque necessitatem pugnandi est ventum. Efferatique acrius barbari, cum necessitudines hostiliter rapi sentirent, spoliarunt interfectam militum magnam manum.<sup>2</sup> 6. Quae accidisse<sup>3</sup> idem Lupicinus, latenti nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali mensa ludicris concrepantibus, diu discumbens vino marcebat et somno, futuri coniciens

<sup>1</sup> *incedens*, E, Lind. ; *in dies*, Her. (cf. 6, 5) ; *incidis*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *manum*, added by W<sup>2</sup>N ; *lac.*, Her. ; for V, see note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *quae accidisse*, Lind. (cf. 3, 4) ; *quod accidens*, Hadr. Val. ; *magnam*. *Quae accedens*, V (Q erased).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Suet., *Calig.*, 37, 1, *nepotatus sumptibus* (*nepotinus*, codd. P.Q.).

3. The Greuthungi took advantage of this favourable opportunity, and when they saw that our soldiers were busy elsewhere, and that the boats that usually went up and down the river and prevented them from crossing were inactive, they passed over the stream in badly made craft and pitched their camp at a long distance from Fritigern.

4. But he with his natural cleverness in foresight protecting himself against anything that might happen, in order to obey the emperor's commands and at the same time join with the powerful Gothic kings, advanced slowly and in leisurely marches arrived late at Marcianopolis. There another, and more atrocious, thing was done, which kindled the frightful torches that were to burn for the destruction of the state. 5. Having invited Alavivus and Fritigern to a dinner-party, Lupicinus posted soldiers against the main body of the barbarians and kept them at a distance from the walls of the town; and when they asked with continual entreaties that they might, as friendly people submissive to our rule, be allowed to enter and obtain what they needed for food, great wrangling arose between the inhabitants and those who were shut out, which finally reached a point where fighting was inevitable. Whereupon the barbarians, becoming wildly excited when they perceived that some of their kindred were being carried off by force, killed and despoiled a great troop of soldiers. 6. When the aforesaid Lupicinus learned by a secret message that this had happened, while he had long been reclining at the prodigal<sup>1</sup> table amid noisy entertainments and was drowsy and half drunk, guessing what the outcome would be, he



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

exitum, satellites omnes, qui pro praetorio (honoris et tutelae causa) duces praestolabantur, occidit.

7. Hocque populus qui muros obsidebat dolenter accepto, ad vindictam detentorum regum (ut opinabatur) paulatim augescens, multa minabatur et saeva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit, graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis, quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos, in tumultum exarsit. Hocque impetrato, egressi omnes exceptique cum plausu et gaudiis, ascensis equis evolarunt, moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum. 8. Haec ubi fama rumorum nutrix maligna dispersit, urebatur dimicandi studio Thervingorum natio omnis, et inter metuenda multa periculorumque praevia maximorum, vexillis de more sublatis, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis, iam turmae praedatoriae concursabant, pilando villas et incendio, vastisque cladibus quicquid inveniri poterat permiscentes.

9. Adversus quos Lupicinus properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus, temere magis quam consulte progressus, in nono ab urbe miliario stetit, paratus ad decernendum. Barbarique hoc con-

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<sup>1</sup> According to Jordanes, Fritigern cut his way through to his men.

put to death all the attendants of the two leaders, who as a guard of honour and to ensure their safety, were waiting for them before the general's quarters. 7. When the people who were besieging the walls heard this news, in their resentment they gradually increased their number to avenge their kings, who, as they thought, had been detained by force; and they uttered many savage threats. And since Fritigern was quickwitted and feared that he might be held with the rest as a hostage, he cried out that they would have to fight with heavy loss of life, unless he himself were allowed to go out with his companions to quiet the people, who, believing that their leaders had been slain under pretence of friendly entertainment, had blazed out into turbulence. And when this request was granted,<sup>1</sup> they all departed. They were received with applause and rejoicing, and mounting horses hastened away, to set in motion the various incitements that lead to wars. 8. When report, that spiteful nurse of rumours, spread abroad what had happened, the whole nation of the Thervingi was fired with ardour for battle, and amid many fearful scenes, portentous of extreme dangers, after the standards had been raised according to their custom and the doleful sound of the trumpets had been heard, predatory bands were already rushing about, pillaging and burning the country-houses and making whatever places they could find a confusion of awful devastation.

9. Against them Lupicinus mustered all his soldiers in tumultuous speed, and advancing with more haste than discretion, halted nine miles from the city, ready to join battle. On seeing this the

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

templato, globos irrupere nostrorum incauti,<sup>1</sup> et parmas oppositis<sup>2</sup> corporibus illidendo, obvios hastis perforabant et gladiis, furoreque urgente cruento, et tribuni et pleraque pars armatorum periere, signis ereptis, praeter ducem infaustum, qui ad id solum intentus,<sup>3</sup> ut confligentibus aliis, proriperet ipse semet in fugam, urbem cursu concito petit. Post quae hostes armis induti Romanis, nullo vetante per varia grassabantur.

10. Et quoniam ad has partes post multiplices ventum est actus, id lecturos (siqui erunt unquam), obtestamur, nequis a nobis scrupulose gesta vel numerum exigit peremptorum, qui comprehendi nullo genere potuit. Sufficiet enim, veritate nullo velata mendacio, ipsas rerum digerere summitates : cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeatur integritas fida. 11. Negant antiquitatum ignari, tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse rem publicam, sed falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi. Namque si superiores vel recens praeteritae revolvantur aetates, tales tamque tristes rerum motus saepe contigisse monstrabunt. 12. Inundarunt Italiam ex abditis oceani partibus Teutones

<sup>1</sup> *incauti*, V, restored by Pet.; *incautos*, A. <sup>2</sup> *oppositis*, Pet.; *suppositis*, WA; *parmasu positis*, V. <sup>3</sup> *intentus*, Bent., Gardt.; *inuventus*, V.

<sup>1</sup> *incauti* seems to mean "without regard for their lives"; *incautos*, "off their guard" (see crit. note) would apparently contradict *paratus ad discernendum*, in the preceding sentence.

<sup>2</sup> The exact meaning is perhaps not clear; it seems to mean that the barbarians dashed the Romans' shields against their bodies, so that they could not use them, and

barbarians rushed recklessly <sup>1</sup> on crowds of our men, dashed their shield's upon opponents' bodies,<sup>2</sup> and with lance and sword ran through those who opposed them. And in the press of mad and bloody strife the tribunes and the greater part of the army perished, with the loss of their standards, except for their ill-omened leader, who, intent only upon saving himself by flight while the others were fighting, made for the town in hot haste. After this the enemy put on the Romans' arms and ranged about, devastating sundry places without opposition.

10. And since after many events the narrative has reached this point, I earnestly entreat my readers (if I ever have any) not to demand of me a strictly accurate account of what happened or the exact number of the slain, which there was no way of finding out. For it will be enough to describe simply the main points of events, without concealing the truth through any false statement, since faithful honesty is ever a requisite in giving an historical account. 11. Those who are unacquainted with ancient records say that the state was never before overspread by such a dark cloud of misfortune, but they are deceived by the horror of the recent ills which have overwhelmed them. For if they study earlier times or those which have recently passed, these will show that such dire disturbances have often happened. 12.<sup>3</sup> The Teutones with the Cimbri, coming from unknown parts

then slew them. Wagner refers it to the shields of the barbarians, which they pressed close to their own bodies, but this does not seem to suit *illidendo*.

<sup>3</sup> §§ 12-17 are a digression on great disasters which Rome had suffered from invading barbarians.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

repente cum Cimbris, sed post inflictas rei Romanae clades immensas, ultimis proeliis per duces amplissimos superati, quid potestas Martia adhibita prudentia<sup>1</sup> valeat, radicitus extirpati discriminibus didicere supremis. 13. Marco itidem moderante imperium, unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum, post bellorum fragores immensos, post aerumnas<sup>2</sup> urbium captarum et direptarum, et pessum datas copias, concitas probi rectoris interitu,<sup>3</sup> partes earum<sup>4</sup> exiguas reliquisset intactas. 14. Verum mox post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restitutae, hac gratia, quod nondum solutioris vitae mollitiae sobria vetustas infecta nec ambitiosis mensis nec flagitiosis quaestibus inhiabat, sed unanimanti ardore, summi et infimi inter se congruentes, ad speciosam pro re publica mortem tamquam ad portum aliquem tranquillum properabant et placidum.

15. Duobus navium milibus, perrupto Bosporo et litoribus Propontidis, Scythicarum gentium catervae transgressae, ediderunt quidem acerbis terra marique strages; sed amissa suorum parte maxima reverterunt. 16. Ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris

<sup>1</sup> *adhibita prudentia*, Madvig; *addita p.*, Momms.; *de habitu p.*, EA; *marciade habita prudentie*, V. <sup>2</sup> *aerumnas*, Madvig; *ruinas*, Gardt.; *aeri*, V. <sup>3</sup> *pessum datas copias, concitas proprii (probi, scripsi) rectoris interitu*, Nov.; *poenas (conci = oena) sumptas pro rectoris interitu*, Her.; *pessum concitas proratoris interitus*, V. <sup>4</sup> *earum*, Casaubon; *eorum*, V.

of the ocean, suddenly overflowed Italy, but after inflicting enormous disasters on our country, in the final battles they were overcome by our great generals, and being destroyed root and branch, they learned from the uttermost perils what warlike might combined with prudent discipline can accomplish. 13. Again, when Marcus was ruling the empire, the united madness of different tribes, after endless alarms of war, after the woes of captured and plundered cities, after the destruction of forces shaken by the death of their able leader,<sup>1</sup> would have left only a small part of them unscathed.<sup>2</sup> 14. But after calamitous losses the state was presently restored to its former condition, because the temperance of old times was not yet infected by the effeminacy of a more licentious mode of life, and did not crave extravagant feasts or shameful gains; but high and low alike with united ardour and in agreement hastened to a noble death for their country, as if to some quiet and peaceful haven.

15. Swarms of the Scythian peoples with two thousand ships<sup>3</sup> broke through the Bosphorus and the shores of the Propontis, and after crossing inflicted bitter losses by land and sea; but they lost the greater part of their number and were obliged to retreat. 16. Emperor Decius and Decius his son

<sup>1</sup> Macrinus Vindex, praetorian prefect of Marcus Aurelius; see Dio, lxxi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Text and exact meaning are uncertain; for the events referred to, see Dio, lxxi. 3 ff.; Eutrop. viii. 13; Orosius, vii. 15, 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 8, 2, gives this figure: Zos. i. 42, 6000.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

imperatores Decii pater et filius. Obsessae Pamphyliae civitates, insulae populatae complures, inflammata Macedonia omnis; diu multitudo Thessalonicam circumsevit itidemque Cyzicum. Anchialos capta et tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator. 17. Post clades acceptas, illatasque multas et saevas, excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum milibus, nisi fingunt annales, intra moenia iugulatis. Vagati per Epirum Thessaliamque et omnem Graeciam licentius hostes externi, sed assumpto in imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte praerepto, per Aurelium, acrem virum, et severissimum nozarum ultorem, pulsati per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles, nisi quod postea latrocinales globi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant. Verum ea persequar unde deverti.

6. *Sueridus et Colias, Gothorum optimates, una cum suis prius recepti, cur rebellaverint, et caesis Hadrianopolitanis, Fritigerno se adiunxerint, ad diripiendas Thracias conversi.*

1. Hoc gestorum textu circumlato nuntiis densis, Sueridus et Colias (Gothorum optimates) cum populis

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<sup>1</sup> The chronology is at fault; cf. Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 29, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Treb. Poll., *Gallienus*, 13, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes; cf. Treb. Poll., *Claud.* 12, 1; Zos. i. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Under Valerian and Claudius; see note 1, above.

<sup>5</sup> In the time of Decius; Zos. i. 24.

<sup>6</sup> According to Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 34, 3, he sacrificed himself in battle. Others say that he died a natural death.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rufius Festus, 8.

fell in battle with the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> The cities of Pamphylia were beleaguered,<sup>2</sup> very many islands laid waste,<sup>3</sup> all Macedonia was given to the flames; for a long time the horde laid siege to Thessalonica<sup>4</sup> and to Cyzicus as well. Anchialos was taken, and at the same time Nicopolis, which the emperor Trajan founded to commemorate his victory over the Dacians. 17. After many disasters had been suffered and many cruel calamities had been inflicted, Philippopolis was destroyed<sup>5</sup> and a hundred thousand people (unless the histories are false) were butchered within her walls. Foreign foes roamed at will over Epirus, Thessaly and the whole of Greece; but after the illustrious general Claudius became emperor and after he had been snatched from us by a noble death,<sup>6</sup> they were driven out by Aurelian,<sup>7</sup> a vigorous man and a severe avenger of their sins, and remained quiet for long ages, except that afterwards single bands of robbers made raids into the neighbouring regions, but very rarely and to their own destruction. But let me go on with the narrative from which I digressed.

6. *Why the Gothic chieftains, Sueridus and Colias, 376 ff. who had previously been received with their people, rebelled, and after slaying the inhabitants of Hadrianopolis, joined with Fritigern and turned to plundering Thrace.*

1. When this series of events was noised abroad by one message coming after another, Sueridus and Colias, Gothic chieftains, who had long since been received



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

suis longe ante suscepti, et curare apud Hadriano-  
polim hiberna dispositi, salutem suam ducentes  
antiquissimam omnium, otiosis animis accidentia  
cuncta contuebantur. 2. Verum imperatoris litteris  
repente perlatis, quibus transire iussi sunt in Helles-  
pontum, viaticum cibos biduique dilationem tribui  
sibi sine tumore poscebant. Quod civitatis magis-  
tratus ferens indigne (succensebat enim eisdem ob  
rem suam in suburbano<sup>1</sup> vastatam) imam plebem  
omnem cum Fabricensibus, quorum illic ampla  
est multitudo, productam, in eorum armavit exitium,  
iussisque bellicum canere bucinis, ni abirent ocus  
(ut statutum est) pericula omnibus minabatur ex-  
trema. 3. Quo malo praeter spem Gothi perculsi,  
et concito quam considerato civium assultu per-  
territi, steterunt immobiles, laceratique ad ultimum  
detestatione atque conviciis, et temptati missilium  
iactibus raris, ad defectionem erupere confessam,  
et caesis plurimis, quos impetus deceperat petulan-  
tior, aversisque residuis, et telorum varietate con-  
fixis, habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis  
armati, viso propius Fritigerno, iunxerunt semet ut  
morigeri socii, urbemque clausam obsidionalibus  
aerumnis urgebant. In qua difficultate diutius  
positi, passim et promiscue ruebant, eminensque

<sup>1</sup> *suburbano*, EA; *suburbanis*, vulgo; *suburbani*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *hiberna curantem*, xix. 11, 1.

<sup>2</sup> The province; see Index to this volume.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the *duumvir*.

<sup>4</sup> There was a large munitions factory in Hadrianopolis.

with their peoples and assigned to keep winter quarters<sup>1</sup> at Hadrianopolis, considering their own welfare the most important thing of all, looked with indifference on all that took place. 2. But when on a sudden a letter came from the emperor, in which they were ordered to cross to Hellespontus,<sup>2</sup> without any arrogance they asked for money for the journey, food, and a postponement of two days. At this the chief magistrate of the city<sup>3</sup> was vexed—for he was incensed at them besides, because of the pillaging of his own property in his suburban villa; so he brought out and armed for their destruction all the lowest of the populace, along with the Armourers, of whom there is a large force there,<sup>4</sup> and ordering the horns to sound the alarm, threatened them all with the utmost punishment, if they did not leave at once, as had been ordered. 3. The Goths, shocked by this unexpected ill-treatment, and alarmed by the attack of the citizens, rather excited than well-considered, remained immovable; but when they were finally driven desperate by curses and abuse, and a few missiles were hurled at them, they broke out into open rebellion. They slew very many citizens, whom their too impudent attack had entrapped, and put to flight the rest, wounding them with various kinds of weapons. Then, plundering the dead bodies and arming themselves in the Roman equipment, they joined forces with Fritigern, whom they saw to be near at hand, as compliant allies, and beleaguered the city, visiting it with all the horrors of a siege. Remaining in this difficult situation for some time, they made scattered and promiscuous attacks; the conspicuous audacity of some perished

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

aliquorum audacia peribat inulta, multique<sup>1</sup> sagittis et rotatis per fundas lapidibus interibant. 4. Tunc Fritigernus frustra cum tot cladibus colluctari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans, relicta ibi manu sufficiente, abire negotio imperfecto suasit, pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans, suadensque ut populandas opimas regiones et uberes, absque discrimine ullo, vacuas praesidiis etiamtum adorerentur. 5. Laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore socium efficacem, per Thraciarum latus omne dispersi caute gradiebantur, dediticiis vel captivis vicos uberes ostendentibus, eos praecipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri satias dicebatur, eo maxime adiumento, praeter genuinam erecti fiduciam, quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudo, dudum<sup>2</sup> a mercatoribus venundati, adiectis plurimis quos primo transgressu necati inedia vino exili vel panis frustis mutavere vilissimis. 6. Quibus accessere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves, susceptique libenti consensione cunctorum, magno usui eisdem<sup>3</sup> fuere ignota peragrantibus loca, conditoria frugum occulta, et latebras hominum et receptacula secretiora monstrando. 7. Nec quicquam nisi inaccessum et devium

<sup>1</sup> *inulta multique*, Lind.; *inuitam multisque*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *lac. after multitudo*, Her. and Clark; *dudum*, Lind.; *dum*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *isdem*, Her.; *idem*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> There were gold-mines in Thrace and Macedonia; cf. Claudian, *Panegy. Theodori*, 40 f., *quidquid luce procul venae rimata sequaces, abdita pallentis fodit sollertia Bessi* (a Thracian people).

unavenged, and many lost their lives from arrows or from stones whirled from slings. 4. Then Fritigern, seeing that his men, being inexperienced in conducting a siege, were carrying on the struggle with such loss of life, left a sufficient force there and persuaded the rest to go away without finishing the task; he reminded them that he kept peace with walls and advised them to attack and devastate the rich and fruitful parts of the country, which were still without protectors and could be pillaged without any danger. 5. They approved the counsel of the king, who they knew would be an active participator in the plan, and advancing cautiously they spread over every quarter of Thrace, while their prisoners or those who surrendered to them pointed out the rich villages, especially those in which it was said that abundant supplies of food were to be found. Besides their native self-confidence, they were encouraged especially by this help, that day by day great numbers of their countrymen flocked to them, including those who had been sold some time before by the traders, as well as many other persons, whom those who were half-dead with hunger when they first crossed into the country had bartered for a drink of bad wine or bits of the poorest of bread. 6. Besides these there were not a few who were expert in following out veins of gold,<sup>1</sup> and who could no longer endure the heavy burden of taxes; these were welcomed with the glad consent of all, and rendered great service to the same, as they wandered through strange places, by pointing out hidden stores of grain, and the secret refuges and hiding-places of the inhabitants. 7. With such guides nothing that was not

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

praeceuntibus eisdem mansit intactum. Sine distantia enim aetatis vel sexus, caedibus incendiorumque magnitudine cuncta flagrabant, abstractisque ab ipso uberum suctu parvulis et necatis, raptae sunt matres et viduatae maritis coniuges ante oculos caesis, et puberes adultique pueri per parentum cadavera tracti sunt. 8. Senes denique multi, ad satietatem vixisse clamantes, post amissas opes cum speciosis feminis, manibus post terga contortis, defletisque gentilium favillis aedium ducebantur extorres.

### *7. Profuturus et Traianus ac Richomeres pugnant aequo Marte cum Gothis.*

1. Haec ex Thraciis magno maerore accepta Valentem principem in sollicitudines varias distraxerunt. Et confestim Victore magistro equitum misso ad Persas, ut super Armeniae statu pro captu rerum componeret impendentium, ipse Antiochia protinus egressurus, ut Constantinopolim interim peteret, Profuturum praemisit et Traianum, ambo rectores, anhelantes quidem altius sed imbellis. 2. Qui cum ad loca venissent, ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis, ad id quod erat perniciosum intempestive conversi, legiones ab Armenia ductas opposuere vesanum

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., to have an understanding with the King, before withdrawing troops from Armenia.

inaccessible and out of the way remained untouched. For without distinction of age or sex all places were ablaze with slaughter and great fires, sucklings were torn from the very breasts of their mothers and slain, matrons and widows whose husbands had been killed before their eyes were carried off, boys of tender or adult age were dragged away over the dead bodies of their parents. 8. Finally many aged men, crying that they had lived long enough after losing their possessions and their beautiful women, were led into exile with their arms pinioned behind their backs, and weeping over the glowing ashes of their ancestral homes.

**7. *Profuturus, Trajanus, and Richomeres fight a drawn battle with the Goths.***

1. This news, received from Thrace with great sorrow, distracted the emperor Valens with manifold cares. He quickly sent Victor, commander of the cavalry, to Persia, that he might, in view of great impending dangers, arrange about the status of Armenia<sup>1</sup>; he himself, planning to leave Antioch at once and go to Constantinople in the meantime, sent on in advance Profuturus and Trajanus, both generals who had high aspirations, but were unfit for war. 2. When these men had come to places where it was more fitting in small divisions to diminish the enemy's numbers by stealthy and guerilla warfare, they turned to the ruinous and untimely plan of opposing to the barbarians, who were still breathing out madness, the legions brought from Armenia; these had indeed often given a good

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

adhuc spirantibus barbaris, opere quidem Martio saepe recte compertas, sed impares plebi immensae, quae celsorum iuga montium occuparat et campos. 3. Hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum desperatione rabies valeret indomita, trusos hostes ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos faucibus imegere<sup>1</sup> prae-ruptis, ut in locis desertis et solis<sup>2</sup> inclusos,<sup>3</sup> nusquam reperientes<sup>4</sup> exitum, diuturna consumeret fames, et opperirentur ipsi Frigeridum ducem, cum Pannonicis et transalpinis auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in pro-cinctum, laturum suppetias his qui ad ultimum vexa-bantur exitium. 4. Post quem Richomeres, domes-ticorum tunc comes, imperatu eiusdem Gratiani motus e Galliis, properavit ad Thracias, ductans cohortes aliquas nomine tenus, quarum pars pleraque deseruerat, ut iactavere quidam, Mero-baudis suasu, veriti ne destitutae adminiculis Galliae vastarentur licenter, Rheno perrupto. 5. Verum articulorum dolore Frigerido praepedito, vel certe (ut obtrecta-tores finxere malivoli), morbum causante, ne ferventi-bus proeliis interesset, universos regens ex communi sententia, Richomeres Profuturo sociatur et Traiano,

<sup>1</sup> *inpegere*, Her.; *inclusere*, Momm.; *infudere*, Novák; *insidere*, V. <sup>2</sup> *in locis desertis et solis*, Kiess.; *ut in barbaros in barbaros locis et in solis*, V. <sup>3</sup> *inclusos*, added by Lind. <sup>4</sup> *reperientes*, Val., Momm.; *reperiens*, V, Clark.

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<sup>1</sup> He was later *magister militum* under Gratian, then *magister utriusque militiae* under Theodosius, who made him consul in 384. On the military titles, see Introd., Vol. I, p. xxxv.

# XXXI., 7, 2-5, A.D. 376 f.

account of themselves in warfare, but were no match for the countless horde that had taken possession of the mountain heights as well as the plains. 3. These troops, who had not yet learned the power of unbridled madness combined with desperation, drove the enemy beyond the precipitous crags of Mount Haemus and forced them into the steep defiles, in order that shut up in deserted and solitary places, and finding nowhere an outlet, they might be worn out by long continued hunger; they themselves in the meantime would await the coming of the general Frigeridus, who was on his way with the Pannonian and the transalpine auxiliaries, since Gratian, at Valens' request, had directed him to take the field and bear aid to those who were harassed to the point of utter destruction. 4. After him Richomer<sup>1</sup>, then commander of the household troops, who had been moved from Gaul, also at the order of Gratian, hastened to Thrace at the head of some so-called cohorts,<sup>2</sup> of which the greater part had deserted,<sup>3</sup> induced (as some maintained) by Merobaudes, who feared that if Gaul should be deprived of its defences, it would be laid waste at will by raids from across the Rhine. 5. But since Frigeridus was disabled by an attack of gout, or at any rate, as his envious detractors alleged, feigned illness in order to avoid taking part in the hot contests, Richomer<sup>1</sup> by common consent took command of the whole force, and was joined by Profuturus and Trajanus, who were encamped near

<sup>2</sup> That is, they did not have the full number of men, as is explained by what follows.

<sup>3</sup> With *deseru<sup>er</sup>at* so. *militiam*.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

tendentibus prope oppidum Salices : unde haut longo spatio separatum, vulgus inaeestimabile barbarorum, ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum, tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis, otio fruebatur, et ubertate praedarum.

6. Praevia igitur spe meliorum, Romani duces (si fors copiam attulisset), ausuri aliquid gloriosum, Gothos quicquid molirentur, sagaciter observabant : id scilicet praestruentes, ut si aliorum castra movissent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultimarum adorti, plures perfoderent contis,<sup>1</sup> magnamque spoliolum averterent partem. 7. Hoc intellecto hostes vel transfugarum indiciis docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manserunt : sed oppositi exercitus metu praestrici, aliorumque militum, quos affluere iam sperabant, tessera data gentili, per diversa prope diffusas accivere vastatorias manus, quae iussis<sup>2</sup> optimatum acceptis, statim ut<sup>3</sup> incensi malleoli, ad carraginem (quam ita ipsi appellent), aliti velocitate regressae, incentivum audendi maiora popularibus addiderunt. 8. Nihil post haec inter partes praeter indutias laxatum est breves. Reversis enim his quos necessitas evocarat,

<sup>1</sup> *contis*, Corn. ; *confisi*, V (tr. after *hostes* in next line, Her., cf. xviii. 3, 4). <sup>2</sup> *iussis*, added by Hadr. Val. ; *mandatis* . . . (after *acceptis*) by Her. ; *optimatum acceptis*, V. <sup>3</sup> *statim ut*, Val., Her. ; *s. quasi*, Pet., *statimque*, V.

<sup>1</sup> A city of the Scythians called *Ad Salices*, "By the Willows," placed in the Antonine Itinerary between Tomi and Salmuris.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 5, 8, above ; *vexillis de more sublati, auditisque triste sonantibus classicis* . . . *concursabant*.

the town of Salices.<sup>1</sup> Not far from there a countless mass of the barbarians had arranged their numerous wagons in the form of a circle, and as if enclosed in a space between city-walls, were enjoying their rich booty at their ease.

6. The Roman leaders, therefore, led by hopes for a more favourable turn of affairs, and intending to dare some glorious deed when chance brought the opportunity, were keenly watching for any movement that the Goths might attempt; making ready of course for this, that in case the enemy moved their camp to any other place, as they very frequently did, they might attack the hindermost in the rear, kill many of them with their pikes, and appropriate a great part of their spoils. 7. When the Goths perceived this, or were informed by the reports of deserters, through whom everything was made known to them, they remained for a long time in the same position. But overwhelmed with fear of the opposing army, and of the additional soldiers that they now expected to flock to it, by means of the message used by their race<sup>2</sup> they summoned the predatory bands scattered over various places near by; these at once, in obedience to the orders of their chiefs, like fire-darts,<sup>3</sup> returned with winged speed to their wagon city (as they themselves call it)<sup>4</sup> and gave their countrymen an incentive to greater deeds of daring. 8. After this there was no rest for either side except for a short armistice. For upon the return of those whom necessity had called forth, the whole multitude,

<sup>1</sup> See xxiii. 4, 14; xxi. 9, 6.

<sup>4</sup> In Greek, *καρავός*; for a description see Claudian, *In Ruf.* ii. 127 ff.; Vegetius, iii. 10.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

plebs omnis intra saeptorum ambitum etiam tum contrusa, immaniter fremens, animisque concita truculentis, experiri postrema discrimina, nec principibus gentis, qui aderant, renuentibus, cupiditate praecipiti<sup>1</sup> festinabat. Et quoniam haec sole agebantur extremo, noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat et maestos, capto per otium cibo, somni manserunt expertes. 9. Contra Romani, his cognitis, ipsi quoque exsomnes, verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores, ut rabidas feras: eventum licet ancipitem, ut numero satis inferiores, prosperum tamen ob iustiore sui causam, mentibus exspectantes impavidis.

10. Candente itaque protinus die, signo ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari postquam inter eos ex more iuratum est, tumultuosos locos appetere temptaverunt, quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convolverent acriore. Hocque viso, ad suos quisque manipulos properans miles, stabili gradu consistens, nec vagabatur nec relictis ordinibus procursabat. 11. Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes, gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore solita ad maiorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero maiorum

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<sup>1</sup> *cupiditate* < *praecipiti* > Her. c.c.; *cruditate* < *incohibili* > Novák; *concitate*, Pet.; *cruditate*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xvi. 12, 43; derived from the elephant's cry.

even then crowded within the ring of their defences, with frightful outcries and roused by their furious mood were all in haste with headlong eagerness to try the extremest dangers; and the chiefs of the nation who were present were in accord with them. But since these things took place when it was nearly sundown, and the coming of night kept them quiet against their wills and in sorrow, they took food at leisure, but remained sleepless. 9. For their part the Romans, on learning this, also spent the night without sleep, because they feared the enemy and their insane leaders as they might fear madly raging beasts; and although the outcome was doubtful, since they were considerably fewer in number, yet because of the greater justice of their cause they looked for success with unterrified minds.

10. Therefore the light of day had hardly appeared, when the trumpets on both sides sounded the call to take up arms, and the barbarians, after taking oath together according to their custom, tried to reach the heights, in order that from there by a swift rush down the slope like so many rollers they might overwhelm all before them. On seeing this, our soldiers hastened each to his own company, where they stood fast without moving about or leaving the ranks and rushing forward. 11. So, when both armies after advancing cautiously remained unmoved, the opposing warriors stared at each other with savage and sidelong glances. The Romans in unison sounded their war-cry, as usual rising from a low to a louder tone, of which the national name is *barritus*,<sup>1</sup> and thus roused themselves to mighty strength. But the barbarians sounded the glories of their

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis, interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus, leviora proelia temptabantur. 12. Iamque verrutis et missilibus<sup>1</sup> aliis, utrimque semet eminus lacescentes, ad conferendas coiere minaciter manus, et scutis in testudinum formam coagmentatis, pes cum pede collatus est. Barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres, ingentes clavas in nostros conicientes ambustas, mucronesque acrius resistentium pectoribus illidentes, sinistrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinaturn subsidialis robustissimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter excitus, haerente iam morte cervicibus sustentavit. 13. Fervente igitur densis caedibus proelio, in confertos quisque promptior ruens, ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat et gladiis; et sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus<sup>2</sup> praecedentes et terga, itidemque altrinsecus pedites, lapsorum timore impeditorum secando suffragines. 14. Et cum omnia caesorum corporibus opplerentur, iacebant inter eos quidam semianimes, spem vitae inaniter usurpando, alii glande fundis excussa, vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi, quorundam capita per medium frontis et verticis mucrone distincta, in utrumque humerum magno cum horrore pendebant. 15. Et pertinaci concertatione nondum lassatae, aequo Marte partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant, nec de rigore genuino quidquam<sup>3</sup> remittebant, dum vires animorum

<sup>1</sup> *missilibus*, Gardt.; *similibus*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *ingentibus*, V;  
*uigentibus*, Gardt.

<sup>3</sup> *quidquam*, Günther (cf. xvi. 12, 18); *quisquam*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Aen.* vii. 524 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., from making their escape.

XXXI., 7, 11-15, A.D. 376 f.

forefathers with wild shouts, and amid this discordant clamour of different languages skirmishes were first tried. 12. And now, after attacking each other from a distance with javelins and other missiles, they came together menacingly for a hand-to-hand conflict; the shields were fixed side to side in the form of a tortoise-shed, and they stood foot to foot. The barbarians, who are always alert and nimble, threw at our men huge clubs, hardened in the fire,<sup>1</sup> and ran their swords through the breasts of those who showed most resistance; thus they broke through the left wing. When this gave way, a strong troop of reserves bravely hastened to their aid from near at hand, and rallied them when death already sat upon their necks. 13. Then the battle grew hot and the slaughter was great; all the more active rushed into the thick of the fray and met their death from the arrows that flew like hail, or from the swords. Those who fled were pursued on this side and on that by troops of cavalry, who with mighty strength slashed at their heads and backs; and likewise on both sides by foot soldiers, hamstringing those who were in the toils of fear<sup>2</sup> and had fallen. 14. And while the whole battlefield was covered with corpses, some were lying among them who were mortally wounded, and cherished a vain hope of life; some were smitten with a bullet from a sling or pierced with arrows tipped with iron; the heads of others were split through mid forehead and crown with swords and hung down on both shoulders, a most horrible sight. 15. But not yet wearied by the obstinate struggle, both sides continued to assail each other without a decision, and felt no

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

alacritas excitaret. Diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens vespero dies, et cunctis, qua quisque potuit, incomposite discedentibus, residui omnes repetunt tentoria tristiores. 16. Humatis denique, pro locorum et temporis ratione, honoratis quibusdam inter defunctos, reliqua peremptorum corpora dirae volucres consumpserunt, assuetae illo tempore cadaveribus pasci, ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi. Constat tamen in numero longe minores Romanos, cum<sup>1</sup> copiosa multitudo coluctatos, funerea multa perpressos: non tamen sine deflendis aerumnis exagitasse barbaram plebem.

8. *Clausi intra Hemimontanas Gothi, deinde a Romanis emissi, Thraciam rapinis, caedibus, stupris, incendiisque foedant, et Barzimerem, scutatorum tribunum interficiunt.*

1. His casibus proeliorum ita luctuose finitis, nostri proximos Marcianopoleos petivere secessus. Gothi intra vehiculorum anfractus sponte sua contrusi, numquam exinde per dies septem egredi vel videri sunt ausi, ideoque opportunitatem milites nanti, immensas alias barbarorum catervas inter Haemimontanas angustias clauserunt, aggerum obiectu celsorum, hac spe nimirum ut inter<sup>2</sup> Histrum et solitudines perniciose hostium multitudo compacta, nullosque reperiens exitus, periret inedia,

<sup>1</sup> *cum ea*, E<sup>2</sup>A (eo del. Her. as dittogr.); *adeo*, Val.; *cum eo*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *inter*, added by Lind.; V omits.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Virg., *Aen.* v. 864 f., *scopulos . . . difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos*; Tac., *Ann.* i. 61.

diminution at all of their native hardihood, so long as eager courage kept up their strength. But at last day gave way to evening and ended the murderous contests, and withdrawing in disorder wherever each one could, all the survivors returned in sorrow to their tents. 16. Finally, some of the dead, who were men of distinction, were buried in such manner as the present circumstances allowed; the bodies of the rest of the slain were devoured by the foul birds that are wont at such a time to feed upon corpses, as is shown by the plains even now white with bones.<sup>1</sup> However, while it is a fact that the Romans, who, far fewer in number, struggled with that vast multitude, suffered great losses, yet lamentable was the distress with which they afflicted the barbarian horde.

8. *The Goths, after being beleaguered in the defiles of Mount Haemus and then allowed by the Romans to escape, lay waste Thrace with robbery, murder, rape, and fire, and slay Barzimeres tribune of the body-guard.*

1. When these disasters of battle were thus mournfully ended, our men sought retreat in the neighbouring city of Marcianopolis. The Goths, of their own accord, crowded within the winding line of wagons, did not venture to come out or show themselves for seven days, and our soldiers, having thus found an opportunity, shut in the other huge hordes of barbarians within the narrow passes of the Haemus range by building high barriers. They doubtless hoped that the dangerous mass of enemies, crowded together between the Hister and the waste places, and finding



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

cunctis utilibus ad vivendum in civitates validas comportatis, quarum nullam etiam tum circumse-  
dere conati sunt, haec et similia machinari penitus  
ignorantes. 2. Post quae repetivit Gallias Richo-  
meres, ob maiorem proeliorum fremitum, qui spera-  
batur, inde adminicula perducturus. Haec Gratiano  
quater et Merobaude consulibus agebantur, anno in  
autumnum vergente.

3. Inter quae Valens audito lugubri bellorum  
direptionumque eventu, Saturninum equestris exer-  
citus ad tempus cura commissa, suppetias Traiano  
ferentem misit et Profuturo. 4. Fortequae eisdem  
diebus, per Scythiae regiones et Moesiae omnibus  
quae poterant mandi consumptis, feritate urgente  
pariter et inopia erumpere<sup>1</sup> barbari molibus magnis  
ardebant. Hocque saepe temptato, cum obruerentur  
vigore nostrorum, per asperitates scruposas valide  
resistentium, adacti necessitate postrema, Hunorum  
et Halanorum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum  
ingentium adsciverunt.

5. Quo cognito Saturninus (iam enim aderat, et  
praetenturas stationesque disponebat agrarias<sup>2</sup>),  
paulatim colligens suos, digredi parabat consilio  
non absurdo: ne subita multitudo, ut amnis  
immani pulsu<sup>3</sup> undarum obicibus ruptis emissus,  
convelleret levi negotio cunctos, suspecta loca acutius

<sup>1</sup> *erumpere* added by Val., Her.; *inopiae barbarique*, V.

<sup>2</sup> *agrarias*, the last word of fol. 200<sup>v</sup> of V; the next one is  
lost, but is made up from the later MSS.; see Clark's app.  
crit.

<sup>3</sup> *ut amnis inmani pulsu*, Novák; *ut inmani pulsu*,  
Clark; *ut inmanis pulsus*, MSS. (*pulsus*, E<sup>2</sup>A; T omits *ut*).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. xiv. 3, 2.

no way out, would perish from lack of food ; for all the necessities of life had been taken to the strong cities, none of which the enemy even then attempted to besiege because of their complete ignorance of these and other operations of the kind. 2. After this 377 Richomeres returned to Gaul, in order to bring aid from there because there was expectation of still greater tumult of war. All this took place in the consulships of Gratian and Merobaudes, the former for the fourth time, towards the coming of autumn.

3. Meanwhile Valens, on hearing of the sad results of the war and the pillage, sent Saturninus, who was temporarily given command of the cavalry, to render aid to Trajanus and Profuturus. 4. And it chanced at that same time, since everything that could serve as food throughout the lands of Scythia and Moesia had been used up, that the barbarians, driven alike by ferocity and hunger, strove with all their might to break out. And when after many attempts they were overwhelmed by the vigour of our men, who strongly opposed them amid the rugged heights, compelled by dire necessity they gained an alliance with some of the Huns and Halani by holding out the hope of immense booty.

5. As soon as Saturninus heard of this—for he had already arrived and was arranging a line of outposts and field pickets<sup>1</sup>—he gradually gathered his forces together and prepared to retreat ; his plan was not a foolish one—namely that suddenly the mass of barbarians, like a river that has burst its barriers and rushes forth with an awful drive of waters, might not with slight difficulty whirl to destruction one and all while keenly watching the points of

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

observantes. 6. Deinde post reseratas angustias abitumque militis tempestivum, incomposite, qua quisque clausorum potuit (nullo vetante), turbandis incubuit rebus : et vastabundi omnes per latitudines Thraciae pandebantur impune, ab ipsis tractibus, quos praetermeat Hister, exorsi, ad usque Rhodopen et fretum, quod immensa disterminat maria, rapinis et caedibus, sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis, omnia foedissime permiscentes. 7. Tunc erat spectare cum gemitu facta dictu visuque praedira, attonitas metu feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari, fetibus gravidas adhuc immaturis, antequam prodirent in lucem, impia tolerantibus multa, implicatos alios matribus parvulos, et puberum audire lamenta, puellarumque nobilium, quarum stringebat fera captivitas manus. 8. Post quae<sup>1</sup> adulta virginitas, castitasque nuptarum, ore abiecto, flens ultima ducebatur, mox profanandum pudorem optans morte (licet cruciabili) praevenire. Inter quae cum beluae ritu traheretur ingenuus paulo ante dives et liber, de te, Fortuna, ut inclementi querebatur et caeca, quae eum puncto temporis brevi opibus exutum et dulcedine caritatum, domoque extorrem, quam concidisse vidit in cinerem et ruinas, aut lacerandum membratim, aut servitutum sub verberibus et tormentis crudo devovisti victori.

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<sup>1</sup> *post quae*, Lind. ; *postque*, MSS. (*postquam*, T).

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<sup>1</sup> A mountain range in Thrace in the narrower sense, not including Moesia.

danger. 6. But scarcely were the passes open and our men conveniently gone, when the imprisoned barbarians, in disorder, wherever each man found no opposition, pressed on to set all in confusion; and unhindered they spread devastation over all the wide plains of Thrace, beginning at the very regions past which the Hister flows, and filling the whole country, as far as Rhodope<sup>1</sup> and the strait which separates two great seas,<sup>2</sup> with a most foul confusion of robbery, murder, bloodshed, fires, and shameful violation of the bodies of freemen. 7. Then there were to be seen and to lament acts most frightful to see and to describe: women driven along by cracking whips, and stupified with fear, still heavy with their unborn children, which before coming into the world endured many horrors; little children too<sup>3</sup> clinging to their mothers. Then could be heard the laments of high-born boys and maidens, whose hands were fettered in cruel captivity. 8. Behind these were led last of all grown-up girls and chaste wives, weeping and with downcast faces, longing even by a death of torment to forestall the imminent violation of their modesty. Among these was a freeborn man, not long ago rich and independent, dragged along like some wild beast and railing at thee, Fortune, as merciless and blind, since thou hadst in a brief moment deprived him of his possessions, and of the sweet society of his dear ones; had driven him from his home, which he saw fallen to ashes and ruins, and sacrificed him to a bloodthirsty victor, either to be torn limb from limb or amid blows and tortures to serve as a slave.

<sup>1</sup>The Hellespont.<sup>2</sup>On *alios* see xxiii. 3, 9, note 5.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

9. Barbari tamen, velut diffractis caveis bestiae, per Thraciarum<sup>1</sup> amplitudines fusius incitati, oppidum petivere nomine Dibaltum, ubi tribunum scutariorum Barzimeren inventum cum suis Cornutisque<sup>2</sup> et aliis peditum numeris castra ponentem assiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem. 10 Qui confestim (ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii) iussa canere bellicum tuba, lateribus firmatis prorupit,<sup>3</sup> cum promptis accinctis ad proelium: fortiterque resistendo pari pugnandi sorte discesserat,<sup>4</sup> ni eum equitum accursus complurium anhelum circumvenisset et fessum. Et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat.

9. *Frigeridus dux Gratiani Farnobium optimate cum multis Gothis. et Taifalis caedit: reliquis vita et agri circa Padum dati.*

1. Re in hunc modum peracta, Gothi quid postea molirentur incerti, quaeritabant Frigeridum, tamquam obicem validum, ubi reppererint<sup>5</sup> excisuri: et cultiore victu somnoque parumper assumpto, eum sequebantur ut ferae: docti quod Gratiani monitu reversus in Thracias, et prope Beroeam

<sup>1</sup> *Thraciarum*, Pet.; *spatiarum* and *spatiorum* (*spaciorum*, N), MSS. <sup>2</sup> *cornutisque*, Lind.; *cornitisque* (*cornitis*, E<sup>2</sup> in marg., *comitibusque*, E<sup>2</sup>), MSS. <sup>3</sup> *prorupit*, Pet.; *praerupit* and *prerupit*, MSS. <sup>4</sup> *sorte discesserat*, Clark, c.c.; *forti disces* (*fortitudine discessisset*, W<sup>2</sup>HT, *sorte discessisset*, NEA), MSS. <sup>5</sup> *reppererint*, Her. c.c.; *reperirent* or *reperirent*, MSS.

9. The barbarians, however, like savage beasts that had broken their cages, poured raging over the wide extent of Thrace and made for a town called Dibaltum,<sup>1</sup> where they found Barzimeres, tribune of the targeteers, a leader experienced in the dust of warfare, with his own men, the Cornuti,<sup>2</sup> and other companies of infantry, and fell upon him just as he was pitching his camp. 10. He at once, as the exigency of imminent destruction compelled him, ordered the trumpet to sound the attack, and having protected his flanks, charged out at the head of his brave soldiers, who were ready and armed for battle; and by his valiant resistance he would have withdrawn on equal terms, had not the charge of a large force of cavalry surrounded him when he was breathless from fatigue. And so he fell, after having slain not a few of the barbarians, whose losses were concealed by their great numbers.

9. *Frigeridus, Gratian's general, slays the chieftain Farnobius with many of the Goths and the Taifali; to the rest, their lives and lands about the Po were granted.*

1. After accomplishing this as related, the Goths, uncertain what to try next, sought for Frigeridus, with the intention of extirpating him, when they found him, as a powerful obstacle in their way; and after taking better food than usual and sleeping for a short time, they followed his trail like wild beasts; for they had learned that at Gratian's advice he had returned to Thrace, and, having constructed

<sup>1</sup> See Index.

<sup>2</sup> See Index II, Vol. I.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

vallo metato, eventus rerum speculabatur ancipites. 2. Et hi quidem ad patrandum propositum discursione rapida maturabant. Ille vero regendi conservandique militis non ignarus, id quod cogitatum est suspicatus, vel exploratorum relatione, quos miserat, aperte instructus, per montium celsa silvarumque densitates ad Illyricum redit, erectus prosperitate nimia, quam ei fors obtulit insperata. 3. Repedando enim congregatusque<sup>1</sup> in cuneos sensim progrediens, Gothorum optimitatem Farnobium cum vastatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit, ducentemque Taifalos, nuper in societatem adhibitos: qui (si dignum est dici), nostris ignotarum gentium terrore dispersis, transiere<sup>2</sup> flumen direpturi vacua defensoribus loca. 4. Eorum catervis subito visis, certare comminus dux cautissimus parans, adortusque nationis utriusque<sup>3</sup> grassatores, minantes etiam tum acerbis strages multos occidit,<sup>4</sup> trucidassetque<sup>5</sup> omnes ad unum, ut<sup>6</sup> ne nuntius quidem cladis post appareret, ni cum aliis multis perempto Farnobio, metuendo antehac incensore turbarum, obtestatus prece impensa superstitibus

<sup>1</sup> *congregatusque*, Günther; *congregatosque*, MSS. <sup>2</sup> *transiere*, Lind.; *transire*, MSS. <sup>3</sup> *utriusque*, Val.; *ut priusque*, MSS. (*ut prius*, E; *ut priusquam*, A). <sup>4</sup> *strages m. occidit*, added by Novák in lac. sugg. by Her. <sup>5</sup> *trucidassetque*, MSS.; *que* deleted by Val. <sup>6</sup> *ut*, added by Lind.; MSS. omit.

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<sup>1</sup> A city of Thrace, according to xxvii. 4, 12; also called Beroia (*P.W.* iii. 304), Beroa, Beroae.

a fortification near Beroea,<sup>1</sup> was watching the uncertain outcome of events. 2. And they indeed in rapid march hastened to the execution of their design. But he, knowing how both to command his soldiers and to preserve them, either suspected their purpose or had plain information of it from the report of the scouts that he had sent out; so he returned over lofty mountains and through dense forests to Illyricum, much uplifted in spirit by the passing great opportunity which an un hoped-for chance put in his way. 3. For while he was returning and, massed<sup>2</sup> into wedge-formations, slowly advancing, he came upon the Gothic chieftain Farnobius, who was freely ranging about with his predatory bands and leading the Taifali, whom he had lately received as allies. Since our people (if it is proper to say so) through fear of these unknown peoples had dispersed, they crossed the river, intending to pillage the unprotected country. 4. When their bands suddenly came in sight, our careful leader prepared for a hand-to-hand conflict and opened an attack upon these marauders of both nations, which even then were threatening cruel carnage; he killed a large number and he would have slaughtered them all to the last man, leaving not even anyone to report the disaster, had he not, after the fall of Farnobius, before this a dreaded inciter of turmoil, and many others with him, spared the survivors in response to their earnest entreaties. But though he spared their

<sup>1</sup> *Congregatosque in cuneos* of the MSS. gives a very strange accusative construction, which, however, does not seem to have troubled the editors or commentators.. Cf. *conferti in globos*, 10, 4, below.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

pepercisset, vivosque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit. 5. Hanc Taifalorum gentem turpem ac<sup>1</sup> obscenae vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulentur maribus puberes, aetatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi. Porro siqui iam adultus aprum exceperit solus, vel interemerit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti.

10. *Lentienses Alamanni a Gratiani A. ducibus proelio superati, Rege Priario item interfecto; et post deditionem datis Gratiano tironibus, domum redire permisi.*

1. Haec autumnio vergente in hiemem funesti per Thracias turbines converrebant. Quae<sup>2</sup> temporum rabies, velut cuncta cientibus Furiis, ad regiones quoque longinquas progrediens, late serpebat. 2. Et iam Lentiensis Alamannicus populus, tractibus Raetiarum confinis, per fallaces discursus, violato foedere dudum concepto, collimitia nostra temptabat, quae clades hinc exitiale primordium sumpsit. 3. Ex hac natione quidam inter principis armigeros militans, poscente negotio reversus in larem, ut erat in loquendo effusior, interrogantes multos quid ageretur in palatio, docet arcessitu

<sup>1</sup> *ac turpem*, MSS.; tr. by Lind.; lac. before *ac*, Clark; *ac* deleted by Gardt. <sup>2</sup> *quae*, Lind.; *et qua*, MSS.; *aequa*, Pet.; *aeque*, Stangl.

lives, he banished them to the neighbourhood of Mutina, Regium, and Parma, towns in Italy, where they were to work in the fields. 5. We have learned that these Taifali were a shameful folk, so sunken in a life of shame and obscenity, that in their country the boys are coupled with the men in a union of unmentionable lust, to consume the flower of their youth in the polluted intercourse of those paramours. We may add that, if any grown person alone catches a boar or kills a huge bear, he is purified thereby from the shame of unchastity.

10. *The Lentiensian Alamanni are defeated in battle by the generals of Gratianus Augustus, and their king Priarius also is slain ; after their surrender they give Gratian recruits and are allowed to return to their homes.*

1. This is what, throughout Thrace, the destructive 377 f. storms of affairs swept together as autumn was verging upon winter. And this madness of the times, as if the Furies were stirring up the whole world, spread widely and made its way also to distant regions. 2. And now the Lentienses, an Alamannic race bordering on Raetia, by treacherous raids broke the treaty which had long since been concluded with them<sup>1</sup> and made an attempt upon our frontier ; the ruinous beginning of this disaster was the following occurrence. 3. One of their nation, who was serving among the emperor's armour-bearers, returned to his home because of pressing business, and being a loose talker, when many asked him what was going

<sup>1</sup> Since the year 354 ; cf. xv. 4, 1.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

Valentis patrum Gratianum Orientem versus mox signa moturum, ut duplicatis viribus repellantur plagarum terminalium accolae, ad Romanarum<sup>1</sup> rerum<sup>2</sup> excidium coniurati. 4. Quibus avide Lentienses acceptis, ipsi quoque haec quasi vicini cernentes, ut sunt veloces et rapidi, conferti in praedatorios globos, Rhenum gelu pervium<sup>3</sup> pruinis Februario mense transire tentarunt; quos<sup>4</sup> tendentes prope cum Petulantibus Celtae, non sine sui iactura, afflictos graviter adultis viribus averterunt. 5. Verum retrocedere coacti Germani, atque<sup>5</sup> noscentes exercitus pleramque partem in Illyricum (ut imperatore mox adfuturo) praegressam, exarsere flagrantius: maioraque coeptantes,<sup>6</sup> pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis, cum quadraginta armorum<sup>7</sup> milibus vel septuaginta, ut quidam laudes extollendo principis iactitarunt, sublatis in superbiam nostra confidentius irruerunt.

6. Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis, revocatis cohortibus, quas praemisera in Pannonias, convocatisque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat dispositio prudens, Nannieno negotium

<sup>1</sup> *Romanarum*, Bent., Haupt, Madvig; -orum, MSS.  
<sup>2</sup> *rerum*, Haupt, Madvig; *uerum*, MSS. <sup>3</sup> *peruadunt* before *peruium*, Pet. <sup>4</sup> *transire . . . quos*, Val. in lac. indic. by Haupt; *et*, Pet.; without lac., MSS. <sup>5</sup> *Germani atque*, vulgo; *G. iamque*, Her.; *noscentesque*, Val.; *geminamque*, etc., MSS. (*Germanique*, NEA). <sup>6</sup> *coeptantes*, Kell.; *conceptantes*, MSS. (*conceptantes . . . unum*, om. WHT).  
<sup>7</sup> *armorum*, MSS., rest. by Pet.; *armatorum*, NEA (cf. xxx. 1, 14).

on in the palace, he told them that Gratian, summoned by his uncle Valens, would presently march towards the Orient, in order that with doubled forces he might repel the peoples dwelling on the border, who had conspired to destroy the Roman state. 4. The Lentienses greedily seized upon this information, and, looking on these acts from the point of view of neighbours of the frontier, and being swift and hasty in action, they formed themselves into predatory bands, and in the month of February tried 378 to cross the Rhine, which was sufficiently frozen over to be passable. But the Celts, who were encamped near by with the Petulantes,<sup>1</sup> with mighty strength turned them back with great slaughter, yet not without loss to themselves. 5. But although the Germans were forced to retire, being aware that the greater part of the army had gone ahead to Illyricum, where the emperor was soon expected to appear, they were fired with hotter rage; and planning still greater enterprises, they gathered into one place the inhabitants of all the villages, and with forty thousand armed men, or seventy thousand, as some boasted in order to exaggerate the emperor's glory, full of pride and confidence broke into our territory.

6. Gratian learned of this with great alarm, recalled the cohorts which he had sent on into Pannonia, brought together the others, which wise policy had kept in Gaul, and gave the command to Nannienus,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Often mentioned with the Celts; for a possible explanation of this designation of a legion made up of foreign troops, see xx, 4, 2, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxviii. 5, 1.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

dedit, virtutis sobriae duci: cique Mallobauden iunxit pari potestate collegam, domesticorum comitem, regemque Francorum, virum bellicosum et fortem. 7. Nannieno igitur pensante fortunarum versabiles casus, ideoque cunctandum esse censente, Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus (ut consueverat), ire in hostem, differendi impatiens, angebatur. 8. Proinde horrifico adversum fragore terrente, ubi primum apud Argentariam signo per cornicines dato, concurrere coeptum, sagittarum verrutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc indeque sternebantur. 9. Sed in ipso proeliorum ardore, infinita hostium multitudine milites visa, vitantesque aperta discrimina, per calles consitas arboribus et angustas, ut quisque potuit, dispersi, paulo postea steterere fidentius, et splendore consimili, proculque nitore fulgentes armorum, imperatorii adventus iniecere barbaris metum. 10. Qui repente versi in terga, resistentesque interdum, nequid ultimae rationis omitterent, ita sunt caesi, ut ex praedicto numero non plus quam quinque milia, ut aestimabatur, evaderent, densitate nemorum tecta, inter complures alios audaces et fortes, rege quoque Priario interfecto, exitium concitore pugnatum.

11. Hac laeti successus fiducia Gratianus erectus, iamque ad partes tendens coas, laevorsus flexo

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxviii. 5, 1, where he is called Nannenus.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Argentovaria, a town of the Tribocci; modern Horburg (*T.L.L.*).

<sup>3</sup> On *calles* see *A.J.P.* xxxvi. pp. 329 ff.; and cf. Suet., *Jul.* 19, 2, note.

<sup>4</sup> To that of the imperial troops.

a leader of valour and discretion; but he joined with him as a colleague of equal rank Mallobaudes, commander of the household troops and king of the Franks, a brave man, always ready for fighting. 7. Accordingly, while Nannienus<sup>1</sup> weighed the changeable events of fortune and hence believed that they ought to act deliberately, Mallobaudes, carried away (as usual) by his strong eagerness for battle and impatient of postponement, was tormented with longing to go against the foe. 8. Therefore, when from the opposite side the terrifying battle-cry was heard, the signal was given by the horn-blowers and the battle began at Argentaria;<sup>2</sup> and many were struck down on both sides by wounds from flying arrows and javelins. 9. But in the very heat of the fight, our soldiers, seeing the countless numbers of the enemy, and avoiding combat in the open, dispersed as best they could over the narrow pastures<sup>3</sup> planted with trees, and presently stood their ground with greater confidence; and gleaming with like<sup>4</sup> resplendence and brilliance of arms when seen from afar, they struck the barbarians with fear that the emperor was coming. 10. So the enemy turned in flight, sometimes however resisting, that they might not lose their last chance of safety; but they were so thoroughly defeated that from the above mentioned number it was estimated that not more than five thousand escaped under cover of the thick woods, and among other bold and brave men King Priarius also, the inciter of the deadly battles, was killed.

11. Gratian, filled with confidence at this happy success, and being already on his way to the regions of

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

itinere, latenter Rheno transito, spe incitator bona, universam, si id temptanti fors adfuisset, delere statuit malefidam et turbarum avidam gentem. 12. Hocque urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis cognito, Lentienses aerumnis populi sui ad inter-necionem paene deleti, et repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capessèrent ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi neque agendi aliquid aut moliendi laxamentum possent invenire vel breve, impetu celeri obsessos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles, abruptisque per ambitum rupibus insistentes, rebus caritatibusque suis, quas secum conduxerant,<sup>1</sup> omni virium robore propugnabant. 13. Qua difficultate perpensa, velut murorum obicibus opponendi, per legiones singulas quingenteni leguntur armati, usu prudenter bellandi comperti. Qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps, montes scandere nitebantur, tamquam venaticias<sup>2</sup> praedas, si calcassent editiora, confestim sine certamine ullo rapturi: exorsumque proelium vergente in meridiem die, tenebrae quoque occupavere nocturnae. 14. Quippe magno utriusque partis pugnabatur exitio: caedebant cadebantque nostrorum non pauci, simul arma imperatorii comitatus auro

<sup>1</sup> *conduxerant*, Clark, c.c.; *perduxerant*, Novák; *duxerat* and *duxerant*, MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *uenaticias*, Val.; *uenaceas*, MSS. (*uenaticas*, NE; *uenatias*, T).

the east, turned his line of march to the left, secretly crossed the Rhine, and spurred on the more by sanguine hope, determined, if fortune favoured his attempt, utterly to destroy a race faithless and greedy for trouble. 12. When one urgent message after another brought this news to the Lentienses, who were almost annihilated by the disasters to their people and were stunned by the emperor's sudden arrival, they were in doubt what plan to adopt ; and since they could find no respite, however short, from fighting, nor from any action or effort, in swift course they made for the hills, which were beset by pathless crags. There, taking their place round about on the sheer rocks, they tried to defend their possessions and their dear wives and children, whom they had brought with them, with all the strength that they possessed. 13. After consideration of the difficult situation, five hundred soldiers who were approved by experience as prudent in battle were selected from each legion, to be opposed to obstacles like those of city walls. Their confident spirit was all the greater because the emperor was seen actively engaged in the foremost ranks, and they strove to scale the mountains, expecting that if they should set foot on the higher places, they would at once and without a struggle carry them off, as if they were booty taken in the chase. But the battle, which began towards midday, was even overtaken by the darkness of night. 14. Both sides indeed suffered severe losses ; our men slew many, but not a few of their own number fell, and at the same time the armour of the imperial guard, gleaming with gold



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

colorumque micantia claritudine, iaculatione ponderum densa confringebantur.

15. Exinde diu<sup>1</sup> reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus, perniciosum apparebat et irritum, contra asperitates aggerum prominentium intempestiva contendere pertinacia, multis (ut in tali negotio), variatis sententiis, otioso milite circumvallari placuit barbaros, inedia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate defenderentur.<sup>2</sup> 16. Verum cum obstinatione similiter renitentes Germani, peritique regionum, petissent alios montes, his quos ante insederant, altiores: conversus illuc cum exercitu imperator, eadem qua antea fortitudine, semitas ducentes ad ardua quaeritabat. 17. Quem Lentienses intentum iugulis suis omni perseverandi studio contemplantes, post dedicationem, quam impetravere supplici prece, oblata (ut praeceptum est) iuventute valida nostris tirociniis permiscenda, ad genitales terras innoxii ire permisi sunt.

18. Hanc victoriam, opportunam et fructuosam, quae gentes hebetavit occiduas, sempiterni numinis nutu, Gratianus incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque<sup>3</sup> vigore exserta celeritate aliorum properans expedit: praeclarae indolis adulescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens, ad aemulationem lectorum progrediens principum, dum etiam tum

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<sup>1</sup> *exinde diu*, Her.; *deinde diu*, Novák; *inde (enim, etiam)* MSS. <sup>2</sup> *defenderentur*, E, Clark; *defendebantur*, Lind.; *defenditur* and *defunditur*, MSS. <sup>3</sup> *quo quantoque*, Her.; *q.q. cum*, N<sup>2</sup> Val.; *quanto cum*, Novák; *quantique cum* (om. quo), V.

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<sup>1</sup> Such as stones and the huge clubs of 7, 12, above.

and bright colours, was shattered by the heavy missiles<sup>1</sup> thickly cast upon it.

15. Then, after long conference with the men of highest rank, Gratian thought it dangerous and fruitless to struggle with untimely obstinacy against rugged jutting heights; opinions varied greatly, as was natural in such circumstances, but it was finally decided that, with the soldiers at rest, the barbarians should be shut in on all sides and exhausted by famine, since they were protected by the unevenness of the ground. 16. But when the Germans resisted with the same persistence, and, being acquainted with the country, made for other mountains, higher than those which they had occupied before, the emperor wheeled in that direction with his army, and with the same courage as before sought to find paths leading to the heights. 17. When the Lentienses perceived that he was determined with most earnest persistence to have their lives, they obtained mercy as the result of humble supplications, and surrendered; then giving their strong young manhood (as they were ordered) to be mingled with our recruits, they were allowed to go without punishment to their native lands.

18. Incredibly great energy and conspicuous rapidity were shown by Gratian, while he was hastening in another direction, when through the favour of the eternal deity he won this victory, which was at once seasonable and profitable, since it tamed the western nations. He was a young man of splendid character, eloquent, self-restrained, war-like, and merciful, and was already on his way to rivalry with the most distinguished emperors while yet a comely down

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

lanugo genis inserperet speciosa, ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura, laxantibus proximis, semet ad vana studia Caesaris Commodi convertisset, licet hic incruentus. 19. Ut enim ille, quia perimere iaculis plurimas feras spectante consueverat populo, et centum leones in amphitheatrali circulo simul emissos, telorum vario genere, nullo geminato vulnere, contruncavit, ultra hominem exultavit, ita hic quoque, intra saepta quae appellant vivaria, sagittarum pulsibus crebris dentatas conficiens bestias, incidentia multa parvi ducebat et seria: eo tempore quo etiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegre sine collegis similibus et magna sobrietate consiliorum, lenire luctuosos rei publicae poterat casus.

20. Dispositis igitur, quae pro <sup>1</sup> temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, et punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat, Gratianus exinde digressus per castra, quibus Felicis Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad <sup>2</sup> opitulandum oppressae parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat.

21. Eisdemque diebus, Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti, munireque properanti Succorum angustias, ne

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<sup>1</sup> *pro*, A; V omits.      <sup>2</sup> *Lauriacum ad*, Lind.; *inaurea cum opitulanda dum (opitulandum, W<sup>2</sup>)*, V.

<sup>1</sup> See Lamprid., *Commodus*, 12, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Parks where wild beasts were kept.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Capitolinus, *Ant. Phil.* 22, 3 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In Raetia; modern Arbon.

was creeping over his cheeks, had not his natural inclination for unbecoming conduct, which was given free rein by his intimates, turned him to the frivolous pursuits of the emperor Commodus, although without that prince's thirst for blood. 19. For as that emperor felt superhuman exultation because he so often killed a great number of wild animals with javelins in the presence of the people, and slaughtered with various kinds of weapons in the arena of the amphitheatre a hundred lions that were let in together, without needing to inflict a second wound,<sup>1</sup> just so Gratian also, while he pierced sharptoothed beasts with many an arrow-shot within the enclosures which are called *vivaria*,<sup>2</sup> neglected as of little moment many serious occurrences; and that too at a time when, even if Marcus Antoninus had been emperor, he could not without like-minded colleagues and most prudent counsel<sup>3</sup> have mitigated the grievous disasters to our country.

20. Gratian, then, after making the arrangements which affairs and policy throughout Gaul demanded according to the trend of the times, and punishing the traitorous targeteer who had revealed to the barbarians that the emperor was hurrying to Illyricum, hastened next to go by long marches past the castle called Felix Arbor<sup>4</sup> and past Lauriacum,<sup>5</sup> to bring aid to the hard-pressed part of the country.

21. At that same time Frigeridus, who was carefully making many useful plans for the general security, and was hastening to fortify the pass of Succi,<sup>6</sup> in order that the roving light-armed bands

<sup>1</sup> In Noricum Ripense; modern Lorch (Lork).

<sup>2</sup> See xxi. 10, 2 ff., and note 1.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

discursatores hostes et leves, tamquam exaestuantes niv<sup>1</sup> torrentes, per septentrionales provincias fusius vagarentur, successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes, venalis ferociae specie, et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus; is est quem praeteritorum textu rettulimus, ambigenti super corona capita imponenda Caesari Iuliano,<sup>2</sup> dum inter eius armigeros militaret, arroganti<sup>3</sup> astu fidenter<sup>4</sup> torquem obtulisse collo abstractam. 22. Remotusque in ipsa vertigine pereuntium rerum dux cautus et diligens, cum etiam si dudum discessisset in otium, ad procinctum reduci negotiorum magnitudine poscente deberet.

11. *Sebastianus Gothos spoliis onustos apud Beroeam inopinantes concidit; paucos fuga servavit. Gratianus A. ad patruum Valentem properat, ei contra Gothos laturus auxilium.*

1. His forte diebus, Valens tandem excitus Antiochia, longitudine viarum emensa, venit Constantinopolim, ubi moratus paucissimos dies, seditioneque popularium levi pulsatus, Sebastiano paulo ante ab Italia (ut petierat) misso, vigilantiae notae ductori, pedestris exercitus cura commissa, quem

<sup>1</sup> exaestuantes nivui, Gronov; exaestuare sueti, Pet.; exaestuante vi, Val.; exaestuantes ut in, V. <sup>2</sup> Caesari Iuliano, transposui, c.c. <sup>3</sup> arroganti, Val., Her., Momm.; ac regiam, Lind.; adrogantia, V, Pet. <sup>4</sup> astu fidenter, Her. (cf. xvi. 10, 16); custodiret, V, Lind; custodis, Pet.; custodiret terquem, V.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xx. 4, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Frigeridus.

<sup>3</sup> Twelve days according to Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 38.

of the enemy might not, like torrents swollen by melting snow, roam at large over the northern provinces, was given a successor in the person of a general called Maurus, notoriously venal under a pretence of boldness, and changeable and unreliable in all his conduct. He it was who (as I have told in my narrative of previous events)<sup>1</sup> when Caesar Julian was in doubt about the crown to be put upon his head, with haughty cleverness took off his neck-chain and boldly offered it to him for the purpose, being at the time one of Julian's body-guard. 22. Thus even in the dizzy whirl of disasters a careful and active leader<sup>2</sup> was removed, whereas he should have been recalled to active service at the demand of such important affairs, even if he had long since retired to a peaceful life.

11. *Sebastianus at Beroea surprises and cuts to pieces the Goths laden with booty ; a few were saved by flight. Gratianus Augustus hastens to his uncle Valens, to bring him aid against the Goths.*

1. It chanced that at that time Valens was at last called forth from Antioch, and after making the long journey arrived at Constantinople, where his stay was for only a very few days,<sup>3</sup> and he was disturbed by a slight outbreak of the populace. He gave the command of the infantry, which Trajanus had formerly held, to Sebastianus, a leader of recognized vigilance, who had shortly before been sent from Italy at his own request.<sup>4</sup> He himself went

<sup>4</sup> Zos. iv. 22, says that he left Italy through disgust at the growing influence of the eunuchs, and went to Constantinople, where Valens made him a commander-in-chief.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

regebat antea Traianus: ipse ad Melanthiada villam Caesarianam profectus, militem stipendio fovebat et alimentis, et blanda crebritate sermonum.

2. Unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen venisset, quae statio ita cognominatur, relatione speculatorum didicit refertos opima barbaros praeda, a Rhodopes tractibus prope<sup>1</sup> Hadrianopolim revertisse: qui motu imperatoris cum abundanti milite cognito, popularibus iungere se<sup>2</sup> festinant, circa Beroeam et Nicopolim agentibus<sup>3</sup> praesidiis fixis: atque ilico ut oblatae occasionis maturitas postulabat, cum trecentenis militibus per singulos numeros lectis, Sebastianus properare dispositus erat,<sup>4</sup> conducens rebus publicis aliquid (ut promittebat) acturus. 3. Qui itineribus celeratis, conspectus prope Hadrianopolim, obseratis vi<sup>5</sup> portis, iuxta adire prohibebatur: veritis defensoribus ne captus ab hoste veniret et subornatus, atque contingeret aliquid in civitatis perniciem, quale per Acacium<sup>6</sup> acciderat comitem, quo per fraudem a<sup>7</sup> Magnentiacis militibus capto, claustra patefacta sunt Alpium Iuliarum. 4. Agnitus tamen licet sero Sebastianus, et urbem introire permissus, cibo et quiete curatis

<sup>1</sup> *prope Hadrianopolim*, EA (*praep* del. as dittogr. of *praeda*, Her.); *praephadrianopolim*, V. <sup>2</sup> *se*, added by Günther; V omits.

<sup>3</sup> *agentibus*, Gardt.; *Nicopoli gentibus*, V. <sup>4</sup> *erat*, scripsi, c.c.; *est*, V.

<sup>5</sup> *ui*, vulgo; *undique*, Her. (cf. xiv. 2, 18); *in*, V.

<sup>6</sup> *Acacium*, Her.; *Actum*, V. <sup>7</sup> *fraudem a*, N<sup>2</sup> Val.; *fraudem*, A; *fraude*, V.

to the imperial villa Melanthias<sup>1</sup> and tried to win the favour of the soldiers by pay, supplies, and many flattering words. 2. Having commanded a march from there by written order,<sup>2</sup> he came to the military post called Nice,<sup>3</sup> where he learned from the report of scouts that the barbarians, laden with rich spoils, had returned from the lands at the foot of Rhodope to the neighbourhood of Hadrianopolis; they, on hearing that the emperor was on the march with a large force, were hastening to join their countrymen, who were staying in a permanent garrison near Beroea and Nicopolis. At once, as timeliness of the offered opportunity demanded, Sebastianus had been directed to choose three hundred soldiers from each legion and hasten to the spot, to do, as he promised, something advantageous to the state. 3. He advanced by rapid marches until he was seen near Hadrianopolis, when the gates were strongly barred, and he was not allowed to approach them; for the besieged feared that he came as one who had been captured by the enemy, and won over to their side, and some harm might be caused to the city; such as had happened through the general Acacius, when the troops of Magnentius had captured him by treachery, and brought about the opening of the fastnesses of the Julian Alps. 4. However, when Sebastianus was recognized, although late, and allowed to enter the city, his men were refreshed with such food and rest as

<sup>1</sup> Agathius (v. 14, D), and after him Suidas (s.v. *Μελανθιάς*), call it a village 140 stadia (102, Suidas) from Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiii. 2, 2, *expeditionalis tessera*; xxi. 5, 13, note.

<sup>3</sup> A town in Thrace, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 37, 95; *mansio Nice*, It. Burdig. p. 569 (cf. *statione Nice*, 12, 3, below).



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

pro copia, quos ductabat, secuta luce impetu clandestino erupit, vesperaque incedente, Gothorum vastatorios cuneos prope flumen Hebrum subito visos, paulisper opertus aggeribus et fructectis, obscura nocte suspensis passibus consopitos<sup>1</sup> adgressus est, adeoque<sup>2</sup> prostravit, ut praeter paucos quos morte velocitas exemerat pedum, interirent reliqui omnes, praedamque retraxit innumeram, quam nec civitas cepit nec planities lata camporum. 5. Qua causa percitus Fritigernus, et extimescens, ne dux (ut saepe audierat) impetrabilis, dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuique intentos consumeret, improvisos adoriens: revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia nec occultis vexarentur insidiis.

6. Dum haec aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamanos, pedestri itinere praemissis impedimentis et sarcinis, ipse cum expeditiore militum manu, permeato Danubio, delatus Bononiam, Sirmium introiit, et quadriduum ibi moratus, per idem flumen ad Martis castra descendit, febribus intervallatis afflictus: in quo tractu Halanorum impetu repentino temptatus, amisit sequentium paucos.

<sup>1</sup> *consopitos*, Günther; *incompositos*, Lind.; *compositos*, V.  
<sup>2</sup> *adeoque*, Val.; *id quoque*, V.

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *impetrabilis*, cf. xiv. 8, 5, and Plautus, *Most.* 1162, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy locates this place in Upper Pannonia, the modern Banastar; cf. xxi. 9, 6.

<sup>3</sup> A small town in Dacia Ripensis (in Moesia, according to Sozomenus, ix. 5).

were available; and on the following morning he sallied forth in secret haste. Just as evening was coming on some predatory bands of Goths suddenly came in sight near the river Hebrus, whereupon Sebastianus remained hidden for a time behind mounds and thickets; and when it was dark night he advanced with light step and fell upon them in their sleep, inflicting such a defeat upon them that all the rest perished except a few, whom swiftness of foot saved from death. He brought back countless booty, which was too great to be contained in the city and the broad plain about it.

5. Fritigern was greatly alarmed by this stroke, and feared lest the general, whom he had always heard to be successful,<sup>1</sup> might make an unexpected attack upon his scattered and heedless bands, which were intent only upon pillage, and utterly destroy them; he therefore recalled all his men to the vicinity of the town of Cabyle and quickly left that neighbourhood, in order that his people, by living in the open plains, might not suffer from famine or from secret attacks.

6. While this was going on in Thrace, Gratian, having informed his uncle by letter with what energy he had overthrown the Alamanni, sent on ahead by land all his baggage and packs, and descending the Danube with a band of light-armed troops, came to Bononia<sup>2</sup> and entered Sirmium. Having delayed there for four days, he went on over the same river to the Camp of Mars,<sup>3</sup> although attacked by intermittent fevers. In that region the Halani unexpectedly fell upon him, and he lost a few of his followers.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

### 12. *Valens A. ante adventum Gratiani cum Gothis pugnare constituit.*

1. Eisdemque diebus exagitatus ratione gemina Valens, quod Lentienses compererat superatos, quodque Sebastianus subinde scribens facta dictis exaggerabat, e Melanthiade signa commovit, acquirerare facinore quodam egregio adolescentem properans filium fratris, cuius virtutibus urebatur: ducebatque multiplices copias, nec contemnendas nec segnes, quippe etiam veteranos eisdem iunxerat plurimos, inter quos et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus<sup>1</sup> est, paulo ante magister armorum. 2. Et quoniam exploratione sollicita cognitum est cogitare hostes fortibus praesidiis itinera claudere, per quae commeatus necessarii portabantur, occursum est huic conatui competenter, ad retinendas opportunitates angustiarum, quae prope erant, peditibus sagittariis et equitum turma citius missa. 3. Triduoque proximo, cum barbari gradu incederent leni et metuentes eruptionem per devia, quindecim milibus passuum a civitate discreti, stationem peterent Nicen, incertum quo errore procursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem, quam viderant, in numero

<sup>1</sup> *recinctus*, Val. (cf. xxvi, 5, 3); *procinctus*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Eunapius says that Gratian had also, at the wish of his army, taken the younger Valentinian as his colleague, without consulting his uncle Valens; moreover, that Valens was an Arian, while Gratian, according to Ambrose, was a Christian (*christianissimus*). [Val. in Wagner-Erfurdt.]

**12. *Valens Augustus decides to fight with the Goths before the coming of Gratian.***

1. In those same days Valens was troubled for two reasons : first, by the news that the Lentienses had been defeated ; secondly, because Sebastianus wrote from time to time exaggerating his exploits. He therefore marched forth from Melanthias, being eager to do some glorious deed to equal his young nephew, whose valiant exploits consumed him with envy.<sup>1</sup> He had under his command a force made up of varying elements, but one neither contemptible, nor unwarlike ; for he had joined with them also a large number of veterans, among whom were other officers of high rank and Trajanus, shortly before a commander-in-chief, whom he had recalled to active service. 2. And since it was learned from careful reconnoitring that the enemy were planning with strong guards to block the roads over which the necessary supplies were being brought, he tried competently to frustrate this attempt by quickly sending an infantry troop of bowmen and a squadron of cavalry, in order to secure the advantages of the narrow passes, which were near by. 3. During the next three days, when the barbarians, advancing at a slow pace and through unfrequented places, since they feared a sally, were fifteen miles distant from the city,<sup>2</sup> and were making for the station of Nice,<sup>3</sup> through some mistake or other the emperor was assured by his skirmishers that all that part of the enemy's horde which they had seen consisted of only ten

<sup>1</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> See 11, 2, above, and note.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

decem milium esse firmantibus, imperator procaci quodam calore percussus eisdem occurrere festinabat.

4. Proinde agmine quadrato incedens, prope suburbanum Hadrianupoleos venit, ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato, Gratianum impatienter operiens, Richomerem comitem domesticorum suscepit, ab eodem imperatore praemissum cum litteris, ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus. 5. Quorum textu oratus, ut praestolaretur paulisper periculorum participem, neve abruptis discriminibus temere semet committeret solum, adhibitis in consilium potestatibus variis, quid facto opus esset deliberabat. 6. Et cum Sebastiano auctore quidam protinus eundem ad certamen urgerent, Victor nomine (magister equitum) Sarmata sed cunctator et cautus, eadem sentientibus multis, imperii socium expectari censebat, ut incrementis exercitus Gallicani adscitis, opprimeretur levius tumor barbaricus flammans. 7. Vicit tamen funesta principis destinatio,<sup>1</sup> et adulabilis quorundam sententia regionum, qui ne paene iam partae victoriae (ut opinabantur) consors fieret Gratianus, properari cursu celeri suadebant.

8. Et dum necessaria parabantur ad decernendum, Christiani ritus presbyter (ut ipsi appellant), missus a Fritigerno legatus, cum aliis humilibus venit ad

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<sup>1</sup> *destinatio*, V; Gardthausen suspected that *festinatio* should be read.

<sup>2</sup> See xxix. 5, 39, note on *agmine quadrato*.

<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps "to the vicinity of Hadrianopolis"—with Ammianus' usual tautology. Clark has Hadrianopolis, with V.

<sup>4</sup> Although he is often mentioned, it is usually in this way (see e.g. 13, 9, below, and 7, 1, above).

thousand men, and carried away by a kind of rash ardour, he determined to attack them at once. 4. Accordingly, advancing in square formation,<sup>1</sup> he came to the vicinity of a suburb of Hadrianopolis,<sup>2</sup> where he made a strong rampart of stakes, surrounded by a moat, and impatiently waited for Gratian; there he received Richomeres, general of the household troops, sent in advance by Gratian with a letter, in which he said that he himself also would soon be there. 5. Since the contents besought him to wait a while for the partner in his dangers, and not rashly to expose himself alone to serious perils, Valens called a council of various of his higher officers and considered what ought to be done. 6. And while some, influenced by Sebastianus, urged him to give battle at once, the man called Victor,<sup>3</sup> a commander of cavalry, a Sarmatian by birth, but foresighted and careful,<sup>4</sup> with the support of many others recommended that his imperial colleague be awaited, so that, strengthened by the addition of the Gallic army, he might the more easily crush the fiery over-confidence of the barbarians. 7. However, the fatal insistence of the emperor prevailed, supported by the flattering opinion of some of his courtiers, who urged him to make all haste in order that Gratian might not have a share in the victory which (as they represented) was already all but won.

8. While the necessary preparations for the decisive battle were going on, a Christian presbyter<sup>5</sup> (to use their own term), who had been sent by Fritigern as an envoy, in company with some humble

<sup>4</sup> Unlike the Sarmatians generally.

<sup>5</sup> Elder.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

principis castra, susceptusque leniter, eiusdem ductoris<sup>1</sup> obtulit scripta, petentis propalam ut sibi suisque, quos extorres patriis laribus rapidi ferarum gentium exegere discursus, habitanda Thracia sola cum pecore omni concederetur<sup>2</sup> et frugibus: hoc impetrato, spondentis perpetuam pacem. 9. Praeter haec idem Christianus, ut conscius arcanorum et fidus, secretas alias eiusdem regis obtulit litteras, qui astu et ludificandi varietate nimium sollers, docebat Valentem quasi mox amicus futurus et socius, aliter se popularium saevitiam mollire non posse vel ad condiciones rei Romanae profuturas allicere, nisi subinde armatum eisdem iuxta monstraret exercitum, et timore imperatorii nominis intentato, eos a pernicioso pugnandi revocaret ardore. Et legati quidem ut ambigui frustra habiti discesserunt.

10. Exoriente vero aurora diei, quem quintum Iduum Augustarum numerus ostendit annalis, signa praepropere commoventur, impedimentis et sarcinis prope Hadrianopoleos muros cum legionum tutela congrua collocatis. Thesauri enim et principalis fortunae insignia cetera, cum praefecto et consistorianis ambitu moenium tenebantur. 11. Decursis itaque viarum spatiis confragosis, cum in medium torridus procederet dies, octava tandem hora<sup>3</sup> hostium

<sup>1</sup> *eiusdem ductoris*, E, C. F. W. M., Haupt; *eiusdemque doctoris*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *concederetur*, V (restitui); *concederentur*, Haupt.    <sup>3</sup> *octava and hora*, Haupt; *octavo*, V; *octavo* (sc. lapide), Val.

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<sup>1</sup> For the translation of *alias*, see xxiii. 3, 9, note 5.    \*

<sup>2</sup> Aug. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Here *cetera* is used as *alius* often is; see note 1, above.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., the praetorian prefect.

<sup>5</sup> At about two in the afternoon.

folk came to the emperor's camp. He was courteously received and presented a letter from the same chieftain, openly requesting that to him and his people, whom the rapid forays of savage races had made exiles from their native lands, Thrace only should be granted as a habitation, with all its flocks and crops; and they promised lasting peace if this request were granted. 9. Besides this the aforesaid Christian, apparently a confidant and trusted friend of Fritigern, presented also<sup>1</sup> a private letter of the same king, who, all too skilled in craft and in various forms of deception, informed Valens, pretending that he hoped soon to be his friend and ally, that he could not tame the savagery of his people, or entice them to adopt conditions favourable to the Roman state, unless the emperor should from time to time show them near at hand his army ready for battle, and through the fear aroused by the imperial name check their destructive eagerness for war. But as to the envoys, their sincerity was doubted, and they left without accomplishing their purpose.

10. But on the dawn of that day which is numbered in the calendar as the fifth before the Ides of August<sup>2</sup> the army began its march with extreme haste, leaving all its baggage and packs near the walls of Hadrianopolis with a suitable guard of legions; for the treasury, and the insignia of imperial dignity besides,<sup>3</sup> with the prefect<sup>4</sup> and the emperor's council, were kept within the circuit of the walls. 11. So after hastening a long distance over rough ground, while the hot day was advancing towards noon, finally at the eighth hour<sup>5</sup> they saw the wagons



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

carpenta cernuntur, quae<sup>1</sup> ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta<sup>2</sup> exploratorum relatione affirmabantur. Atque (ut mos est) ululante barbara plebe ferum et triste, Romani duces aciem instruxere,<sup>3</sup> et anteposito dextro cornu equitum primo, peditatus pars maxima subsidebat. 12. Cornu autem equitum laevum, disiectis adhuc per itinera plurimis, summa difficultate conductum, properabat passibus citis. Dumque idem cornu, nullo etiam tum inturbante, extenditur, horrendo fragore, sibilantibus armis, pulsuque minaci scutorum, territi barbari, quoniam pars eorum cum Alatheo et Saphrace, procul agens et accita, nondum venerat, oraturos<sup>4</sup> pacem misere legatos. 13. Eorum dum vilitatem despicit imperator, ut firma fierent paciscenda, optimates poscens idoneos mitti, illi de industria cunctabantur, ut inter fallaces indutias equites sui redirent, quos affore iam sperabant: et miles fervore calefactus aestivo, siccis faucibus commarceret, relucente amplitudine camporum incendiis, quos lignis nutrimentisque aridis subditis, ut hoc fieret idem, hostes urebant. Cui malo aliud quoque accedebat exitiale, quod homines et iumenta cruciabat inedia gravis.

14. Inter quae Fritigernus, callidus futuri coniectior, Martemque pertimescens ancipitem, velut

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<sup>1</sup> quae, add. Lind.; rest. by Pet. from *digestaque* (V, see note 2). <sup>2</sup> *digesta*, Pet.; for V see note 1. <sup>3</sup> *instruxere*, Novák; *struxere*, EA; *struxire*, V. <sup>4</sup> *uenerat oraturos*, Val. (*oraturos*, W<sup>2</sup>); *foederato raturas*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "turned by a lathe".

<sup>2</sup> For *sibilantibus armis*, cf. xxv. 1, 18.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., by thirst.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., to exhaust the Romans by heat and thirst.

of the enemy, which, as the report of the scouts had declared, were arranged in the form of a perfect <sup>1</sup> circle. And while the barbarian soldiers, according to their custom, uttered savage and dismal howls, the Roman leaders so drew up their line of battle that the cavalry on the right wing were first pushed forward, while the greater part of the infantry waited in reserve. 12. But the left wing of the horsemen (which was formed with the greatest difficulty, since very many of them were still scattered along the roads) was hastening to the spot at swift pace. And while that same wing was being extended, still without interruption, the barbarians were terrified by the awful din, the hiss of whirring arrows <sup>2</sup> and the menacing clash of shields; and since a part of their forces under Alatheus and Saphrax was far away and, though sent for, had not yet returned, they sent envoys to beg for peace. 13. The emperor scorned these because of their low origin, demanding for the execution of a lasting treaty that suitable chieftains be sent; meanwhile the enemy purposely delayed, in order that during the pretended truce their cavalry might return, who, they hoped, would soon make their appearance; also that our soldiers might be exposed to the fiery summer heat and exhausted by their dry throats, <sup>3</sup> while the broad plains gleamed with fires, which the enemy were feeding with wood and dry fuel, for this same purpose. <sup>4</sup> To that evil was added another deadly one, namely, that men and beasts were tormented by severe hunger.

14. Meanwhile Fritigern, shrewd to foresee the future and fearing the uncertainty of war, on his own initiative sent one of his common soldiers as a

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

caduceatorem, unum e plebe suo misit arbitrio, impetens<sup>1</sup> nobiles quosdam et electos ad se prope diem obsides mitti, impavidus ipse minas militares<sup>2</sup> laturus, et necessaria. 15. Laudato probatoque formidati ducis proposito, tribunus Aequitius, cui tunc erat cura palatii credita, Valentis propinquus, assentientibus cunctis ire pignoris loco mature disponitur. Quo renitente, quia semel captus ab hostibus, lapsusque a Dibalto, verebatur eorum irrationabiles motus, Richomeres se sponte obtulit propria, ireque promiserat libens, pulcrum hoc quoque facinus, et viro convenire existimans forti. Iamque pergebat, indicia dignitatis et natalium<sup>3</sup> . . . 16. Eo ad vallum hostile tendente, sagittarii et scutarii, quos Bacurius Hiberus quidam tunc regebat et Cassio, avidius impetu calenti progressi, iamque adversis conexi, ut immature proruperant, ita inertis discessu, primordia belli foedarunt. 17. Hocque impedimento conatus intempestivi et Richomeris alacritas fracta est, nusquam ire permissi, et equitatus Gothorum cum Alatheo reversus et Saphrace, Halanorum manu permixta, ut fulmen prope montes celsos excussus,

<sup>1</sup> *petens*, Her.; *impendio petens*, Novák; *impetens* V.  
<sup>2</sup> *minas militares*, Eyssen; *vim militarem*, vulgo; *munus militare*, E; *minimi litare*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *natalium* (lac. 20 letters), V.

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<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *ipse minas . . . necessaria* is uncertain, and the text perhaps corrupt. It seems to mean that he would put up with the anger felt by his own soldiers because of his virtual overture of peace.

herald, requesting that picked men of noble rank be sent to him at once as hostages and saying that he himself would fearlessly meet the threats of his soldiers and do what was necessary.<sup>1</sup> 15. The proposal of the dreaded leader was welcome and approved, and the tribune Aequitius,<sup>2</sup> then marshal of the court and a relative of Valens, with the general consent was chosen to go speedily as a surety. When he objected, on the ground that he had once been captured by the enemy but had escaped from Dibaltum, and therefore feared their unreasonable anger, Richomerus voluntarily offered his own services and gladly promised to go, thinking this also to be a fine act and worthy of a brave man. And soon he was on his way [bringing] proofs of his rank and birth. . . .<sup>3</sup> 16. As he was on his way to the enemy's rampart, the archers and the targeteers, then under the command of one Bacurius of Hiberia<sup>4</sup> and Cassio, had rushed forward too eagerly in hot attack, and were already engaged with their adversaries; and as their charge had been untimely, so their retreat was cowardly; and thus they gave an unfavourable omen to the beginning of the battle. 17. This unseasonable proceeding not only thwarted the prompt action of Richomerus, who was not allowed to go at all, but also the Gothic cavalry, returning with Alatheus and Saphrax, combined with a band of the Halani, dashed out as a thunderbolt does near high mountains, and threw into

<sup>1</sup> Cf. xxvi. 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> There is a lacuna here of twenty letters; *indicia* is obviously the object of some word such as *ferens*.

<sup>4</sup> On the northern frontier of Armenia.

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

quoscumque accursu veloci invenire comminus potuit, incitata caede turbavit.

13. *Gothi omnes in unum coniuncti, nimirum Theruingi ductu Fritigerni R. et Greuthungi ducibus Alatheo et Saphrace, cum Romanis acie instructa confligunt, et fuso equitatu, pedites nudatos atque confertos cum maxima strage in fugam coniiciunt. Valens occisus nusquam comparuit.*

1. Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela, lituosque Bellona luctuosos inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens, cedentes nostri multis interclamantibus restiterunt, et proelium flammarum ritu accrescens,<sup>1</sup> terrebat militum animos, confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus iaculorum et sagittarum. 2. Deinde, collisae in modum rostrarum navium acies, trudentesque se vicissim, undarum specie motibus sunt reciprocis iactitatae.<sup>2</sup>

Et quia sinistrum cornu ad usque plaustra ipsa accessit, ultra (siqui<sup>3</sup> tulissent suppetias) processurum: a reliquo equitatu desertum, multitudo hostili urgente, ac si<sup>4</sup> ruina aggeris magni, oppressum atque deiectum est: steterunt impropecti pedites ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exserere aut manus reducere quisquam posset. Nec iam obiectu pulveris caelum patere potuit ad

<sup>1</sup> *ritu accrescens*, Erfurdt; *ritua cresans*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *iactitatae*, vulgo; *hacta intatae*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *si qui*, N<sup>2</sup>, Lind.; *qui*, V.    <sup>4</sup> *ac si*, Her.; *sicut*, A; *si*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xi. 595; xvii. 576 f.

confusion all those whom they could find in the way of their swift onslaught, and quickly slew them.

13. *All the Goths united, namely, the Theruingi under the command of King Fritigern, and the Greuthungi led by Alatheus and Saphrax, and engaged with the Romans in the open, routed their cavalry, and put to flight the infantry, thus left unprotected and crowded together, with enormous losses; Valens was killed, but his body could not be found.*

1. On every side armour and weapons clashed, and Bellona, raging with more than usual madness for the destruction of the Romans, blew her lamentable war-trumpets; our soldiers who were giving way rallied, exchanging many encouraging shouts, but the battle, spreading like flames,<sup>1</sup> filled their hearts with terror, as numbers of them were pierced by strokes of whirling spears and arrows. 2. Then the lines dashed together like beaked ships, pushing each other back and forth in turn, and tossed about by alternate movements, like waves at sea.

And because the left wing, which had made its way as far as the very wagons, and would have gone farther if it had had any support, being deserted by the rest of the cavalry, was hard pressed by the enemy's numbers, it was crushed, and overwhelmed, as if by the downfall of a mighty rampart. The foot-soldiers thus stood unprotected, and their companies were so crowded together that hardly anyone could pull out his sword or draw back his arm. Because of clouds of dust the heavens could

## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

prospectum, clamoribus resultans horrificis. Qua causa tela undique mortem vibrantia, destinata cadebant et noxia, quod nec provideri poterant nec caveri. 3. Verum ubi effusi immensis agminibus barbari, iumenta conterebant et viros, et neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari usquam poterat locus, et evadendi copiam constipatio densior adimebat: nostri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu, occursantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant, et mutuis securium ictibus galeae perfringebantur atque loricae. 4. Videreque licebat celsum ferocia barbarum, genis stridore constrictis, succiso poplite aut abscisa ferro dextera vel confosso latere inter ipsa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces: ruinaque confligentium mutua, humi<sup>1</sup> corporibus stratis, campi peremptis impleti sunt, et morientium gemitus, profundisque vulneribus transfixorum, cum timore audiebantur ingenti. 5. In hoc tanto tamque confusae rei tumultu, exhausti labore et periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis neque mentes suppeterent ad consilium, diffractis hastarum plerisque collisione assidua, gladiis contenti destructis, in confertas hostium turmas se immergebant,<sup>2</sup> salutis immemores, circumspectantes ademptum esse omne evadendi suffugium. 6. Et quia humus ravis operta sanguineis gressus labiles evertebat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam: adeo magno animorum robore oppositi incumbenibus, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent. Atra denique

<sup>1</sup> *humi*, Novák; *humo corporibus strata*, sugg. by Her.; *mutu ad humo corporis*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *se immergebant*, Her. (*se* after *mergebant* add. vulgo); *mergebant de*, V.

no longer be seen, and echoed with frightful cries. Hence the arrows whirling death from every side always found their mark with fatal effect, since they could not be seen beforehand nor guarded against. 3. But when the barbarians, pouring forth in huge hordes, trampled down horse and man, and in the press of ranks no room for retreat could be gained anywhere, and the increased crowding left no opportunity for escape, our soldiers also, showing extreme contempt of falling in the fight, received their death-blows, yet struck down their assailants; and on both sides the strokes of axes split helmet and breastplate. 4. Here one might see a barbarian filled with lofty courage, his cheeks contracted in a hiss, hamstringed or with right hand severed, or pierced through the side, on the very verge of death threateningly casting about his fierce glance; and by the fall of the combatants on both sides the plains were covered with the bodies of the slain strewn over the ground, while the groans of the dying and of those who had suffered deep wounds caused immense fear when they were heard. 5. In this great tumult and confusion the infantry, exhausted by their efforts and the danger, when in turn strength and mind for planning anything were lacking, their lances for the most part broken by constant clashing, content to fight with drawn swords, plunged into the dense masses of the foe, regardless of their lives, seeing all around that every loophole of escape was lost. 6. The ground covered with streams of blood whirled their slippery foothold from under them, so they could only strain every nerve to sell their lives dearly; and they opposed the onrushing foe with such great resolution that some fell by the weapons of their own comrades.



## VALENS GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

cruoris facie omnia conturbante, et quocumque se inflexerant oculi, acervis caesorum aggestis, exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur. 7. Solque sublimior, decurso Leone, ad domicilium caelestis Virginis transiens, Romanos magis attenuatos inedia, sitique confectos, etiam armorum gravantibus sarcinis exurebat. Ad ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinatae nostrorum, quod solum postremis malis habuere subsidium, incondite qua quisque poterat, vertuntur in pedes.

8. Dumque omnes dispersi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumsaepus, paulatimque insiliens funerum moles, ad lancearios confugit et mattiarios: qui dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis, fixis corporibus steterant inconcussi. Eoque viso Traianus exclamat spem omnem absumptam, ni desertus ab armigeris princeps saltem adventicio tegeretur auxilio. 9. Hocque audito, Victor nomine comes, Batavos in subsidiis locatos haut procul, ad imperatoris praesidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire neminem posset, gradiens retro discessit. Parique modo Richomeres periculo semet exemit et Saturninus.

10. Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros, iam linquente venarum calore torpentes: quorum aliqui percussoribus cadebant incertis, non nulli ponderibus solis urgentium obruti,

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<sup>1</sup> See xxi. 13, 16, note.

Finally, when the whole scene was discoloured with the hue of dark blood, and wherever men turned their eyes heaps of slain met them, they trod upon the bodies of the dead without mercy. 7. Now the sun had risen higher, and when it had finished its course though Leo, and was passing into the house of the heavenly Virgo, scorched the Romans, who were more and more exhausted by hunger and worn out by thirst, as well as distressed by the heavy burden of their armour. Finally our line was broken by the onrushing weight of the barbarians, and since that was the only resort in their last extremity, they took to their heels in disorder as best they could.

8. While all scattered in flight over unknown paths, the emperor, hedged about by dire terrors, and slowly treading over heaps of corpses, took refuge with the lancers and the *mattiarii*,<sup>1</sup> who, so long as the vast numbers of the enemy could be sustained, had stood unshaken with bodies firmly planted. On seeing him Trajanus cried that all hope was gone, unless the emperor, abandoned by his body-guard, should at least be protected by his foreign auxiliaries. 9. On hearing this the general called Victor hastened to bring quickly to the emperor's aid the Batavi, who had been posted not far off as a reserve force; but when he could find none of them, he retired and went away. And in the same way Richomerus and Saturninus made their escape from danger.

10. And so the barbarians, their eyes blazing with frenzy, were pursuing our men, in whose veins the blood was chilled with numb horror: some fell without knowing who struck them down, others

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

ictuque suorum aliqui trucidati: nec enim saepe renitentibus cedebatur, aut parcebat cedentibus quisquam. 11. Super his obstruebant itinera iacentes multi semineces, cruciatus vulnerum conquerentes,<sup>1</sup> cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum constrati, cadaveribus campos impleverunt. Diremit haec numquam pensabilia damna, quae magno rebus stetero Romanis, nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens.

12. Primaque caligine tenebrarum, inter gregarios imperator, ut opinari dabatur (neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse asseveravit), sagitta perniciose saucius ruit, spirituque mox consumpto decessit, nec postea repertus est usquam. Hostium enim paucis spoliandi gratia mortuos per ea loca diu versatis, nullus fugatorum vel accolarum illuc adire est ausus. 13. Simili clade Caesarem accepimus Decium, dimicantem cum barbaris acriter, equi lapsu prostratum, quem ferventem retinere non valuit, abiectumque in paludem, nec emergere potuisse nec inveniri. 14. Alii dicunt Valentem animam non exhalasse confestim, sed cum candidatis et spadonibus paucis, prope ad agrestem casam relatum, secunda contignatione fabre munitam, dum foveatur manibus imperitis, circumsessum ab hostibus, qui esset ignorantibus, dedecore captivitatis

<sup>1</sup> *conquerentes*, Haupt; *non ferentes*, Lind., Momm.; *inconferentes*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Libanius *Orat.* xxiv. II, p. 515 (Foerster), agrees with this account, but adds that the emperor might have saved himself on horseback, but did not wish to survive the defeat of his army, and died fighting. The other authorities agree with the following account of Ammianus.

were buried beneath the mere weight of their assailants; some were slain by the sword of a comrade; for though they often rallied, there was no ground given, nor did anyone spare those who retreated. 11. Besides all this, the roads were blocked by many who lay mortally wounded, lamenting the torment of their wounds; and with them also mounds of fallen horses filled the plains with corpses. To these ever irreparable losses, so costly to the Roman state, a night without the bright light of the moon put an end.

12. At the first coming of darkness the emperor, amid the common soldiers as was supposed (for no one asserted that he had seen him or been with him), fell mortally wounded by an arrow, and presently breathed his last breath; and he was never afterwards found anywhere.<sup>1</sup> For since a few of the foe were active for long in the neighbourhood for the purpose of robbing the dead, no one of the fugitives or of the natives ventured to approach the spot. 13. The Caesar Decius, we are told, met a similar fate;<sup>2</sup> for when he was fiercely fighting with the barbarians and his horse, whose excitement he could not restrain, stumbled and threw him, he fell into a marsh, from which he could not get out, nor could his body be found. 14. Others say that Valens did not give up the ghost at once, but with his bodyguard<sup>3</sup> and a few eunuchs was taken to a peasant's cottage near by, well fortified in its second storey; and while he was being treated by unskilful hands, he was surrounded by the enemy, who did not know who he was, but was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zosimus, iv. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See Index II, Vol. I.

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

exemptum. 15. Cum enim oppressulatas ianuas per-rumpere conati qui secuti sunt, a parte pensili domus sagittis incesserentur, ne per moras inexpedibiles populandi amitterent copiam, congestis stipulae fascibus et lignorum, flammaque supposita, aedificium cum hominibus torruerunt. 16. Unde quidam de candidatis, per fenestram lapsus captusque a barbaris, prodidit factum et eos maerore afflixit, magna gloria defraudatos, quod Romanae rei rectorem non cepere superstitem. Is ipse iuvenis, occulte postea reversus ad nostros, haec ita accidisse narravit. 17. Pari clade recuperatis Hispaniis, Scipionum alterum cremata turri in quam confugerat, absumptum incendio hostili comperimus. Illud tamen certum est, nec Scipioni nec Valenti sepul-turam (qui supremis honoris est) contigisse.

18. In hac multiplici virorum illustrium clade, Traiani mors eminuit et Sebastiani, cum quibus triginta quinque oppetivere tribuni, vacantes et numerorum rectores, et Valerianus atque Aequitius, quorum alter stabulum, alter curabat palatium. Inter hos etiam promotorum tribunus, Potentius, cecidit in primaeva flore aetatis,<sup>1</sup> bono cuique spec-tatus, meritis Ursicini patris, magistri quondam armorum suisque commendabilis. Constatque vix

<sup>1</sup> *flore aetatis*, ? Baehrens ; *aetatis flore*, V.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, 212 B.C. Livy, xxv. 36, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Livy, xxv. 36, 13 ; Appian, *Bell. Hisp.* 3, 16 (*Rom. Hist.* vi. 3, 16).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Iliad*, 456 ; *Virg., Aen.* xi. 22 ; *Val. Max.* iv. 4, 2.

saved from the shame of captivity. 15. For while the pursuers were trying to break open the bolted doors, they were assailed with arrows from a balcony of the house; and fearing through the inevitable delay to lose the opportunity for pillage, they piled bundles of straw and firewood about the house, set fire to them, and burned it men and all. 16. From it one of the bodyguard leaped through a window, but was taken by the enemy; when he told them what had happened, he filled them with sorrow at being cheated of great glory, in not having taken the ruler of the Roman empire alive. This same young man, having later escaped and returned secretly to our army, gave this account of what had occurred. 17. When Spain had been recovered, with a similar disaster the second of the Scipios,<sup>1</sup> we are told, was burned with a tower in which he had taken refuge and which the enemy had set on fire.<sup>2</sup> This much, at any rate, is certain, that neither Scipio nor Valens had the fortune of burial<sup>3</sup> which is death's final honour.

18. Amid this manifold loss of distinguished men, the deaths of Trajanus and Sebastianus stood out. With them fell thirty-five tribunes, without special assignments, and leaders of bodies of troops,<sup>4</sup> as well as Valerianus and Aequitius, the one having charge of the stables, the other, of the Palace. Among these also Potentius lost his life in the first flower of his youth; he was tribune of the *promoti*,<sup>5</sup> respected by all good men and honoured both for his own services and those of his father Ursicinus, formerly a commander-in-chief. Certain

<sup>4</sup> On *numeri*, see xiv. 7, 19; on *vacantes*, Introd., Vol. I, p. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> See xv. 4, 10, note 3, and Index II, Vol. I.

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

tertiam evasisse exercitus partem. 19. Nec ulla<sup>1</sup> annalibus praeter Cannensem pugnam ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta, quamquam Romani aliquotiens reflante Fortuna fallaciis lusi, bellorum iniquitati cesserunt ad tempus, et certamina multa fabulosae naeniae flevire Graecorum.

### 14. *Valentis A. virtutes et vitia.*

1. Perit<sup>2</sup> autem hoc exitu Valens, quinquagesimo anno contiguus, cum per annos quattuor imperasset et decem, parvo minus. 2. Cuius bona multis cognita dicemus et vitia. Amicus fidelis et firmus, ultor acer ambitionum, severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector, pervigil semper et anxius, ne quis<sup>3</sup> propinquitatem praetendens, altius semet efferret,<sup>4</sup> erga deferendas potestates vel adimendas nimium tardus, provinciarum aequissimus tutor, quarum singulas ut domum propriam custodibat indemnes, tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari, nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta in adaerandis<sup>5</sup> reliquorum debitis<sup>6</sup> non molestus, furibus et in peculatu deprehensis iudicibus inimicus

<sup>1</sup> nec ulla, add. A in lac. indic. by Clark; no lac., V.

<sup>2</sup> Graecorum. Perit, Val.; graecorum commendabilis constatque (from § 18, line 9) perit, V.

<sup>3</sup> quis, added by C. F. W. M.; quis for eius, Gardt.; eius pretendens, V.

<sup>4</sup> efferret, Val.; quisquam efferret, Novák; ferret, V.

<sup>5</sup> adaerandis, Lind.; appellandis, Her. (cf. Val. Max. iv. 8, 3); aderandis, V.

<sup>6</sup> reliquorum debitis, Momm.; debitorum reliquis, Val.; reliquorum debitum, V.

it is that barely a third part of our army escaped. 19. The annals record no such massacre of a battle except the one at Cannae, although the Romans more than once, deceived by trickery due to an adverse breeze of Fortune, yielded for a time to ill-success in their wars, and although the storied dirges of the Greeks have mourned over many a contest.

#### 14. *The merits and defects of Valens Augustus.*

1. Thus then died Valens, at the age of almost fifty and after a reign of a little less than fourteen years.<sup>1</sup>

2. Of his merits, as known to many, we shall now speak, and of his defects. He was a firm and faithful friend, severe in punishing ambitious designs, strict in maintaining discipline in the army and in civil life, always watchful and anxious lest anyone should elevate himself on the ground of kinship with him; he was excessively slow towards conferring or taking away official positions,<sup>2</sup> very just in his rule of the provinces, each of which he protected from injury as he would his own house, lightening the burden of tributes with a kind of special care, allowing no increase in taxes, not extortionate in estimating the indebtedness from arrears,<sup>3</sup> a harsh and bitter enemy of thievish officials and of those

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, he reigned four months more than fourteen years, having been made Augustus by his brother in March of the year 364. He lost his life Aug. 8, 378. Pseud.-Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 46, gives 13 years and 5 months; Socrates and Sozomenus give 16 years.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xviii. 6, 22; xxiii. 5, 15; xxvii. 6, 4.

<sup>3</sup> To the crown in payment for supplies; cf. xvi. 5, 15, *tributariae rei reliqua*; Spart. *Hadr.* 6, 5; 21, 7 and 12.



## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

asper et vehemens. Nec sub alio principe in huius modi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit Oriens. 3. Super his omnibus liberalis erat cum moderatione, cuius rei licet abundant exempla, unum tamen sufficiet poni. Ut sunt in palatiis non nulli alienarum avidi rerum,<sup>1</sup> siqui caducum vel aliud petisset ex usu, cum magna iustorum iniustorumque<sup>2</sup> distinctione, contradicturis<sup>3</sup> copia servata, donabat ei qui petierat, tres vel quattuor alios absentes aliquotiens impetratorum participes iungens, ut castigatius agerent inquieti, lucra quibus inhiabant, hoc minui commento cernentes. 4. Super aedificiis autem, quae per diversas urbes et oppida vel instauravit, vel a primis instruxit auspiciis, (ne sim longior) taceo, rebus ipsis id apertius monstrare concedens. Haec bonis omnibus aemulanda sunt, ut existimo: nunc eius vitia percurramus.

5. Magnarum opum intemperans appetitor, laborum impatiens, duritiamque magis affectans immanem, in crudelitatem proclivior, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus: alienis gemitibus libenter emolumenta fructusque conquirens, tuncque magis intolerabilis, cum incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel laesam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem saeviebat,

<sup>1</sup> *avidum rerum*, transposuit Baehrens. <sup>2</sup> *iustorum iniustorumque*, Val.; *iustorumque*, V. <sup>3</sup> *contradicturis*, Her.; *contradictori*, Val.; *contradictoris*, V.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., one which had fallen to the emperor for lack of heirs.

<sup>2</sup> That is, the former owners or other interested parties.

detected in peculation. Under no other emperor does the Orient recall meeting better treatment in matters of this kind. 3. Besides all this, he combined liberality with moderation, and although there are many instances of such conduct, yet it will suffice to set forth one. Since there are always at court some men who are greedy for others' possessions, if anyone, as often happens, claimed a lapsed estate<sup>1</sup> or anything else of the kind, he distinguished clearly between justice and injustice, allowing those who intended to protest<sup>2</sup> a chance to state their case; and if he gave it to the petitioner, he often added as sharers in the gifts gained three or four absentees, to the end that restless people might act with more restraint, when they saw that by this device the gain for which they were so greedy was diminished. 4. As to the public buildings which he restored or built from their very beginning in various cities and towns, in order not to be prolix I say nothing, but leaving this matter to the objects themselves to demonstrate it more obviously than I can. Such conduct is worthy, I think, of emulation by all good men; let me now run through his defects.

5. He was immoderately desirous of great wealth, and impatient of toil, rather affecting awesome austerity than possessing it, and somewhat inclined to cruelty; he had rather an uncultivated mind, and was trained neither in the art of war nor in liberal studies; he was ready to gain advantage and profit at the expense of others' suffering, and more intolerable when he attributed offences that were committed to contempt of, or injury to, the imperial dignity; then he vented his rage in blood-

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

et dispendia locupletum. 6. Illud quoque ferri non poterat, quod cum legibus lites omnes quaestionesque<sup>1</sup> committere videri se<sup>2</sup> vellet, destinatisque velut lectis iudicibus negotia spectanda mandabat, nihil agi contra libidinem suam patiebatur: iniuriosus alia et iracundus, et criminantibus, sine differentia veri vel falsi, facillime patens, quae vitiorum labes etiam in his privatis cotidianisque rationibus impendio est formidanda.

7. Cessator et piger: nigri coloris, pupula oculi unius obstructa, sed ita ut non eminus appareret, figura bene compacta membrorum, staturae nec procerae nec humilis, incurvis cruribus exstanteque mediocriter ventre.

8. Haec super Valente dixisse sufficiet, quae vera esse aequalis nobis memoria plene testatur. Illud autem praeteriri non convenit, quod cum oraculo tripodis, quem movisse Patricium docuimus et Hilarium, tres versus illos fatidicos comperisset, quorum ultimus est

*ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ἀγαιομένοιο Ἄρης,*

ut erat inconsummatus et rudis, inter initia contemnebat, processu vero luctuum maximorum, abiecte etiam timidus, eiusdem sortis recordatione Asiae nomen horrebat: ubi Erythraeo<sup>3</sup> oppido superpositum montem Mimanta, et Homerum

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<sup>1</sup> *quaestionesque*, Val.; *quaestiones*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *videri*, se Val.; *ueteris euellit*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *Erythraeo*, Lind.; *Erichtheo*, A; *erutheo oppidum* (*opido*, EA), V.

<sup>1</sup> Very likely by cataract.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxix. 1, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. xxix. 1, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. 'unfinished,' see xxi. 10, 8.

shed, and on the ruin of the rich. 6. It was unendurable also, that although he wished to appear to refer all controversies and judicial investigations to the laws, and entrusted the examination of such affairs to the regular judges as being specially selected men, nevertheless he suffered nothing to be done contrary to his own caprice. He was in other ways unjust, hot tempered, and ready to listen to informers without distinguishing truth from falsity—a shameful fault, which is very greatly to be dreaded even in these our private affairs of every-day occurrence.

7. He was a procrastinator and irresolute. His complexion was dark, the pupil of one of his eyes was dimmed,<sup>1</sup> but in such a way as not to be noticed at a distance; his body was well-knit, his height neither above nor below the average; he was knock-kneed, and somewhat pot-bellied.

8. This will be enough to say about Valens, and it is fully confirmed by the testimony of records contemporary with me. But it is proper not to omit the following story. At the time of the oracle of the tripod, for which, as I have said,<sup>2</sup> Patricius and Hilarius were responsible, he had heard of those three prophetic verses, of which the last is :

When in Mimas' plains the war-god Ares rages.<sup>3</sup>

Being uneducated<sup>4</sup> and rude, he disregarded them at first, but as his very great troubles increased he became abjectly timid, and in recalling that prediction used to shudder at the mention of Asia, where, as he heard from the mouths of learned men, Homer and Cicero have written of a mountain called

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

scripsisse, et Tullium, doctis referentibus audiebat.

9. Denique post interitum eius, discessumque hostilem, prope locum in quo cecidisse existimatus est, inventus dicitur saxeus monumenti suggestus, cui lapis affixus incisis litteris Graecis, sepultum ibi nobilem quandam Mimanta veterem indicabat.

15. *Gothi victores Hadrianopolim oppugnant, ubi thesauros suos Valens et imperatoria insignia cum praefecto et consistorianis reliquerat; et omnia frustra experti discedunt.*

1 Post exitialem pugnam cum iam tenebris nox terras implesset, hi qui superfuere, dextra pars alii laeva, vel quo metus traxerat ferebantur, quisque proximos quaerens: cum praeter se nihil singuli cernere poterant, occipitiis propriis ferrum arbitantes haerere. Audiebantur tamen (licet longius) heiulatus miserabiles relictorum, singultusque morientium, et vulneratorum cruciabiles fletus.

2. Luce vero coeptante, victores, ut bestiae sanguinis irritamento atrocius efferatae, spei inanis illecebris agitati, Hadrianopolim agminibus petivere densetis, eam vel cum discriminibus excisuri postremis: docti per proditores et transfugas,

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<sup>1</sup> A city of Ionia. For Mimas, see Homer (*Odyss.* iii. 172) and Cicero (*Ad Att.* xvi. 13a, 2); opposite the island Chios, and part of Mount Tmolus.

<sup>2</sup> Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* p. 314 B) and Zonaras (xiii. 16, p. iii, 32 A) speak of this, and say that the inscription

Mimas, rising above the city of Erythrae.<sup>1</sup> 9. Finally, after his death and the departure of the enemy, it is said that near the place where he was thought to have fallen a monument made of a heap of stones was found, to which was fastened a tablet engraved with Greek characters, showing that a distinguished man of old called Mimas was buried there.<sup>2</sup>

15. *The victorious Goths lay siege to Hadrianopolis, where Valens had left his treasures and the imperial insignia in charge of the prefect and the members of the council ; but after vainly trying every means of taking the city they withdrew unsuccessful.*

1. After the murderous battle, when night had 378 already spread darkness over the earth, the survivors departed, some to the right, others to the left, or wherever their fear took them, each seeking his nearest associates, for none could see anything save himself, and everyone imagined that the enemy's sword hung over his own head. Yet there were still heard, though from far off, the pitiful cries of those who were left behind, the death-rattle of the dying, and the tortured wails of the wounded.

2. But at daybreak the victors, like wild beasts roused to cruel ferocity by the provocative tang of blood, driven by the lure of a vain hope, made for Hadrianopolis in dense throngs, intending to destroy the city even at the cost of the utmost dangers ; for they had heard through traitors and deserters that the read : " Here lies Mimas, a Macedonian general." They connect Valens' fears, not with the tripod, but with a dream of the emperor's.

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

potestatum culmina maximarum, et fortunae principalis insignia, thesaurosque Valentis, illic ut in munimento<sup>1</sup> arduo<sup>2</sup> conditos. 3. Et ne intervallatis ardor intepesceret moris, hora diei quarta ambitu cincto murorum, infestissime certabatur oppugnatoribus genuina ferocia ad praeceps exitium festinantibus, contraque defensorum vigore validis viribus incitato. 4. Et quia militum calonumque numerus magnus, civitatem cum iumentis introire prohibitus, affixus parietibus moenium, aedibusque continuis, pro loci humilitate fortiter decernebat, superaratque rabies imminentium ad usque horam diei nonam, subito pedites nostri trecenti, ex his qui prope ipsas stetero loricas, conferti in cuneum, desciverunt ad barbaros, eosque illi avido raptos, confestim (incertum quo consilio) trucidarunt; et ex eo deinceps observatum est, neminem huius modi aliquid vel in desperatione rerum ultima cogitasse. 5. Fervente itaque tot malorum congerie, repente cum fragore caelesti, imbres nubibus atris effusi, dispersere circumfremantium globos, reversique ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustorum, immanes spiritus latius porrigentes, iubebant nostris per minaces litteras et legatum dedere civitatem,<sup>3</sup> fide retinendae salutis accepta.

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<sup>1</sup> *munimento*, Lind.; *monumento* (from *munimento*), V.  
<sup>2</sup> *arduo*, EA, put after *munimento* by Her. c.c.; *ardor*, V.  
<sup>3</sup> *dedere civitatem*, Her.; *ut se dederent statim*, Val.; *legatum . . . . etatem*, V.

<sup>1</sup> Of Hadrianopolis.

<sup>2</sup> For *lorica* in this sense, cf. xxxi. 3, 7; xxiv. 5, 2.

<sup>3</sup> See xxxi. 7, 5, 7.

most distinguished officials, the insignia of imperial fortune, and the treasures of Valens were hidden there, as within an impregnable fortress. 3. And in order that no delays meanwhile might cool their ardour, at the fourth hour of the day they had encircled the walls<sup>1</sup> and were engaged in a most bitter struggle; for the besiegers with their natural ferocity rushed upon swift death, while on the other hand the defenders were encouraged to vigorous resistance with might and main. 4. And because a great number of soldiers and batmen had been prevented from entering the city with their beasts, they took their place close to the shelter of the walls and in the adjoining buildings, and made a brave fight considering their low position; and the mad rage of their assailants had lasted until the ninth hour of the day, when on a sudden three hundred of our infantry, of those who stood near the very breastworks,<sup>2</sup> formed a wedge and went over to the barbarians. They were eagerly seized by the Goths, and (it is not known why) were immediately butchered; and from that time on it was noticed that not a man thought of any similar action, even when the outlook was most desperate. 5. Now, while this accumulation of misfortunes was raging, suddenly with peals of thunder rain poured from the black clouds and scattered the hordes roaring around the city; but they returned to the circular rampart formed by their wagons,<sup>3</sup> and carried their measureless arrogance so far as to send an envoy with a threatening letter, ordering our men to surrender the city on receiving a pledge



## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

6. Verum introire non auso, qui missus est, per Christianum quendam portatis scriptis et recitatis, utque decebat<sup>1</sup> contemptis,<sup>2</sup> parandis operibus diei residuum<sup>3</sup> et nox omnis absumpta. Nam intrinsecus silicibus magnis obstrusae sunt portae, et moenium intuta firmata, et ad emittenda undique tela vel saxa, tormenta per locos aptata sunt habiles, aggestaque prope sufficiens aqua. Pridie enim dimicantium quidam siti ad usque ipsa vitae detrimenta vexati sunt.

7. Contra Gothi reputantes difficiles Martis eventus, anxiique cum sterni et sauciari cernerent fortiores, et particulatim vires suas convelli, astutum iniere consilium, quod ipsa indicante Iustitia publicatum est. 8. Partis enim nostrae candidatos aliquos qui die praeterito ad eos defecerant, pellexere, ut simulata fuga velut ad propria remeantes, intra muros suscipi se curarent, ingressique latenter quandam incenderent partem : ut tamquam signo erecto occultius, dum circa exstinguendum incendium distringitur multitudo clausorum, civitas perrumperetur impropugnata. 9. Perrexere (ut statutum est) candidati : cumque prope fossas venissent, manus tendentes, orantesque ut Romanos semet admitti poscebant. Et recepti quia nulla erat suspicio quae vetaret, interrogatique super consiliis

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<sup>1</sup> *decebat*, Lind.; *dicebat*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *contemptis*, Harmon, Momm.; *contemplatis*, A; *contemptatis*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *residuum*, add. Her. (cf. xxi. 12, 11); *reliquum diei*, vulgo; *diei et*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *circa*, cf. *occupatam circa messem agrestem*, xxix. 6, 6.

that their lives would be spared. 6. The messenger did not dare to enter the city, and the letter was delivered by a certain Christian and read: but it was scorned, as was fitting, and the rest of the day and the whole night were spent in preparing defensive works. For the gates were blocked from within with huge rocks, the unsafe parts of the walls were strengthened, artillery was placed in suitable places for hurling missiles or rocks in all directions, and a supply of water that was sufficient was stored nearby; for on the day before some of those who fought were tormented with thirst almost to the point of death.

7. The Goths on the other hand, bearing in mind the dangerous chances of war, and worried from seeing their bravest men stretched dead or wounded, while their strength was being worn away bit by bit, formed a clever plan, which Justice herself revealed. 8. For they enticed some of our subalterns, who had deserted to them the day before, to simulate flight, as if returning to their own side, and to manage to be admitted within the walls, and when let in, secretly to set fire to some part of the city; in order that as if a kind of secret signal had been raised, while the attention of the throng of the besieged was distracted with<sup>1</sup> extinguishing the flames, the city, left undefended, might be broken into. 9. The subalterns went on their way as had been arranged, and when they had come near the moat, with outstretched hands and prayers they begged to be admitted, as being Romans. And they were let in, as there was no suspicion to prevent it; but on being questioned

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

hostium, variarunt : unde factum est ut cruenta quaestione vexati, cervicibus perirent abscisis, quid acturi venerant, aperte confessi.

10. Omni itaque bellandi apparatu praestructo, adventante vigilia tertia, barbari abolito praetitorum vulnerum metu, in urbis obseratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt, et obstinatione magna caventium malo.<sup>1</sup> At cum armatis provinciales et palatini ad obruendos eos excitatus exsurgebant, et cuiusce modi tela in multitudine tanta, vel temere missa, cadere sine noxa non poterant. 11. Animadversum est a nostris eisdem telis barbaros uti, quibus appetebantur.<sup>2</sup> Ideoque mandatum est, ut nervis ferrum lignumque contentibus, ante iactum incisis, emitterentur arcu sagittae, quae volitantes vires integras reservabant.<sup>3</sup> Infixae vero corporibus, nihil vigoris perdebant, aut certe (si cecidissent in vanum), ilico frangebantur. 12. Dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum casus admodum inopinus. Scorpio genus tormenti, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hostium aciem densam locatus, lapidem contorsit ingentem, qui licet humo frustra illisus est, visus tamen ita eos metu exanimavit, ut stupore spectaculi novi, cedentes

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<sup>1</sup> *obstinatione magna caventium malo*, Her.; *obstinationem repugnantium . . . ere*, Clark; *obstinationem magnantium maloeare*, V.    <sup>2</sup> *appetebantur*, Her. c.c.; *petebantur*, EA; *patebantur*, V.    <sup>3</sup> *reservabant*, Momm.; *servabant*, Haupt, C. F. W. M.; *cons.*, Pet.; *inseruabant*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> Text and meaning are somewhat uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxiii. 4, 4 and 7.

as to the plans of the enemy they varied in their answers. The result was that after being tortured in a bloody investigation they openly confessed with what purpose they had come, and were beheaded.

10. So, when all the preparations for battle had been made, the barbarians just before the beginning of the third watch, since the fear caused by their former wounds had died out, poured in more numerous masses upon the barred gates of the city, with the great persistency of those who are guarding against disaster.<sup>1</sup> But with the soldiers the provincials and the court attendants rose up with all the greater vigour to overwhelm them, and such were the numbers of the foe that weapons of every kind, even though thrown at random, could not fall without effect. 11. Our men noticed that the barbarians were using the same missiles that had been hurled at them. And so it was ordered that the cords by which the barbs were fastened to the shaft should be partly severed before the arrows were shot from the bows; these during their flight kept their whole strength, and when they were fixed in the bodies of the enemy lost none of their effectiveness, or at any rate, if they found no mark, were at once broken. 12. But an entirely unexpected chance had great influence in the midst of this hot fight. A piece of artillery known as a "scorpion," but called a "wild ass" in the language of the people,<sup>2</sup> placed exactly opposite a great mass of the enemy, hurled a huge stone, and although it dashed to the ground without effect, yet the sight of it caused the enemy such great terror, that in their amazement at the strange spectacle they fled to a distance and tried to leave

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

e medio, abire temptarent. 13. Sed bucinis optimatum monitu occinentibus, instauratum est proelium, et pari modo res Romana superior stetit, nullo ferme alio<sup>1</sup> telo, vel funditoris amento, in cassum excusso. Agmina enim praeceuntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucrationibus<sup>2</sup> quaesita<sup>3</sup> cupiditas incendebat, secuti ceteri prae se ferebant, aequiperasse discrimina potiorum: namque semineces aliquot,<sup>4</sup> aut magnis obtriti ponderibus, vel confixi iaculis pectora, volvebantur, non nulli scalas vehendo, ascensumque in muros ex latere omni parantes, sub oneribus ipsis obruebantur, contrusis per pronum saxis et columnarum fragmentis et cylindris. 14. Nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda species ad serum usque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat, hoc incitante, quod etiam defensorum plurimos cadere diversis ictibus videntes eminus laetabantur. Ita sine requie ulla vel modo, pro moenibus et contra moenia ingentibus animis pugnabatur. 15. Et quia nullo ordine iam sed per procursus pugnabatur et globos, quod desperationis erat signum extremae, flexo in vesperam die, digressi omnes rediere ad tentoria tristes, inconsideratae dementiae alter alterum arguentes, quod non (ut suaserat antea

<sup>1</sup> alio, A.; alite, Gronov; murali, Pet.; deleted by Her.; ali, V. <sup>2</sup> lucrationibus, Her.; lucubrationibus, V.

<sup>3</sup> quaesita, Gruter; quaesiti, Val.; quaesti, V.

<sup>4</sup> aliquot, Her.; aliqui, W<sup>2</sup>A; aliquid, V.

the place. 13. But at the order of their chiefs the horns sounded and the battle was renewed, and in the same way the Romans held the upper hand, since almost no bullet from the thong of a slinger,<sup>1</sup> or any other missile when hurled, missed its mark. For the chiefs, inflamed by a desire to carry off the treasures which Valens had acquired by his ill-gotten gains took their place in the foremost ranks and were followed by the rest, who made a display of equalling the dangers of their superiors. For some were writhing mortally wounded, either crushed by great masses of stone, or with their breasts pierced with javelins; others who carried scaling-ladders and were preparing to mount the walls from every side were buried under their own burdens, as stones, fragments and whole drums of columns were thrown down upon them. 14. But until late in the day, not a man of the raging throng was turned by the awful sight of carnage from his desire to play a brave part, being excited by the numbers of the defenders who also fell, slain by all kinds of weapons, as they saw from afar with joy. So, without any rest or respite, the battle in defence of the walls and against the walls went on with great determination. 15. And since they no longer fought in any order, but rushed forward in detached groups (a sign of extreme discouragement) as the day was drawing towards evening all the enemy retired disconsolate to their tents, accusing one another of reckless folly because they had not, as Fritigern

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no other mention of the use of the *amentum* by slingers. It usually means a thong by means of which a javelin, or a spear, was given a whirling flight, or it may mean the missile itself (so perhaps here?). See *T.L.L.* s.v.

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

Fritigernus), obsidionales aerumnas ubique declinarunt.

16. *Gothi, Hunnorum Alanorumque copiis auro sibi adiunctis, frustra Constantinopolim tentant. Qua arte Iulius, magister militum trans Taurum, orientales provincias Gothis exoneraverit.*

1. Conversi post haec per omne tempus noctis (ut aestivae) non longum, ad vulnere curas, artesque medendi gentiles, reddita luce in varias consiliorum vias diducebantur, quorsum tenderent ambigentes, multisque dictatis et controversis, occupare statuunt Perinthum, exinde vicinas urbes divitiarum refertas, docentibus omnia perfugis, etiam domorum nedum urbium interna noscentes. Hanc secuti sententiam, quam utilem existimarunt, itineribus lentis, miscentes cuncta populationibus et incendiis, nullo renitente pergebant.

2. Obsessi vero apud Hadrianopolim, post eorum abitum tempestivum,<sup>1</sup> cum vacare hoste loca proxima compertae fidei nuntiassent exploratores, egressi media nocte, vitatis aggeribus publicis, per nemorosa et devia, pars Philippopolim, exindeque Serdicam,

<sup>1</sup> *tempestivum*, Schneider (cf. 8, 6); *perceptum*, Gardt.; *habitum perduto*, V.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. xxii. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> See xxi. 10, 3.

had earlier advised, wholly held aloof from the miseries of a siege.

16. *The Goths, after bribing the forces of the Huns and the Halani to join them, make a vain attempt on Constantinople. With what skill Julius, the commanding general beyond the Taurus, relieved the eastern provinces of the Goths.*

1. After this the Goths gave their attention during the whole night-time, which was not long in the summer season, to caring for their wounds, using their native methods of treatment. When day broke again, their minds were led this way and that as to their plans, since they were in doubt whither they should turn; and after a great deal of talk and disagreement they decided to take possession of Perinthus,<sup>1</sup> and afterwards of any neighbouring cities that were brimful of riches, of which they were given such full information by deserters that they knew even the interior of the houses, to say nothing of the cities. Following this decision, which they thought advantageous, they marched on slowly without opposition, devastating the whole district with pillage and fires.

2. After their timely departure, those who had been besieged in Hadrianopolis, having learned from scouts who had been found trustworthy that the neighbouring places were free from enemies, set out at midnight and avoiding the public highways and devising every effort for increasing their speed, hastened with the valuables which they were carrying still safe, through wooded and pathless places, some to Philippopolis and from there to Serdica,<sup>2</sup> others to



## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

alia ad Macedoniam, cum intemeratis opibus quas vehebant,<sup>1</sup> omni studio ad properandum excogitato, currebant, velut in regionibus illis repperiendo Valente: quem inter medios certaminum turbines optetisse, vel certe ad tugurium confugisse, ubi aestimatus est vi periisse flammaram, penitus ignorabant.

3. At Gothi Hunis Halanisque permixti, nimium bellicosis et fortibus, rerumque asperarum difficultatibus induratis, quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni, fixis iuxta Perinthum castris, ipsam quidem urbem, cladum<sup>2</sup> memores pristinarum, nec adire nec temptare sunt ausi, agros vero fertiles late distentos et longe, ad extremam vastavere penuriam, cultoribus caesis aut captis. 4. Unde Constantinopolim, copiarum cumulis inhiantes amplissimis, formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes, ire ocius festinabant, multa in exitium urbis inclitae molituri. Quos inferentes<sup>3</sup> sese immodice, obicesque portarum paene pulsantes, hoc casu caeleste reppulit numen. 5. Saracenorum cuneus (super quorum origine moribusque diversis in locis rettulimus plura), ad furta magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concursatorias habilis pugnas, recens illuc accersitus, congressurus barbarorum<sup>4</sup> globo repente conspecto, a civitate fidenter erupit, diuque extento certamine pertinaci, aequis partes discessere momentis. 6. Sed orientalis turma novo neque ante viso superavit eventum. Ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia

<sup>1</sup> *uehebant*, Pet.; *habebant*, EA; *hebant*, V.      <sup>2</sup> *cladum*, E, Pet.; *cladium*, W<sup>2</sup>A; *cladem*, V.      <sup>3</sup> *inferentes*, V; *inserentes*, sugg. by Clark, Novák.      <sup>4</sup> *barbarorum*, EA; *barbarum*, V, defended by Heilmann.

Macedonia, in the hope of finding Valens in those regions (for it was wholly unknown to them that he had fallen in the midst of the storms of battle, or at any rate had taken refuge in a hut, where it was thought that he had been burned to death).

3. But the Goths, joined with the Huns and the Halani, exceedingly warlike and brave peoples, hardened to the difficulties of severe toils, whom the craft of Fritigern had won over to them by the attractions of wonderful prizes, set up their camp near Perinthus; but mindful of their previous disasters they did not indeed venture to approach or attempt the city itself, but reduced to utter ruin the fertile fields which extend far and wide about it, killing or capturing those who dwelt there. 4. From there they hastened in rapid march to Constantinople, greedy for its vast heaps of treasure, marching in square formations for fear of ambushades, and intending to make many mighty efforts to destroy the famous city. But while they were madly rushing on and almost knocking at the barriers of the gates, the celestial power checked them by the following event. 5. A troop of Saracens (of whose origin and customs I have spoken at length in various places,<sup>1</sup>) who are more adapted to stealthy raiding expeditions than to pitched battles,<sup>2</sup> and had recently been summoned to the city, desiring to attack the horde of barbarians of which they had suddenly caught sight, rushed forth boldly from the city to attack them. The contest was long and obstinate, and both sides separated on equal terms. 6. But the oriental troop had the advantage from a strange event, never witnessed before. For one of their number, a man

<sup>1</sup> Especially xiv. 4, 1 ff.; xxv. 6, 8-10.    <sup>2</sup> xxiii. 3, 8.

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

praeter pubem, subraucum et lugubre strepens, educto pugione, agmini se medio Gothorum inseruit, et interfecti hostis iugulo labra admovit, effusumque cruorem exsuxit. Quo monstroso miraculo barbari territi, postea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum appeterent aliquid, sed ambiguis gressibus incedebant. 7. Processu dein audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum insularumque spatiis immensis oblongum, et inaccessas pulchritudines urbis, et incolentium plebem considerarent immensam, iuxtaque fretum, quod Pontum disternat et Aegaeum, disiectis bellorum officinis, quas parabant, post accepta maiora funera quam illata, exinde digressi sunt effusorie per arctoas provincias, quas peragrare licenter ad usque radices Alpium Iuliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas.

8. His diebus efficacia Iulii, magistri militiae trans Taurum, enituit salutaris et velox. Comperta enim fatorum sorte per Thracias, Gothos antea susceptos, dispersosque per varias civitates et castra, datis tectioribus litteris ad eorum rectores, Romanos omnes (quod his temporibus raro contingit), universos tamquam vexillo erecto, uno eodemque die mandavit occidi, exspectatione promissi stipendii securos, ad suburbana productos. Quo consilio

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<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the death of Valens, and before the accession of Theodosius; cf. Zos. iv. 26.

with long hair and naked except for a loin-cloth, uttering hoarse and dismal cries, with drawn dagger rushed into the thick of the Gothic army, and after killing a man applied his lips to his throat and sucked the blood that poured out. The barbarians, terrified by this strange and monstrous sight, after that did not show their usual self-confidence when they attempted any action, but advanced with hesitating steps. 7. Then, as they went on, their courage was further broken when they beheld the oblong circuit of the walls, the blocks of houses covering a vast space, the beauties of the city beyond their reach, the vast population inhabiting it, and the strait near by that separates the Pontus from the Aegean; so the Goths destroyed the manufactories of warlike materials which they were preparing, and after suffering greater losses than they had inflicted they then departed and spread everywhere over the northern provinces, which they traversed at will as far as the foot of the Julian, or, as they were formerly called, the Venetic Alps.

8. At that time <sup>1</sup> the salutary and swift efficiency of Julius, commander-in-chief of the troops beyond the Taurus, was conspicuous. For on learning of the ill-fated events in Thrace, by secret letters to their leaders, who were all Romans (a rare case in these times) he gave orders that the Goths who had been admitted before and were scattered through the various cities and camps, should be enticed to come without suspicion into the suburbs in the hope of receiving the pay that had been promised them, and there, as if on the raising of a banner, should all be slain on one and the same day. This

## GRATIANUS VALENTINIANUS II

prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo, orientales provinciae discriminibus ereptae sunt magnis.

9. Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum, pro virium explicavi mensura : opus veritatem professum numquam (ut arbitror) sciens silentio ausus corrumpere, vel mendacio. Scribant reliqua potiores, aetate et<sup>1</sup> doctrinis florentes. Quos id (si libuerit) aggressuros, procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos.

<sup>1</sup> *et*, added by Clark ; *doctrinisque*, Val. ; *doctrinis*, V.

prudent plan was carried out without confusion or delay, and thus the eastern provinces were saved from great dangers.

9. These events, from the principate of the emperor Nerva to the death of Valens, I, a former soldier and a Greek, have set forth to the measure of my ability, without ever (I believe) consciously venturing to debase through silence or through falsehood a work whose aim was the truth. The rest may be written by abler men, who are in the prime of life and learning. But if they chose to undertake such a task, I advise them to forge<sup>1</sup> their tongues to the loftier style.

<sup>1</sup> For *procudere*, cf. xv. 2, 8 (*ingenium*); xxx. 4, 13 (*ora*); Horace, *Odes*, iv. 15, 19.

## THE EXCERPTS OF VALESIUS

### INTRODUCTION

THE *Excerpta Valesiana* are so-called because they were first published in Paris by Henricus Valesius<sup>1</sup> in 1636 from one manuscript, which is now in the Royal Library of Berlin (cod. Berolinensis, formerly cod. Philipp. 1885, Meermanianus). It belongs to the ninth century, and is cited by Gardthausen as M, by Mommsen as B. The *Excerpts* were reprinted by Hadrian Valesius in his edition of Ammianus of 1681, and they have been published in several subsequent editions of the historian (in Wagner-Erfurdt with a commentary) and in the *Chronica Minora I* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctorum Antiquissimorum*, IX) of Mommsen, pp. 7-11 (*Pars Prior*) and 306 ff. (*Pars Posterior*). They are translated by C. Büchele (see Vol. I, p. xlix). I know of no commentary in English, and no English translation.

The first part, composed about A.D. 390, is a biography of Constantine the Great from 305 to 337, under the title *Origo Constantini Imperatoris*. It is based upon good sources, and the anonymous author is regarded by Mommsen as "Ammiano neque aetate neque auctoritate inferior." Although it corresponds to some extent with the account of Orosius, it is clear that it was not compiled from his History, although that work is often useful in determining the text.

<sup>1</sup>Henri de Valois.

## THE EXCERPTS OF VALESIIUS

The second part, written about 550 in barbarous Latin by another unknown author, under the title *Item ex libris Chronicorum inter cetera*, covers the period from 474 to 526, and deals mainly with the history of Theodoric. The writer was an opponent of Arianism, and he seems to have based his compilation on the *Chronicle* of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna in 546, who died in 556. For this part we have, besides B, cod. Vaticanus Palatinus, Lat. n. 927 (P) of the twelfth century, in which the title appears as *De adventu Oduachar regis Cyrorum<sup>1</sup> et Erulorum in Italia, et quomodo Rex Theodericus eum fuerit persecutus*. The *Excerpts* as a whole furnish an introduction and a sequel to the narrative of Ammianus.

### *Sigla.*

B = Codex Berolinensis, 1885, of the ninth century.

B<sup>1</sup> = Corrections by the original scribe.

B<sup>2</sup> = Corrections by a second hand.

B<sup>3</sup> = Corrections about which it is doubtful whether they were made by the scribe or by a later hand.<sup>2</sup>

P = Cod. Vat. Pal. Lat. n. 927, of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

P<sup>1</sup>, P<sup>2</sup> = Corrections of P.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently for Scyrorum (Scirorum), Exc. § 37.

<sup>2</sup> For subdivisions of B<sup>1</sup>, B<sup>2</sup>, and B<sup>3</sup> see Mommsen, *l.c.*, p. 2, and for a description of B and P, *ibid.*, pp. 3 and 259 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For *Pars Posterior* only. It has not seemed necessary or desirable to record all the variants, orthographic and otherwise, in these codices, but only the important deviations from our text and the more acceptable conjectures.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

### ORIGO CONSTANTINI IMPERATORIS

1. 1. Diocletianus cum Herculio Maximiano imperavit annos XX.

2. Constantius, divi Claudii optimi principis nepos ex fratre, protector primum, inde tribunus,<sup>1</sup> postea praeses Dalmatiarum fuit. Iste cum Galerio a Diocletiano Caesar factus est. Relicta enim Helena priore uxore, filiam Maximiani Theodoram duxit uxorem, ex qua postea sex liberos Constantini fratres habuit. Sed de priore uxore Helena filium iam Constantinum habuit, qui postea princeps potentissimus fuit.

2. 2. Hic igitur Constantinus, natus Helena matre vilissima in oppido Naisso atque eductus, quod oppidum postea magnifice ornavit, litteris minus

<sup>1</sup> *inde tribunus*]\*; *in tribus*, B; *exin tribunus*, Henr. Val.; *tum tribunus*, Zangemeister.

\* References like this are to Mommsen's text, usually without naming the source of the reading. When the source is given, or can be found, it is added. References like note 2, p. 512, are to Mommsen's conjectures ("*scripsi*"). Sometimes he expresses a preference for a reading ("*scribendum*"), as in note 1, p. 512, but does not put it in his text.

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<sup>1</sup> This name was conferred on Maximianus by Diocletian.

<sup>2</sup> Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine, emperor 305-306.

## THE ANONYMUS VALESIANUS, FIRST PART

### THE LINEAGE OF THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

1. 1. Diocletian ruled with Herculus<sup>1</sup> Maximianus for twenty years.

2. Constantius,<sup>2</sup> grandson of the brother of that best of emperors Claudius,<sup>3</sup> was first one of the emperor's bodyguard, then a tribune, and later, governor of Dalmatia.<sup>4</sup> With Galerius he was appointed Caesar by Diocletian<sup>5</sup>; for he put away his former wife Helena and married Theodora, daughter of Maximianus, by whom he afterwards had six children,<sup>6</sup> brothers of Constantine. But by his former wife Helena he already had a son Constantine, who was later the mightiest of emperors.

2. 2. This Constantine, then, born of Helena, a mother of very common origin, and brought up in the town of Naissus,<sup>7</sup> which he afterwards splendidly adorned, had but slight training in letters.<sup>8</sup> He was

<sup>3</sup> Claudius II.; his mother was Claudia, daughter of Crispus, brother of Claudius II; cf. Eutr. ix. 22; Hieron. a. Abr. 2307.

<sup>4</sup> Under the emperor Carus, who wished to make him Caesar in place of his own brother Carinus.

<sup>5</sup> In 292.

<sup>6</sup> Three sons: Dalmatius, Julius Constantius, and Hannibalianus; and three daughters: Constantia, Anastasia, and Eutropia.

<sup>7</sup> In Moesia, on the river Margus; cf. xxi. 10, 5; modern Niš, in Yugoslavia.

<sup>8</sup> *minus = minus iusto*, Tillemont iv, p. 132 (Wagner).

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

instructus, obses apud Diocletianum et Galerium, sub eisdem <sup>1</sup> fortiter in Asia militavit; quem post depositum imperium Diocletiani et Herculi, Constantius a Galerio repetit; sed hunc Galerius obiecit ante pluribus periculis. 3. Nam et in Sarmatas iuvenis equestris militans ferocem barbarum, capillis tentis raptum, ante pedes <sup>2</sup> Galerii imperatoris adduxerat. Deinde Galerio mittente per paludem, equo ingressus suo, viam ceteris fecit ad Sarmatas, ex quibus plurimis stratis Galerio victoriam reportavit. 4. Tunc eum Galerius patri remisit. Qui ut Severum per Italiam transiens vitaret, summa festinatione veredis post se truncatis Alpes transgressus, ad patrem Constantium venit apud Bononiam, quam Galli prius Gesoriacum vocabant. Post victoriam autem Pictorum Constantius pater Eboraci mortuus est, et Constantinus omnium militum consensu Caesar creatus.

3. 5. Interea Caesares duo facti, Severus et Maximinus; Maximino datum est Orientis imperium: Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thracias, et Bithyniam tenuit. Severus <sup>3</sup> suscepit Italiam et quicquid

<sup>1</sup> *sub iisdem*] Henr. Val.; *sed his enim*, B.      <sup>2</sup> *pedes*] Rühl; *pedes sub*, B; *pedes supplicem*, Henr. Val. <sup>3</sup> *Seuerus*]; *reuersus*, B.

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<sup>1</sup> To secure his father's loyalty.

<sup>2</sup> Maximianus (Herculius), in 305.

<sup>3</sup> Constantius Chlorus.

held as a hostage by Diocletian and Galerius,<sup>1</sup> and did valiant service under those emperors in Asia. After the abdication of Diocletian and Herculus,<sup>2</sup> Constantius<sup>3</sup> asked Galerius to return his son; but Galerius first exposed him to many dangers. 3. For when Constantine, then a young man, was serving in the cavalry against the Sarmatians, he seized by the hair and carried off a fierce savage, and threw him at the feet of the emperor Galerius. Then sent by Galerius through a swamp, he entered it on his horse and made a way for the rest to the Sarmatians, of whom he slew many and won the victory for Galerius. 4. Then at last Galerius sent him back to his father. But in order to avoid meeting Severus<sup>4</sup> as he passed through Italy, Constantine crossed the Alps with the greatest haste, ordering the post-horses to be killed<sup>5</sup> as he went on; and he came up with his father Constantius at Bononia,<sup>6</sup> which the Gauls formerly called Gesoriacum. But his father Constantius, after winning a victory over the Picts, died at York, and Constantine was unanimously hailed as Caesar by all the troops.

3. 5. In the meantime, two other Caesars had been appointed,<sup>7</sup> Severus and Maximinus; to Maximinus was given the rule of the Orient; Galerius retained Illyricum for himself, as well as the Thracian provinces and Bithynia; Severus received Italy and whatever Herculus had formerly

<sup>1</sup> He had been appointed Caesar by Galerius; see 3, 5, below.

<sup>2</sup> At each station, so that his pursuers could not use them; cf. Zos. ii. 8; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Caesares*, 40, 2, *cum ad frustandos insequentes publica iumenta quaque iter egerat interficeret*; and for another meaning, Amm. xv. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Boulogne, cf. Amm. xx. 1, 3.

<sup>7</sup> By Galerius.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

Herculius obtinebat. 6. Postquam vero Constantius in Britannia mortuus est et Constantinus filius successit, subito in urbe Roma praetoriani milites Maxentium, filium Herculi, imperatorem crearunt. Sed adversum Maxentium iussu Galeri Severus duxit exercitum. Qui repente ab omnibus suis desertus est et Ravennam fugit. Dehinc Galerius cum ingentibus copiis Romam venit, minatus civitatis<sup>1</sup> interitum, et castra Interamnae ad Tiberim posuit. 7. Tunc legatos ad urbem misit Licinium et Probum, per colloquium petens ut gener apud socerum, id est Maxentius apud Galerium, precibus magis quam armis optata mercaretur. Qui contemptus agnovit promissis motos multos suorum<sup>2</sup> Maxenti partes suas deseruisse<sup>3</sup>; quibus perturbatus retro versus est, et ut militi suo praedam quamcunque conferret, Flaminiam iussit auferri. 8. Ille ad Constantinum refugit. Tunc Galerius in Illyrico Licinium Caesarem fecit. Deinde illo in Pannonia relicto, ipse ad Serdicam regressus, morbo ingenti<sup>4</sup> occupatus sic distabuit, ut aperto et putrescenti viscere moreretur,

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<sup>1</sup> *ciuitatis*]; *ciuitati*, pref. by Momm.      <sup>2</sup> *motos multos suorum*, Momm.; lac. of about 5 letters, *uirorum*, B.  
<sup>3</sup> *deseruisse*] *deseruisset*, B.      <sup>4</sup> *ingenti*]; *inguinis*, pref. by Momm.; cf. Ps. Vict., *Epit.*, 40. 4, *consumptis genitalibus*; Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 3, 16.

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<sup>1</sup> He had governed Italy and Africa.

<sup>2</sup> In Southern Umbria on the river Nar, just below its junction with the Velinus; modern Terni.

<sup>3</sup> Text and meaning are uncertain. Apparently he went along the Flaminian Road; cf. Lact., *De Mort. Persec.* 27, 5, *dedit militibus potestatem ut diriperent omnia vel corrumpere, ut si quis insequi vellet, utensilia non haberet.*

governed.<sup>1</sup> 6. But after Constantius died in Britain, and his son Constantine succeeded him, Maxentius, the son of Herculus, was suddenly hailed as emperor by the praetorian soldiers in the city of Rome. By order of Galerius, Severus took the field against Maxentius, but he was suddenly deserted by all his followers and fled to Ravenna. Thereupon Galerius, with a great army, came against Rome, threatening the destruction of the city, and encamped at Interamna.<sup>2</sup> near the Tiber. 7. Then he sent Licinius and Probus to the city as envoys, asking that the son-in-law, that is Maxentius, should attain his desires from the father-in-law, that is Galerius, at the price of requests rather than of arms. Galerius' proposal was scorned, and having learned that through Maxentius' promises many of his own men had been led to desert his cause, he was disturbed and turned back; and in order to furnish his men with whatever booty he could, he gave orders that the Flaminian Road should be plundered.<sup>3</sup> 8. Maximianus<sup>4</sup> took refuge with Constantine. Then Galerius made Licinius a Caesar<sup>5</sup> in Illyricum, and after that, leaving him in Pannonia, returned himself to Serdica, where he was attacked by a violent disease and wasted away so completely, that he died with the inner parts of his body exposed and in a state of corruption<sup>6</sup>—a punishment for a most

<sup>1</sup> *Ille* seems to refer to Maximianus, who wished to resume his imperial power; if so, something is missing from the text.

<sup>5</sup> Other writers imply that he was made an Augustus at once.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Oros. vii. 28, 12, *putrescente introrsum pectore et visceribus dissolutis*.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

in supplicium persecutionis iniquissimae ad auctorem scelerati praecepti iustissima poena redeunte. Imperavit annos XVIII.

4. 9. Severus Caesar ignobilis et moribus et natalibus, ebriosus et hoc Galerio amicus. Hunc ergo et Maximinum Caesares Galerius fecit, Constantino nihil tale noscente. Huic Severo Pannoniae et Italiae urbes et Africae contigerunt. Quo casu<sup>1</sup> Maxentius factus est imperator; nam desertus Severus a suis fugit Ravennam. 10. Pro Maxentio filio evocatus illuc venit Herculus, qui per peiurium<sup>2</sup> Severum deceptum custodiae tradidit et captivi habitu in Urbem perduxit et in villa<sup>3</sup> publica Appiae viae tricensimo miliario custodiri fecit. Postea cum Galerius Italiam peteret, ille iugulatus est et deinde relatus ad octavum miliarium conditusque in Gallieni monumento. 11. Igitur Galerius sic ebriosus fuit, ut, cum iuberet temulentus ea quae facienda non essent, a praefecto admonitus, constituerit ne iussa eius aliquis post prandium faceret.

12. Interea Constantinus, apud Veronam victis ducibus tyranni, Romam petiit. Cum autem ad urbem Constantinus venisset, egressus ex urbe Maxentius campum supra Tiberim, in quo dimicaret, elegit. Ubi victus, fugatis omnibus suis, inter

<sup>1</sup> casu, Momms.; caesar, B.    <sup>2</sup> peiurium] B; periurium, edd.    <sup>3</sup> uilla] Henr. Val.; uia, B.

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<sup>1</sup> Of the Christians; cf. Lact., *De Mort. Persec.* 33; Eusebius, *Church Hist.* viii. 16, 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Zos. ii. 10, and Pseud.-Aur. Vict., *Epit.* 40, 3, it was at Tres Tabernae.

<sup>3</sup> Pseud.-Vict. 40, 19, makes this statement regarding Maxentius.

unjust persecution,<sup>1</sup> which recoiled as a well-merited penalty upon the author of the iniquitous order. He ruled for nineteen years.

4. 9. Severus Caesar was low both in character and in origin, given to drink, and hence a friend to Galerius. Accordingly Galerius made Caesars of him and Maximinus, without Constantine having knowledge of any such step. To this Severus were assigned some cities of Pannonia, Italy, and Africa. Through this chance Maxentius became emperor; for Severus was deserted by his men and fled to Ravenna. 10. Summoned to support his son Maxentius, Herculus came to Ravenna, deceived Severus by a false oath, gave him into custody, and took him to Rome in the condition of a captive; there he had him kept under guard in a villa belonging to the state, situated thirty miles from Rome on the Appian Road.<sup>2</sup> When Galerius later went to Italy, Severus was executed; then his body was taken to a place eight miles from the city, and laid in the tomb of Gallienus. 11. Now Galerius was such a tippler<sup>3</sup> that when he was drunk he gave orders such as ought not to be obeyed; and so, at the advice of his prefect, he directed that no one should execute any commands which he issued after luncheon.

12. Meanwhile Constantine, after defeating the tyrant's<sup>4</sup> generals at Verona, went on to Rome. When he had reached the city, Maxentius came out and chose a plain<sup>5</sup> above the Tiber as the place to do battle. There the usurper was defeated, and when

<sup>4</sup> Maxentius, called "tyrant" because his sovereignty was not officially recognised.

<sup>5</sup> Saxa Rubra, near the Mulvian Bridge.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

angustias arcentis<sup>1</sup> populi periit, equo praecipitatus in fluvium. Postera die corpus ipsius levatum flumine et caput eius incisum<sup>2</sup> in urbem perlatum est. De cuius origine mater eius, cum quaesitum esset, Syro quodam genitum esse confessa. Imperavit annos VI.<sup>3</sup>

5. 13. Licinius itaque ex Nova Dacia vilioris originis a Galerio factus imperator, velut adversum Maxentium pugnaturus. Sed oppresso Maxentio cum recepisset Italiam Constantinus, hoc Licinium foedere sibi fecit adiungi: ut Licinius Constantiam, sororem Constantini, apud Mediolanum duxisset uxorem. Nuptiis celebratis Gallias repetit Constantinus, Licinio ad Illyricum reverso. 14. Post aliquantum deinde temporis Constantium Constantinus ad Licinium misit, persuadens ut Bassianus Caesar fieret, qui habebat alteram Constantini sororem Anastasiam, ut exemplo Maximiani<sup>4</sup> inter Constantinum et Licinium Bassianus Italiam medius optineret. 15. Et Licinio talia frustrante, per Senicionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio<sup>5</sup> fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur. Qui tamen in conatu deprehensus, Constantino iubente convictus et stratus est. Cum Senicio<sup>6</sup> auctor insidiarum

<sup>1</sup> *arcentis*]; *arcentes*, B; *urgentis*, sugg. by Momm.; *ruentis*, Zangemeister.

<sup>2</sup> *incisum*] *recisum*, pref. by Momm.

<sup>3</sup> *annos VI*] Henr. Val.; *an . . .*, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Maximiani . . . Bassianus*, Momm.; *diocliciani et maximiani inter constantinum licinium et basianum*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Licinio*] Hadr. Val.; *uicino*, B. <sup>6</sup> *Senicio*] *sinicius*, B.

<sup>1</sup> The number is lacking in the text, but is known from the Panegyrics of Constantine and other sources. It was from 306—312.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Augustus; see Introd. to Vol. I, p. xxv. He seems never to have been a Caesar.

all his men were put to flight, he was prevented from escaping by the crowd of fugitives, thrown from his horse into the river, and drowned. On the following day his body was recovered from the Tiber, and the head was cut off and taken to Rome. When his mother was questioned about his parentage, she admitted that he was the son of a Syrian. He ruled for six years.<sup>1</sup>

5. 13. Now Licinius was a native of New Dacia, and was of somewhat common origin. He was made emperor<sup>2</sup> by Galerius, in order that he might take the field against Maxentius. But when Maxentius was overthrown and Constantine had recovered Italy, he made Licinius his colleague on condition that he should marry Constantine's sister Constantia at Mediolanum. After the celebration of the wedding Constantine went to Gaul, and Licinius returned to Illyricum. 14. Some time after that Constantine sent Constantius<sup>3</sup> to Licinius, to persuade him to confer the rank of Caesar on Bassianus, who was married to a second sister of Constantine (named Anastasia), to the end that, after the manner of Maximianus, Bassianus might hold Italy and thus stand as a buffer between Constantine and Licinius. 15. But Licinius thwarted such an arrangement, and influenced by Bassianus' brother Senicio, who was loyal to Licinius, Bassianus took up arms against Constantine. But he was arrested in the act of accomplishing his purpose, and by order of Constantine was condemned and executed. When the punishment of Senicio was demanded as the instigator of

<sup>3</sup> His son, the future emperor, Constantius II.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

posceretur ad poenam, negante Licinio fracta concordia est; additis etiam causis quod apud Emonam Constantini imagines statuasque deiecerat. Bellum deinde apertum convenit ambobus. 16. Utriusque ad Cibalensem campum ductus exercitus. Licinio XXXV milia peditum et equitum fuere; Constantinus XX milia peditum et <sup>1</sup>equitum duxit. Caesis post dubium certamen Licinianis viginti peditum milibus et equitum ferratorum parte,<sup>2</sup> Licinius cum magna parte equitatus noctis auxilio pervolavit ad Sirmium. 17. Sublata inde uxore ac filio et thesauris tetendit ad Daciam. Valentem ducem limitis <sup>3</sup>Caesarem fecit.<sup>4</sup> Inde apud Hadrianopolim Thraciae civitatem per Valentem collecta ingenti multitudine, legatos ad Constantinum de pace misit apud Philippos constitutum. Quibus frustra remissis, iterum reparato bello, in campo Mardiense ab utroque concurritur et post dubium ac diuturnum proelium Licini partibus inclinatis profuit noctis auxilium. 18. Licinius et Valens credentes Constantinum, quod et verum erat, ad persequendum longius ad Byzantium <sup>5</sup>processurum, flexi in partem Beroeam concesserunt. Ita Constantinus vehementer in ulteriora festinans, deprehendit Licinium remansisse post tergum. Fatigatis bello et itinere militibus, missus deinde Mestrianus legatus pacem petiit, Licinio

<sup>1</sup> *et*]; B omits.      <sup>2</sup> *parte*, Momm.; *item*, B; *tribus milibus*, Zangemeister.      <sup>3</sup> *limitis*] Hadr. Val.; *militis*, B.      <sup>4</sup> *fecit*] Henr. Val.; B omits.      <sup>5</sup> *ad Byzantium*, Momm.; *a bizantium*, B<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Laibach in Carinthia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Amm. xxx. 7, 2.

<sup>3</sup> A town of Thrace; cf. Amm. xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 9, 1.

the plot and Licinius refused, the harmony between the two emperors came to an end ; an additional reason for the break was, that Licinius had overthrown the busts and statues of Constantine at Emona.<sup>1</sup> Then the two emperors declared open war. 16. Their armies were led to the plain of Cibalae.<sup>2</sup> Licinius had 35,000 infantry and cavalry ; Constantine commanded 20,000. After an indecisive contest, in which 20,000 of Licinius' foot soldiers and a part of his mail-clad horsemen were slain, he himself with a great part of his other cavalry made his escape under cover of night to Sirmium. 17. From there, taking with him his wife, his son, and his treasures, he went to Dacia and appointed Valens, who was commander on the frontier, to the rank of Caesar. Then, having through Valens mustered a large force at Hadrianopolis, a city of Thrace, he sent envoys to Constantine, who had established himself at Philippi, to treat for peace. When the envoys were sent back without accomplishing anything, the war was renewed and the two rivals joined battle on the plain of Mardia. After a long and indecisive struggle, the troops of Licinius gave way and night aided them to escape. 18. Thereupon Licinius and Valens, believing that Constantine (as turned out to be the case), in order to follow up his advantage, would advance farther in the direction of Byzantium, turned aside and made their way towards Beroea.<sup>3</sup> As Constantine was eagerly pushing on, he learned that Licinius had remained behind him ; and just then, when his men were worn out from fighting and marching, Mestrianus was sent to him as an envoy, to propose

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

postulante et pollicente se imperata facturum. Denuo, sicut ante, mandatum est Valens privatus fieret; quo facto pax ab ambobus firmata est, ut Licinius Orientem, Asiam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam possideret. 19. Deinde reversus Serdicam Constantinus hoc cum Licinio absente constituit, ut filii Constantini Crispus et Constantinus, filius etiam Licini Licinius, Caesares fierent et sic ab utroque concorditer regnaretur. Itaque Constantinus et Licinius simul consules facti.<sup>1</sup> 20. In Orientis partibus, Licinio Constantino consulibus,<sup>2</sup> repentina<sup>3</sup> rabie suscitatus Licinius omnes Christianos a palatio iussit expelli.

Mox bellum inter ipsum Licinium et Constantinum efferbuit. 21. Item cum Constantinus Thessalonica<sup>4</sup> esset, Gothi per neglectos limites eruperunt et, vastata Thracia et Moesia, praedas agere coeperunt. Tunc Constantini terrore et impetu represso,<sup>5</sup> captivos illi impetrata pace reddiderunt. Sed hoc Licinius contra fidem factum questus est, quod partes suae ab<sup>6</sup> alio fuerint vindicatae. 22. Deinde cum variasset inter supplicantia et superba mandata, iram Constantini merito excitavit. Per tempora quibus nondum gerebatur bellum civile, sed item

<sup>1</sup> facti]; *facti sunt*, Gardt.; *factis*, B.<sup>3</sup>.      <sup>2</sup> consulibus] Oros., Henr. Val.; B omits.      <sup>3</sup> repentina . . . efferbuit (with changes in order) = Orosius, vii. 28, 18.      <sup>4</sup> Thessalonica]; *tessalonica*, B; *Thessalonicae*, Gardt.      <sup>5</sup> impetu represso, Momm.; *et impetu et represso*, B.<sup>3</sup>      <sup>6</sup> ab]; B omits.

<sup>1</sup> "Private" here means "not royal"; cf. Lucan, v. 666 ff.; *quamvis plenus honorum et dictator eam Stygias et consul ad umbras, privatum, Fortuna, mori.*

<sup>2</sup> This was at the time a part of Moesia.

peace in the name of Licinius, who promised to do as he was bidden. Valens was ordered to return again to his former private station;<sup>1</sup> when that was done, peace was concluded by both emperors, with the stipulation that Licinius should hold the Orient, Asia, Thrace, Moesia, and Lesser Scythia.<sup>2</sup> 19. Then Constantine, having returned to Serdica, arranged with Licinius, who was elsewhere, that Crispus and Constantinus, sons of Constantine, and Licinius, son of Licinius, should be made Caesars, and that thus the rule should be carried on in harmony by both emperors. Thus Constantine and Licinius became colleagues in the consulship.<sup>3</sup> 20. In the regions of the Orient, while Licinius and Constantine were consuls, Licinius was stirred by sudden madness and ordered that all the Christians should be driven from the Palace.<sup>4</sup>

Soon war flamed out again between Licinius himself and Constantine. 21. Also, when Constantine was at Thessalonica, the Goths broke through the neglected frontiers, devastated Thrace and Moesia, and began to drive off booty. Then because of fear of Constantine and his check of their attack they returned their prisoners to him and peace was granted them. But Licinius complained of this action as a breach of faith, on the ground that his function had been usurped by another. 22. Finally, by using sometimes humble entreaties and sometimes arrogant threats, he aroused the deserved wrath of Constantine. During the interval before the civil war began, but while it was in preparation, Licinius

<sup>1</sup> In 319.

<sup>4</sup> Orosius uses the same language.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

parabatur, Licinius scelere, avaritia, crudelitate, libidine saeviebat, occisis ob divitias pluribus, uxoribus eorum corruptis. 23. Rupta iam<sup>1</sup> pace utriusque consensu,<sup>2</sup> Constantinus Caesarem Crispum cum grandi classe ad occupandam Asiam miserat, cui de parte Licinii similiter cum navalibus copiis Amandus obstabat. 24. Licinius vero circa Hadrianopolim maximo exercitu latera ardui montis impleverat. Illuc toto agmine Constantinus inflexit. Cum bellum terra marique traheretur. quamvis per arduum suis nitentibus, at tamen disciplina militari et felicitate Constantinus Licini confusum et sine ordine agentem vicit exercitum, leviter femore sauciatus. 25. Dehinc fugiens Licinius Byzantium petit; quo dum multitudo dissipata contenderet, clauso Byzantio<sup>3</sup> Licinius obsidionem terrenam maris securus agitabat. Sed Constantinus classem collegit ex Thracia. Dehinc solita vanitate Licinius Martinianum sibi Caesarem fecit. 26. Crispus vero cum classe Constantini Callipolim pervenit; ibi bello maritimo sic Amandum vicit, ut vix per eos qui in litore remanserant vivus Amandus refugeret.<sup>4</sup> Classis vero Licini vel oppressa vel capta est. 27. Licinius, desperata maris spe, per quod se viderat obsidendum, Chalcedonam cum

<sup>1</sup> *corruptis. rupta iam*] Henr. Val.; *corrupta enim*, B.  
<sup>2</sup> *consensu*, Momm.; *exercitus*, Henr. Val.; *sensus*, B.  
<sup>3</sup> *petit . . . Byzantio*] Henr. Val.; *quod m.d. contendere . . . bizantium (bizantio, B<sup>3</sup>), B.*      <sup>4</sup> *refugeret*, Momm.; *re effugeret*, B.

**5, 22-27, A.D. 305-337**

gave himself up to a frenzy of wickedness, cruelty, avarice and lust ; he put many men to death for the sake of their riches, and violated their wives. 23. Now peace was broken by consent of both sides ; Constantine sent Crispus Caesar with a large fleet to take possession of Asia, and on the side of Licinius, Amandus opposed him, likewise with naval forces. 24. Licinius himself had covered the slopes of a high mountain near Hadrianopolis with a huge army. Hither Constantine turned his march with his entire force. While the war went on slowly by land and sea, although Constantine's army had great difficulty in scaling the heights, at last his good fortune and the discipline of his army prevailed, and he defeated the confused and disorganised army of Licinius ; 324 but Constantine was slightly wounded in the thigh. 25. Then Licinius fled to Byzantium ; and while his scattered forces were on the way to the city, Licinius closed it, and feeling secure against an attack by sea, planned to meet a siege from the land-side. But Constantine got together a fleet from Thrace. Then Licinius, with his usual lack of consideration,<sup>1</sup> chose Martinianus as his Caesar. 26. But Crispus, with Constantine's fleet, sailed to Callipolis,<sup>2</sup> where in a sea-fight he so utterly defeated Amandus that the latter barely made his escape with the help of the forces which he had left on shore. But Licinius' fleet was in part destroyed and in part captured. 27. Licinius, abandoning hope on the sea, by way of which he saw that he would be blockaded, fled with his treasures to Chalcedon. Constantine

<sup>1</sup> I.e., without consulting Constantine ; cf. § 9, above.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Gallipoli, on the Hellespont.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

thesauris refugit. Byzantium Constantinus invasit, victoriam maritimam Crispo conveniente cognoscens. Deinde apud Chrysopolim Licinius pugnavit,<sup>1</sup> maxime auxiliantibus Gothis quos Alica<sup>2</sup> regalis<sup>3</sup> deduxerat; tum<sup>4</sup> Constantini pars vincens XXV<sup>4</sup> milia armatorum fudit partis adversae, ceteris fugientibus. 28. Postea cum legiones Constantini per liburnas<sup>5</sup> venire vidissent, proiectis armis se dediderunt. Sequenti autem die Constantia, soror Constantini, uxor Licini, venit ad castra fratris et marito vitam poposcit et impetravit. Ita Licinius privatus factus est et convivio Constantini adhibitus, et Martiniano vita concessa est. 29. Licinius Thessalonicam missus est; sed Herculiū Maximiani, soceri sui, motus exemplo, ne iterum depositam purpuram in perniciem rei publicae sumeret, tumultu militaribus<sup>6</sup> exigentibus in Thessalonica iussit occidi, Martinianum in Cappadocia. Qui regnavit annos XVIII, filio et uxore superstitute. Quamvis omnibus<sup>7</sup> iam ministris nefariae persecu-

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<sup>1</sup> *pugnavit*] Hadr. Val.; B omits.      <sup>2</sup> *Alica*] B.  
<sup>3</sup> *regalis*] ; *regulis*, B.      <sup>4</sup> *tum*, Momm.; *cum*, B.      <sup>5</sup> *liburnas*,  
Momm.; *liburnam*, B; *liburniam*, earlier edd.      <sup>6</sup> *tumultu*  
*militaribus*, Momm.; *tumultum militari*, B.      <sup>7</sup> *omnibus*] Orosius, vii. 28, 21; *omnium*, B.

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<sup>1</sup> Modern Scutari, opposite Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of *armati*, cf. Amm. xv. 4, 8; xxvi. 1, 6.

## 5, 27-29, A.D. 305-337

entered Byzantium, where he met Crispus and learned of his naval victory. Then Licinius began a battle at Chrysopolis,<sup>1</sup> being especially aided by the Gothic auxiliaries which their prince Alica had brought; whereupon the army of Constantine was victorious, slaying 25,000 soldiers<sup>2</sup> of the opposing side and putting the rest to flight. 28. Later, when they saw Constantine's legions coming in Liburnian galleys, the survivors threw down their arms and gave themselves up. But on the following day Constantia, sister of Constantine and wife of Licinius, came to her brother's camp and begged that her husband's life be spared, which was granted. Thus Licinius became a private citizen,<sup>3</sup> and was entertained at a banquet by Constantine. Martinianus' life was also spared. 29. Licinius was sent to Thessalonica; but Constantine, influenced by the example of his father-in-law Herculus Maximianus,<sup>4</sup> for fear that Licinius might again, with disastrous consequences to the State, resume the purple which he had laid down, and also because the soldiers mutinously demanded his death, had him assassinated at Thessalonica,<sup>5</sup> and Martinianus in Cappadocia. Licinius reigned nineteen years and was survived by his wife and a son. And yet, after all the other participants in the abominable persecution<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, on 5, 18, above.

<sup>2</sup> See note 4, on § 8 above. The second wife of Constantine's father was a daughter of Maximianus; see 1, 2, above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eutr. x. 6, 1, *contra religionem sacramenti privatus occisus est*.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Christians; see § 8, note 1, above.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

tionis extinctis, hunc quoque in quantum exercere<sup>1</sup> potuit<sup>2</sup> persecutorem digna punitio flagitaret.

6. 30. Constantinus autem ex se<sup>3</sup> Byzantium Constantinopolim nuncupavit ob insignis victoriae memoriam.<sup>4</sup> Quam velut patriam cultu decoravit ingenti et Romae desideravit aequari: deinde quaesitis ei undique civibus divitias multas largitus est, ut prope in ea omnes regias<sup>5</sup> facultates exhauriret. Ibi etiam senatum constituit secundi ordinis; claros vocavit. 31. Deinde adversum Gothos bellum suscepit et implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Constantinum Caesarem centum prope milia fame et frigore extincta sunt. Tunc et obsides accepit, inter quos Ariarici regis filium. 32. Sic cum his pace firmata, in Sarmatas versus est, qui dubiae fidei probabantur.<sup>6</sup> Sed servi Sarmatarum adversum omnes<sup>7</sup> dominos rebellarunt, quos pulsos Constantinus libenter accepit et amplius trecenta

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<sup>1</sup> *exercere*] B, with inferior MSS. of Orosius; *exerere*, the better MSS.    <sup>2</sup> *potuit*] Orosius; B omits.    <sup>3</sup> *ex se*, Momm.; *ex*, B.    <sup>4</sup> *insignis uictoriae memoriam*, Momm.; *insignis uictoriae*, B; *insigne uictoriae*, previous editors.    <sup>5</sup> *regias*, Momm.; *thesauros regias* (*regies*, B<sup>2</sup>), B.    <sup>6</sup> *probabantur*] Rühl; *probantur*, B.    <sup>7</sup> *aduersum omnes*]; *omnes aduersum*, preferred by Momm.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, as subordinate to Galerius (see § 8, *Caesarem fecit*), who was the leader in the persecution (§ 8, *auctorem*).

<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus says that he nearly depopulated the other cities of the empire.

<sup>3</sup> According to Zos. iii. 2, Julian established a senate at Constantinople; see Amm. xxii. 9, 2, and cf. *Paneg. Lat.*

had already perished, the penalty he deserved would surely demand this man also, a persecutor so far as he could act as such.<sup>1</sup>

6. 30. In commemoration of his splendid victory Constantine called Byzantium Constantinople after his own name; and as if it were his native city, he adorned it with great magnificence and wished to make it equal to Rome. Then he sought out new citizens for it from every quarter,<sup>2</sup> and lavished such wealth on the city, that thereon he all but exhausted the imperial fortunes. There he also established a senate<sup>3</sup> of the second rank, the members of which had the title of *clari*.<sup>4</sup> 31. Then he began war against the Goths, rendering aid also to the Sarmatians, who had appealed to him for help.<sup>5</sup> The result was that almost a hundred thousand of the Goths were destroyed by hunger and cold through Constantinus Caesar.<sup>6</sup> Then he also received hostages, among whom was Ariaricus, the king's son. 32. When peace with the Goths had thus been secured, Constantine turned against the Sarmatians, who were showing themselves to be of doubtful loyalty. But the slaves of the Sarmatians rebelled against all their masters<sup>7</sup> and drove them from the country. These Constantine willingly received, and

xi. 24 (*Gratiarum actio Juliana*), cum Senatui non solum veterem reddideris dignitatem, sed plurimum etiam novi honoris adieceris.

<sup>1</sup> The Roman senators were *clarissimi*.

<sup>2</sup> In 334.

<sup>3</sup> The son of Constantine the Great, afterwards Constantinus II; see § 19, above.

<sup>7</sup> The Limigantes; see Amm., xvii. 13, 1; xvii. 12, 18 ff.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS PRIOR

milia hominum mixtae aetatis et sexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque divisit.

33. Item Constantinus imperator primus Christianus, excepto Philippo, qui Christianus admodum ad hoc tantum constitutus fuisse mihi visus est, ut millesimus Romae annus Christo potius quam idolis dicaretur. A Constantino autem omnes semper Christiani imperatores usque in hodiernum diem creati sunt, excepto Iuliano, quem impia (ut aiunt) machinantem exitialis vita deseruit. 34. Item Constantinus iusto ordine et pio vicem<sup>1</sup> vertit; edicto<sup>2</sup> si quidem statuit citra ullam caedem hominum paganorum templa claudi. Mox Gothorum fortissimas et copiosissimas gentes in ipso barbarici soli sinu,<sup>3</sup> hoc est in Sarmatarum regione, delevit.

35. Calocaerum quendam in Cypro aspirantem novis rebus oppressit. Dalmatium, filium fratris sui Dalmatii, Caesarem fecit. Eius fratrem Hannibalianum, data ei Constantiana filia sua, regem regum et Ponticarum gentium constituit. Itaque<sup>4</sup> Gallias Constantinus minor regebat, Orientem Constantius Caesar, Illyricum et Italiam Constans,

<sup>1</sup> *vicem*] Orosius, vii. 28, 29; *uicæ*, B.      <sup>2</sup> *edicto*] Oros.; *aedito*, B.      <sup>3</sup> *soli sinu*] Oros. *solis sinu*, B.  
<sup>4</sup> *itaque*, Momm.; *ita ut*, B.

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<sup>1</sup> Philip, the Arab, emperor from 244 to 249.

<sup>2</sup> The one-thousandth year since the founding of the city.

<sup>3</sup> The words are those of Orosius, vii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> From the pagan to the Christian religion.

<sup>5</sup> He was a camel-driver.

<sup>6</sup> See 2, 2, note 6, above.

distributed more than three hundred thousand people of different ages and both sexes through Thrace, Scythia, Macedonia, and Italy.

33. Constantine was also the first Christian emperor, with the exception of Philippus<sup>1</sup> who seemed to me to have become a Christian merely in order that the one-thousandth year of Rome<sup>2</sup> might be dedicated to Christ rather than to pagan idols.<sup>3</sup> But from Constantine down to the present day all the emperors that have been chosen were Christians, with the exception of Julian, whose disastrous life forsook him in the midst of the impious plans which it was said that he was devising. 34. Moreover, Constantine made the change<sup>4</sup> in a just and humane fashion; for he issued an edict that the temples should be closed without any shedding of pagan blood. Afterwards he destroyed the bravest and most populous of the Gothic tribes in the very heart of the barbarian territory; that is, in the lands of the Sarmatians.

35. Constantine also put down a certain Calocaerus,<sup>5</sup> who tried to achieve a revolution in Cyprus. He made Dalmatius, son of his brother of the same name,<sup>6</sup> a Caesar; Dalmatius' brother Hannibalianus he created King of Kings and ruler of the Pontic tribes,<sup>7</sup> after giving him his daughter Constantiana<sup>8</sup> in marriage. Then it was arranged that the younger Constantine should rule the Gallic provinces, Constantius Caesar the Orient, Constans Illyricum and Italy, while Dalmatius was to guard

<sup>1</sup> See Amm. xiv. 1, 2, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> This was Constantia, wrongly called Constantina in xiv. 11, 22 and elsewhere, afterwards wife of Gallus Caesar.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

ripam Gothicam Dalmatius tuebatur. Item Constantinus cum bellum pararet in Persas, in suburbano Constantinopolitano villa<sup>1</sup> publica iuxta Nicomediam, dispositam bene rem publicam filiis tradens, diem obiit.<sup>2</sup> Regnavit ann. XXXI. Sepultus est Constantinopoli.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

### CHRONICA THEODERICIANA

7. 36. Igitur imperante Zenone Augusto Constantinopoli, superveniens Nepos patricius ad Portum urbis Romae, deposuit de imperio Glycerium et factus est episcopus et Nepos factus imperator Romae. Mox veniens<sup>3</sup> Ravennam; quem persequens Orestes patricius cum exercitu, metuens Nepos adventum Orestis, ascendens navem fugam petit ad Salonam et ibi mansit per annos quinque; postea vero a suis occiditur. Mox eo egresso factus<sup>4</sup> imperator Augustulus. Augustulus imperavit annos X.

<sup>1</sup> *villa*] B; *in villa*, Orosius.      <sup>2</sup> *diem obiit*] Orosius;  
B omits.      <sup>3</sup> *ueniens*] BP (see § 42, note 5); *uenit*, P.<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>4</sup> *factus*] B; *factus est*, P.

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<sup>1</sup> The name *Gothica ripa* was applied at that time to Thrace, Macedonia and Achaia

<sup>2</sup> The place where he died was called *Ancyrona* or *Anchyro* or *Anchyronis*, Hieron., *Chronica*, ann. Abr. 2353 (T.L.L.).

<sup>3</sup> From the death of Constantius Chlorus, in 306, to 337.

<sup>4</sup> For other titles see Introduction; for spelling, Preface.

<sup>5</sup> Emperor of the East, 474–491.

the Gothic coastline.<sup>1</sup> While Constantine was planning to make war on the Persians, he died in an imperial villa<sup>2</sup> in the suburbs of Constantinople, not far from Nicomedia, leaving the State in good order to his sons. He was buried in Constantinople, after a reign of thirty-one years.<sup>3</sup>

## THE ANONYMUS VALESIANUS, LATTER PART

### THE HISTORY OF KING THEODORIC<sup>4</sup>

7. 36. Now during the reign of Zeno Augustus<sup>5</sup> at Constantinople, the patrician<sup>6</sup> Nepos came to the Port of the city of Rome,<sup>7</sup> deposed Glycerius,<sup>8</sup> who was made a bishop, while Nepos himself became emperor at Rome. Presently Nepos came<sup>9</sup> to Ravenna; he was followed by the patrician Orestes with an army,<sup>10</sup> and in fear of his coming Nepos embarked on board a ship and fled to Salona,<sup>11</sup> where he remained for five years; but later he was slain by his own men. Soon after Nepos left Rome Augustulus was made emperor and ruled for ten years.

<sup>6</sup> See Vol. I, Introduction, p. xxviii; at this time a *patricius* outranked a praetorian prefect.

<sup>7</sup> Portus Augusti, modern Porto; see Index I, Vol. I.

<sup>8</sup> Emperor of the West, 473—474. Nepos forced him to become a priest, and soon after that he was made a bishop at Salona. Julius Nepos was emperor from 474 to 475.

<sup>9</sup> The present participle in this writer is often used as a finite verb.

<sup>10</sup> Nepos had given him command of the troops in Gaul.

<sup>11</sup> Or Salonaë (Caes., *B.C.* iii. 9, 1 f.), a Dalmatian seaport; modern Split (formerly Spalato) in Yugoslavia.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

8. 37. Augustulus, qui ante regnum Romulus a parentibus vocabatur, a patre Oreste patricio factus est imperator. Superveniens autem Odoachar cum gente Scirorum occidit Orestem patricium in Placentia et fratrem eius Paulum ad Pinetam foris Classem Ravennae. 38. Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cuius infantiae misertus concessit ei sanguinem, et quia pulcher erat, etiam <sup>1</sup> donans <sup>2</sup> ei redditum sex milia solidos, misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Enim pater eius Orestes Pannonius,<sup>3</sup> qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit se illi iunxit et eius notarius factus fuerat. Unde profecit et usque ad patriciatus dignitatem pervenerat.<sup>4</sup>

9. 39. Ergo postquam factus est imperator Zeno a filio suo Leone, qui natus fuerat de filia Leonis Ariagne<sup>5</sup> nomine, regnat cum filio suo anno uno, et merito Leonis regnum remansit apud Zenonem. Zeno vero cum filio iam regnans anno uno, imperavit annos XIII, Isauriae nobilissimus, qui dignus esset filiam imperatoris accipere, exercitus in arma. 40. Perhibent de eo, quia patellas in genucula non

<sup>1</sup> *tamen*] MSS.; *admodum* or *etiam* (Hirschfeld), pref. by Momm.

<sup>2</sup> *donans ei redditum*]; *donavit et creditor*, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Orestes Pannonius*] Henr. Val.; *oresti pannotos*, B. <sup>4</sup> *peruenerat*]; *peruerat*, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Ariagne*, Momm.; *Ariadne*, Henr. Val.; *agiami*, V.

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<sup>1</sup> His title Augustus was changed to Augustulus in mockery of, or perhaps because of, his youth.

<sup>2</sup> See Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 97, and note 1, p. 507; they served as mercenaries in the Roman army, but revolted.

<sup>3</sup> *Pineta* is a late form for *Pinetum*.

<sup>4</sup> Classes, or Classis, was a part of Ravenna near the harbour of the praetorian fleet.

8. 37. Augustulus,<sup>1</sup> who was called Romulus by his parents before he mounted the throne, was made emperor by his father, the patrician Orestes. Then Odoacar made his appearance with a force of Sciri<sup>2</sup> and killed the patrician Orestes at Placentia, and his brother Paulus at the Pine Grove,<sup>3</sup> outside the Classis<sup>4</sup> at Ravenna. 38. Then he entered Ravenna, deposed Augustulus from his throne, but in pity for his tender years, granted him his life; and because of his beauty he also gave him an income of six thousand gold-pieces<sup>5</sup> and sent him to Campania,<sup>6</sup> to live there a free man with his relatives. Now his father Orestes was a Pannonian, who joined with Attila at the time when he came to Rome, and was made his secretary, a position from which he had advanced to the rank of patrician.

9. 39. Then, after Zeno was made emperor by his son Leo,<sup>7</sup> who was the offspring of the daughter of Leo the Great, Ariagne by name, he reigned for a year with his son Leo, and it was through Leo's merit that Zeno retained his power. But after sharing the rule with his son for one year, Zeno was emperor for fourteen years more; he was an Isaurian of high rank, trained to arms, and worthy to receive an emperor's daughter in marriage. 40. It is said of him that he was of even superhuman speed as a

<sup>5</sup> See Amm. xx. 4, 18, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jordanes, 46, in *Lucullano Campaniae castello exilii poena damnavit*.

<sup>7</sup> Leo the Thracian, also called Leo the Great, having no son, named his son-in-law Zeno as his successor. Since the people of Constantinople did not approve the choice, Leo associated with himself his grandson Leo, who survived him a few months only.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

habuisset, sed mobiles<sup>1</sup> fuissent, ut etiam cursum velocissimum<sup>2</sup> ultra modum hominum haberet. In re publica omnino providentissimus, favens genti<sup>3</sup> suae.

41. Huic insidiabatur Basiliscus, ipse primus senator; quo cognito, Zeno cum aliquantis divitiis petiit Isauriam. At ubi ille egressus est, mox<sup>4</sup> Basiliscus, qui ei, ut dictum est, insidiabatur, arripuit imperium.

42. Basiliscus imperavit annos II. Zeno confortans Isauros intra provinciam, deinde misit ad civitatem Novam, ubi erat Theodericus dux Gothorum, filius Walamerici, et eum invitavit in solacium sibi adversus Basiliscum, obiectans militem, post biennium veniens, obsidens civitatem Constantinopolim. 43. Sed quia senatus et populus Zenonem metuentes, nequid mali pateretur civitas, relicto Basilisco se illi omnes dederunt aperta civitate. Basiliscus fugiens ad ecclesiam, intra baptisterium cum uxore et filiis ingreditur. Cui Zeno dato sacramento securum esse de sanguine, exiens, inclausus cum uxore et filiis intra cisternam siccam,<sup>5</sup> ibidem frigore defecerunt. 44. Zeno recordatus est amorem<sup>6</sup> senatus et populi, munificus omnibus se ostendit, ita

<sup>1</sup> mobiles]; nobiles, B.      <sup>2</sup> cursum uelocissimum]; curso uelocissimo, B.      <sup>3</sup> genti] Rühl; gentis, B.      <sup>4</sup> est mox]; mox est, B.      <sup>5</sup> cisternam siccam]; cisterna sicca, B.      <sup>6</sup> amorem]; amore, B.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Amm. xxi. 16, 19, of Constantius. Here Wagner has the pertinent note: *rem ipsam ut admissuri sint Anatomici, vehementer vereor*. The author must mean his kneepans were not fixed to the knees, but moved easily.

<sup>2</sup> The Isaurians.

<sup>3</sup> He was the brother of Varina, the widow of Leo the Great.

swift runner,<sup>1</sup> since his kneepans were not attached to his knees, but moved freely. In the administration of the State he was in general most wise, but inclined to favour his own people.<sup>2</sup>

41. A plot was made against him by Basiliscus, himself a senator of high distinction.<sup>3</sup> As soon as Zeno learned of the plot, he took some of his wealth and went to Isauria. But soon after his departure Basiliscus, who, as was said, was plotting against him, seized upon the imperial power.

42. Basiliscus ruled for two years. Zeno strengthened the Isaurians within the province; then he sent to the city of Nova,<sup>4</sup> where Theodoric, the general of the Goths and son of Walamericus, was stationed, and invited him to render him relief against Basiliscus. Then he came back<sup>5</sup> to Constantinople after two years, brought an attacking force against the city, and laid siege to it. 43. But because the senate and people feared Zeno, to prevent the city from suffering any harm they deserted Basiliscus, opened the gates, and all surrendered to Zeno. Basiliscus fled to a church and took refuge within the baptistery with his wife and his sons. After Zeno had given him a pledge confirmed by oath that his blood would not be shed,<sup>6</sup> he came out and was shut up with his wife and children in a dry cistern,<sup>7</sup> where they all died of cold. 44. Zeno remembered the affection felt for him by the senate and people;

<sup>4</sup> In Moesia on the Danube.

<sup>5</sup> See § 36, note 9, where we have a sure example; sometimes, as here, the use is less obvious, though probable.

<sup>6</sup> An evasive way of pretending to spare his life, which was kept in the letter, but not in the spirit.

<sup>7</sup> According to others, in a fortress of Cappadocia.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

ut omnes ei gratias agerent. Senatum Romanum et populum<sup>1</sup> tuitus est, ut etiam ei imagines per diversa loca in urbe Roma levarentur. Cuius tempora pacifica fuerunt.

10. 45. Odoacar<sup>2</sup> vero, cuius supra fecimus mentionem, mox deposito Augustulo de imperio, factus est rex mansitque in regno annos XIII. Cuius pater Edico<sup>3</sup> dictus, de quo ita invenitur in libris vitae Beati Severini monachi intra Pannoniam, qui eum admonuit, et praedixit regnum eius futurum. 46. Ita reperis ad locum: Quidam barbari cum ad Italiam pergerent, promerendae benedictionis ad eum intuitu deverterunt, inter quos et Odoacar, qui postea regnavit Italiae, vilissimo habitu iuvenis statura procerus advenerat; qui dum se, ne<sup>4</sup> humillimae tectum<sup>5</sup> cellulae eius suo vertice contingeret, inclinasset, a viro dei gloriosum se fore cognovit. Cui etiam vale dicenti "vade," inquit, "ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertus, sed multis cito plurima largiturus." 47. Interim, ut dei famulus ei praedixerat, mox in Italiam ingressus est, regnum accepit. Eodem tempore Odoacar rex memor factus quod a viro sancto praedictum audierat, statim familiariter litteras ad eum "dirigens, siqua speranda duceret, dabat suppliciter optionem."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *senatum . . . populum*]; *senato . . . populo*, B. <sup>2</sup> *Odoacar*]; *odoachar*, P; *oduacar*, B<sup>3</sup>. <sup>3</sup> *Edico*]; *Aedico*, BP. <sup>4</sup> *se ne*, Eugippiani libri]; BP omit. <sup>5</sup> *humillimae tectum*] Eugippiani; *humillimo tectum* (*tecte*, B<sup>3</sup>), B; *humillimum tectum*, P. <sup>6</sup> After *optionem* Eugippus inserts *memor illius praesagii, quo eum quondam expresserat regnaturum*.

and therefore showed himself so generous to all that he earned the gratitude of every one. He upheld so well the senate and people of Rome, that statues were even erected to him in various parts of the city. His times were peaceful.

10. 45. Odoacar, of whom we have made mention above,<sup>1</sup> presently deposed Augustulus from the rule and was made king; he remained on the throne for thirteen years. His father was named Edico,<sup>2</sup> and Odoacar is also mentioned in the books<sup>3</sup> on *The Life of Saint Severinus*, a Pannonian monk, who gave him advice and predicted his future royal power.

46. In that place you find the following words: "When some barbarians<sup>4</sup> were on their way to Italy, they turned aside and went to Severinus' abode with a view to earning his benediction; among them also came Odoacar, who afterwards ruled in Italy, a youth of tall stature, but very poorly clad; and when he bowed his head, in order that it might not touch the roof of the very low cell, he learned from the man of God that he would attain glory. And as Odoacar bade him farewell, Severinus said: 'Go on to Italy; go on, now clad in paltry skins, but soon to be able to give great gifts to many'."

47. Meanwhile, as the servant of God had predicted to him, as soon as Odoacar entered Italy he received the royal power. At that same time, after becoming king, Odoacar recalled the prophecy which he had heard from the holy man, and at once addressed to him a friendly letter, "wherein he respectfully offered to grant his wish, should he think there was anything worth while to ask. Accordingly the man

<sup>1</sup> These are still extant.

<sup>4</sup> They were Goths.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Ergo vir dei tantis itaque eius alloquiis per litteras invitatus, Ambrosium quendam exsulantem rogat absolvi; cuius<sup>1</sup> Odoacar gratulabundus paruit imperatis."

48. Igitur Odoacar rex gessit bellum adversus Rugos, quos in secundo vicit, et funditus delevit. Nam dum ipse esset bonae voluntatis et Arrianæ sectae favorem praeberet, "quodam tempore dum memoratum regem multi nobiles coram sancto viro humana, ut fieri solet, adulatione laudarent, interrogat quem regem tantis praeconiis praetulissent. Respondentibus 'Odoacrem,' 'Odoacar,' inquit, 'integer inter tredecim et quattuordecim annos';<sup>2</sup> annos videlicet integri eius regni significans."

11. 49. Zeno itaque recompensans beneficiis Theodericum, quem fecit patricium et consulem, donans ei multum et mittens eum ad Italiam. Cui Theodericus pactuatus est, ut, si victus fuisset Odoacar, pro merito laborum suorum loco eius, dum adveniret, tantum praeregnaret. Ergo superveniente Theoderico patricio de civitate Nova cum gente Gothica, missus ab imperatore Zenone de partibus Orientis ad defendendam sibi Italiam.

50. Cui occurrit venienti Odoacar ad fluvium Sontium, et ibi pugnans cum eodem, victus fugit

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<sup>1</sup> *cuius . . . imperatis*, Eugippus]; *cui*, P; *imperanti*, B<sup>3</sup>P.  
<sup>2</sup> *annos*]; *annos*<sup>3</sup>; *annos*, Knoell ("probabiliter," Momms.).

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<sup>1</sup> Living in what was in modern times Austria and Moravia.

<sup>2</sup> The correct spelling is Arian, from Arius, but the *ignotus auctor*, as well as some other late writers, spelled it Arrius,

of God, encouraged by so cordial a letter of the king, asked for the pardon of a certain Ambrosius, who was living in exile, and Odoacar gratefully granted his request."

48. After that, King Odoacar made war on the Rugi,<sup>1</sup> and in a second campaign vanquished and utterly destroyed them. Then, since he was a man of good intentions and favoured the Arian<sup>2</sup> sect, "it happened that once, when in the presence of the holy man many nobles, as often happens, were praising and flattering the said king, as men will do, he asked what king they had extolled with such high commendations. And when they replied 'Odoacar,' he said 'Odoacar is safe for between thirteen and fourteen years,' thus, of course, indicating the years of his safe reign."

11. 49. Zeno accordingly rewarded Theodoric for his support, made him a patrician<sup>3</sup> and a consul, gave him a great sum of money, and sent him to Italy. Theodoric stipulated with him, that if Odoacar should be vanquished, in return for his own labours in Odoacar's place he should rule in his stead only until the arrival of Zeno. Therefore, when the patrician Theodoric came from the city of Nova with the Gothic people, he was sent by the emperor Zeno from the regions of the Orient, in order to defend Italy for him.

50. As Theodoric was on his way, Odoacar met him at the river Sontius,<sup>4</sup> engaged in battle with him after the analogy of numerous Roman gentile names (*T.L.L.* ii. 507, 59). It seems best to use Arrius in the text, Arius in the translation. On his sect, see note, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> See § 36, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> The modern Isonzo.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

et<sup>1</sup> abiit in Veronam et fixit fossatum in campo minore Veronense V kalendas Octobres. Ibique persecutus est eum Theodericus, et pugna facta, ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte; tamen superatus Odoacar fugit Ravennam pridie kalendas Octobres.

51. Et perambulavit Theodericus patricius Mediolanum, et tradiderunt se illi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non et Tufa magister militum, quem ordinaverat Odoacar cum optimatibus suis kal. April. Eo anno missus est Tufa magister militum a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. 52. Veniens Faventiam, Tufa obsedit Odoacrem cum exercitu, cum quo directus fuerat; et exiit Odoacar de Ravenna, et venit Faventiam, et Tufa tradidit Odoacri comites patricii Theoderici, et missi sunt in ferro, et adducti Ravennam.

53. Fausto et Longino. His consulibus Odoacar rex exiit de Cremona et ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wisigothae in adiutorium Theoderici, et facta est pugna super fluvium Adduam, et ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte et occisus est Pierius comes domesticorum III idus Augustas, et fugit Odoacar Ravennam, et mox subsecutus est eum patricius Theodericus veniens in Pinetam et fixit fossatum, obsidens Odoacrem clausum per triennium

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<sup>1</sup> *et, B<sup>2</sup>*; *at uero odoacer (odoachar, P), B<sup>2</sup>P.*

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<sup>1</sup> A town of Gallia Cispadana on the via Aemilia, modern Faenza.

<sup>2</sup> 490.

there, and was defeated and put to flight ; he withdrew to Verona, and on the 27th of September made a fortified camp on a plain of moderate extent before the city. Theodoric followed him there, and joined battle with him ; numbers fell on both sides : Odoacar, however, was overcome, and on the 30th of September fled to Ravenna.

51. Theodoric the patrician went on to Mediolanum, and the most of Odoacar's army surrendered to him, including Tufa, his general-in-chief, whom Odoacar had appointed, along with his other high officials, on the 1st of April. In that same year Tufa, the commanding general, was sent by Theodoric to Ravenna against Odoacar. 52. Tufa came to Faventia,<sup>1</sup> and with the army with which he had been sent besieged Odoacar. The latter left Ravenna and came to Faventia, where Tufa handed over to him the high officers of the patrician Theodoric, who were put in irons and taken to Ravenna.

53. The consulship of Faustus and Longinus.<sup>2</sup> When these were consuls, King Odoacar marched out from Cremona and went to Mediolanum. Then the Visigoths came to the help of Theodoric, and a battle was fought on the 11th of August on the bank of the river Addua,<sup>3</sup> where many fell on both sides ; Pierius, commander of the household troops, was slain, and Odoacar fled to Ravenna. The patrician Theodoric soon followed him, came to the Pine Grove,<sup>4</sup> and made a camp there ; then he kept Odoacar in a state of siege for three

<sup>3</sup> A large river of Gallia Transpadana, flowing through Lake Larius (Como) into the Po, modern Adda.

<sup>4</sup> See § 37, note 3.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Ravenna,<sup>1</sup> et factum est usque ad sex solidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus, Festum,<sup>2</sup> caput senati, ad Zenonem imperatorem, et ab eodem sperans vestem se induere regiam.

54. Olybrio V.C. Cons. Hoc consule exiit Odoacar rex de Ravenna nocte, cum Herulis ingressus in Pinetam in fossatum patrici Theoderici, et ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus, et fugiens Levila, magister militum Odoacris, occisus est in fluvio Bedente<sup>3</sup>; et victus Odoacar fugit Ravennam id. Iul. Igitur coactus Odoacar dedit filium suum Thelanem<sup>4</sup> obsidem Theoderico, accepta fide securum se esse de sanguine. 55. Sic ingressus est Theodericus et post aliquot dies, dum ei Odoacar insidiaretur, detectus ante<sup>5</sup> ab eo praeventus in palatio, manu sua Theodericus eum in Lauretum pervenientem gladio interemit. 56. Cuius exercitus in eadem die iussu Theoderici omnes interfecti sunt, quivis<sup>6</sup> ubi potuit reperiri, cum omni stirpe sua. Et moritur Constantinopolim Zeno imperator, et factus est imperator Anastasius.

12. 57. Theodericus enim in legationem direxerat Faustum Nigrum ad Zenonem. At ubi cognita

<sup>1</sup> *rauenna*] B; *in rauenna*, P.      <sup>2</sup> *festum*] BP; *Faustum*, edd.

<sup>3</sup> *Bedente*] Gardt.; *uecente*, BP.

<sup>4</sup> *Thelanem*] *thelane*, B.      <sup>5</sup> *ante*, Momm.; *conte*, B; *caute*, Hadr. Val.

<sup>6</sup> *quivis*, Momm.; *quis*, B.

<sup>1</sup> See Amm. xx. 4, 18, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> That is, prefect of the city.      <sup>3</sup> 491.

<sup>4</sup> Also called Bidens, the modern Bedese, or Ronco.

<sup>5</sup> See § 43, note 6. Here neither spirit nor letter was kept.

years in Ravenna, where the value of a modius of wheat rose to the price of six gold-pieces.<sup>1</sup> And Theodoric sent Festus, the head of the senate,<sup>2</sup> as an envoy to the emperor Zeno, hoping to be invested by him with the royal robe.

54. The consulship<sup>3</sup> of Olybrius, *vir clarissimus*. In his consulship King Odoacar sallied forth from Ravenna by night, entered into the Pine Grove with the Heruli, and attacked the fortified camp of the patrician Theodoric. The losses were great on both sides, and Levila, Odoacar's commander-in-chief, fled and lost his life in the river Bedens<sup>4</sup>; Odoacar was defeated and fled to Ravenna on the 15th of July. Then Odoacar was forced to give his son Thelanes to Theodoric as a hostage, first receiving a pledge that his blood would be spared.<sup>5</sup> 55. So Theodoric entered Ravenna, and after several days Odoacar laid a snare for him: but Theodoric discovered him in the palace and forestalled him, then caught him off his guard and with his own hand slew him with a sword as he was coming into the Laurel Grove.<sup>6</sup> 56. On the same day, all of Odoacar's army who could be found anywhere were killed by order of Theodoric, as well as all of his family. This same year the emperor Zeno died at Constantinople, and Anastasius was made emperor.

12. 57. Now Theodoric had sent Faustus Niger as an envoy to Zeno. But when the news of the latter's

<sup>1</sup> Apparently in, or near, Ravenna; cf. *Pinetam*, and see § 57, below, which implies that Theodoric killed Odoacar in Ravenna. According to A. Sleumer, *Kirchenlatein. Wörterbuch* (1926), s.v., Lauretum was a city near Ancona, but he does not cite this passage.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

morte eius antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingressus est Ravennam, et occidit Odoacrem, Gothi sibi confirmaverunt Theodericum regem, non exspectantes iussionem novi principis. 58. Vir enim bellicosissimus, fortis, cuius pater Walamir dictus rex Gothorum, naturalis tamen eius fuit; mater, Ereriliva dicta Gothica, catholica quidem erat, quae in baptismo Eusebia dicta. 59. Ergo praeclarus et bonae voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos XXXIII.

Cuius temporibus felicitas est secuta Italiam per annos triginta, ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset. 60. Nihil enim perperam gessit. Sic gubernavit duas gentes in uno, Romanorum et Gothorum, dum ipse quidem Arrianae sectae esset, tamen nihil<sup>1</sup> contra religionem catholicam temptans; exhibens ludos circensium et amphitheatrum, ut etiam a Romanis Traianus vel Valentinianus, quorum tempora sectatus est, appellaretur, et a Gothis secundum edictum suum, quo ius<sup>2</sup> constituit, rex fortissimus in omnibus iudicaretur. Militiam Romanis sicut sub principes esse praecepit. Dona<sup>3</sup> et annonas largitus quamquam aerarium publicum ex toto faeneum invenisset, suo labore recuperavit et opulentum fecit.

61. Dum illitteratus esset, tantae sapientiae fuit, ut aliqua, quae locutus est, in vulgo usque nunc pro

<sup>1</sup> nihil . . . iudicaretur, tr. by Momm. from after *opulentum fecit*, following Rühl in part; *militia(m)* . . . *opulentum fecit*, after *tamen*, B. <sup>2</sup> *quo ius*, Momm.; *quo eis ius, quem eius*, B. <sup>3</sup> *donum*]; *dono*, B; *dona*, edd.

<sup>1</sup> Jordanes calls her Erelieva. With *Gothica* sc. *lingua*.

<sup>2</sup> See note on § 94 (p. 569), and for spelling, on § 48.

death came, before the envoy returned, but after Theodoric had entered Ravenna and killed Odoacar, the Goths, without waiting for the command of the new emperor, made Theodoric their king. 58. For he was a most brave and warlike man, whose father, Walamir, was called King of the Goths; but Theodoric was his natural son; his mother was called in Gothic *Eretiliva*,<sup>1</sup> but being a Catholic received at her baptism the name *Eusebia*. 59. Hence Theodoric was a man of great distinction and of good-will towards all men, and he ruled for thirty-three years. In his times Italy for thirty years enjoyed such good fortune that his successors also inherited peace. 60. For whatever he did was good. He so governed two races at the same time, Romans and Goths, that although he himself was of the Arian<sup>2</sup> sect, he nevertheless made no assault on the Catholic religion; he gave games in the circus and the amphitheatre, so that even by the Romans he was called a Trajan or a Valentinian, whose times he took as a model; and by the Goths, because of his edict, in which he established justice, he was judged to be in all respects their best king. Military service for the Romans he kept on the same footing as under the emperors. He was generous with gifts and the distribution of grain, and although he had found the public treasury nothing but a haystack,<sup>3</sup> by his efforts it was restored and made rich.

61. Although untrained in letters, he was nevertheless so wise that even now some of his sayings

<sup>3</sup> Literally, "consisting of hay"; i.e. he found nothing there but hay; cf. Catull. 13, 7 f., *Catulli plenus sacculus est araneorum*.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

sententia habeantur; unde nos non piget aliqua de multis eius in commemoratione posuisse. Dixit "aurum et daemonem qui habet, non eum potest abscondere"; item "Romanus miser imitatur Gothum et utilis Gothus imitatur Romanum."

62. Quidam defunctus est et reliquit uxorem et parvulum filium nescientem matrem. Ab aliquo sublatus est filius eius parvulus et ductus in aliam provinciam et educatus. Factus iuvenis quoquo modo revertitur ad matrem; mater enim iam sponderat virum. Cum vidisset mater, amplectit filium, benedicens deum se filium revidisse; et fecit cum ea<sup>1</sup> dies triginta. Et ecce veniens sponsus matris, videns iuvenem, interrogavit quis esset. Quae respondit esse suum filium. At ubi comperit esse filium eius, coepit repetere arras et dicere "aut nega filium tuum esse aut vero abscedo<sup>2</sup> hinc." Mulier compellitur ab<sup>3</sup> sponso, et coepit negare filium, quem ipsa ante confessa est, et dicere: "Vade, iuvenis, de domo mea, quia peregrinum te suscepi." Ille enim dicebat regressum se ad matrem in domum patris sui. Quid multa? Dum haec aguntur, filius rogavit regem adversus matrem, quam rex iussit in conspectu suo sisti. Cui et dixit: "Mulier, filius tuus adversus te rogat; quid dicis? Est filius tuus an non?" Quae dixit: "Non est

<sup>1</sup> ea, BP]; eo, edd.    <sup>2</sup> abscedo] Hadr. Val., Hirschfeld; abscede, Henr. Val.    <sup>3</sup> ab] because of the prothetic vowel in *sponsus*, cf. Fr. épouse; a, P.

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *utilis*, cf. Gregory of Tours, iv. 3, and *passim*. The rich Goth imitates the luxury of the wealthy Romans.

are regarded among the people as aphorisms, and for that reason I am glad to place on record a few out of many. He said, "One who has gold and a demon cannot hide the demon." Also, "A poor Roman plays the Goth, a rich<sup>1</sup> Goth the Roman."

62. A certain man died, leaving a wife and a little son who did not know his mother. Her son, when a small boy, was taken from her by some one, carried to another province, and there brought up. When he became a youth, he somehow returned to his mother, who had now become betrothed to another man. When the mother saw her son, she embraced him, thanking God that she had seen her son again, and he lived with her for a month. And behold! the mother's betrothed came, and seeing the young man, asked who he was. She replied that he was her son. But when her betrothed learned that the youth was her son, he began to ask the return of the earnest-money<sup>2</sup> and to say: "Either deny that he is your son, or I certainly depart hence." The mother yielded to her betrothed and began to deny her son, whom she herself had before acknowledged, saying: "Leave my house, young man, since I took you up as a stranger." But he kept saying that he had come back to his mother and to the house of his father. To make a long story short, while this was going on the son appealed against his mother to the king, who ordered her to appear before him. And he said to her: "Woman, your son appeals against you; what have you to say? Is he your son, or not?" She replied: "He is not my son, but I

<sup>2</sup> As his part of the agreement of betrothal; *arra* is derived from a Hebrew word.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

meus filius sed peregrinum eum suscepi." Et dum per ordinem omnia filius mulieris intimasset in auribus <sup>1</sup> regis, dicit mulieri denuo: "Est filius tuus an non?" Quae dixit: "Non est filius meus." Dicit ei rex: "Et quae est facultas tua, mulier?" Quae respondit: "Usque ad mille solidos." Et dum maritum <sup>2</sup> se rex non esse facturum sub iusiurando pollicitus est nisi ipsum, alium non <sup>3</sup> acciperet maritum, tunc confusa est mulier et confessa est suum esse filium. Sunt eius et multa alia.

63. Postea vero accepta uxore <sup>4</sup> de Francis nomine Augofladam. Nam uxorem habuit ante regnum, de qua susceperat filias: unam dedit nomine Areaagni Alarico regi Wisigotharum in Gallias, et aliam filiam suam Theodegotham Sigismundo, filio Gundebadi regis. 64. Facta pace cum Anastasio imperatore per Festum de praesumptione regni, et omnia ornamenta palatii, quae Odoacar Constantinopolim transmiserat, remittit.

65. Eodem tempore contentio orta est in urbe Roma inter Symmachum et Laurentium; consecrati enim fuerant ambo. Ordinante deo, qui et <sup>5</sup> dignus fuit, superavit Symmachus. Post facta pace in urbe ecclesiae ambulavit rex Theodericus Romam, et occurrit Beato Petro devotissimus ac si catholicus.

<sup>1</sup> auribus] Henr. Val.; curibus, B; curia, P. <sup>2</sup> dum maritum, Momm.; dum alium, B<sup>2</sup>; dum aliud, B<sup>3</sup>P; <sup>3</sup> alium non] BP; non alium, edd. <sup>4</sup> accepta uxore,] BP; accepit uxorem, edd. <sup>5</sup> et, Momm.; ei, BP; eo, edd.

<sup>1</sup> Suet., *Claud.* 15, 2, tells a similar story of Claudius.

<sup>2</sup> *accepta uxore* is perhaps an example of the participle as a finite verb.

<sup>3</sup> Her name was Ermenberga.

took him up as a stranger." And when the woman's son had told the whole story in order to the king, he again said to the woman : " Is he your son, or not ? " She said : " He is not my son." The king said to her : " How much property have you, woman ? " She replied : " As much as a thousand gold-pieces." And when the king declared with an oath that he would not make anyone else than the young man himself her husband, and that she should receive no other husband, then the woman was disconcerted and confessed that the young man was her son.<sup>1</sup> And there are many other things told of the king.

63. Afterwards Theodoric took to wife<sup>2</sup> a Frankish woman named Augoflada. For before he began to reign he had a wife,<sup>3</sup> who had borne him daughters. One of these, called Areaagni, he gave in marriage in Gaul to Alaric, king of the Visigoths, and another daughter of his, Theodegotha, to Sigismund, son of King Gundebadus.<sup>4</sup> 64. Theodoric, through Festus, made peace with the emperor Anastasius with regard to his assumption of the rule, and Anastasius sent back to him all the ornaments of the Palace, which Odoacar had transferred to Constantinople.

65. At that same time a dispute arose in the city of Rome between Symmachus and Laurentius ;<sup>5</sup> for both had been consecrated. But through God's ordinance Symmachus, who also deserved it, got the upper hand. After peace was made in the city of the Church, King Theodoric went to Rome<sup>6</sup> and met Saint Peter with as much reverence as if he

<sup>4</sup> Jordanes mentions two natural daughters, Theudigotha and Ostrogotha, who also were married.

<sup>5</sup> About the bishopric.

<sup>6</sup> In the year 500.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Cui papa Symmachus et cunctus senatus vel populus Romanus cum omni gaudio extra urbem occurrentes. 66. Deinde veniens ingressus urbem, venit ad senatum, et ad Palmam populo allocutus, se omnia, deo iuvante, quod retro principes Romani ordinaverunt inviolabiliter servaturum promittit.

67. Per tricennem triumphans populo ingressus palatium, exhibens Romanis ludos circensium. Donavit populo Romano et pauperibus annonas singulis annis, centum viginti milia modios, et ad restaurationem palatii, seu ad recuperationem moeniae civitatis singulis annis libras ducentas de arca vinaria dari praecepit. 68. Item Amalfridam germanam suam in matrimonium tradens regi Wandalorum Transimundo. Liberium praefectum praetorii, quem fecerat in initio regni sui, fecit patricium, et dedit ei successorem. Successit itaque in<sup>1</sup> administratione praefecturae Theodorus, filius Basili. Odoïn comes eius insidiabatur ei. 69. Dum haec cognovisset, in palatio quod appellatur Sessorium caput eius amputari praecepit.

<sup>1</sup> *successit in*, added doubtfully by Momm. before *administratione*; transtuli *in ad. praefecturae* after *itaque*.

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<sup>1</sup> *vel* often has the force of *et* in late Latin; cf. Dracontius, *Satisfactio*, 229 and 257; it has nearly, if not quite, that force in Virg., *Aen.* vi. 769, *pariter pietate vel armis egregius*.

<sup>2</sup> A name apparently used from the fifth or sixth century for the area at Rome lying between the Curia and the arch of Septimius Severus; undoubtedly the same as the Palma Aurea of Fulgentius, *Acta S. Fulgenti*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, i. p. 37, ch. 13, Jan.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoric was in the eighth year of his reign and the Decennalia were sometimes celebrated ahead of time. Hadr. Valesius proposed to read *decennalem* for *tricennalem*.

himself were a Catholic. The Pope Symmachus, and the entire senate and <sup>1</sup> people of Rome amid general rejoicing met him outside the city. 66. Then coming to Rome and entering it, he appeared in the senate, and addressed the people at The Palm,<sup>2</sup> promising that with God's help he would keep inviolate whatever the former Roman emperors had decreed.

67. In celebration of his *tricennalia*<sup>3</sup> he entered the Palace in a triumphal procession for the entertainment of the people, and exhibited games in the Circus for the Romans. To the Roman people and to the poor of the city he gave each year a hundred and twenty thousand measures of grain, and for the restoration of the Palace and <sup>4</sup> the rebuilding of the walls of the city he ordered two hundred pounds to be given each year from the chest that contained the tax on wine. 68. He also gave his own sister Amalafrigda in marriage to Transimundus, king of the Vandals. Liberius, whom he had appointed praetorian prefect at the beginning of his reign, he made a patrician, and appointed for him a successor.<sup>5</sup> Now his successor in the administration of the prefecture was Theodorus, son of Basilus. Odoin, his general, made a plot against the king. 69. When Theodoric learned of it, he had Odoin beheaded in the palace which is called the Sessorium.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *seu* perhaps = *et* ; see note 1.

<sup>2</sup> A promotion ; see § 36, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> A building of unknown origin, situated at the extreme south-east of the Fifth Region, adjoining the Amphitheatrum Castrense. After the part outside the Aurelian wall was destroyed, the extensive inner section became an imperial residence by the beginning of the fourth century, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, lived there.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Verba enim promissionis eius, quae populo fuerat allocutus, rogante populo in tabula aenea iussit scribi et in publico poni.

70. Deinde sexto mense revertens Ravennam, aliam<sup>1</sup> germanam suam Amalabirgam tradens in matrimonio Herminifredo regi Turingorum et sic sibi per circuitum placavit omnes gentes.<sup>2</sup> Erat enim amator fabricarum et restaurator civitatum.

71. Hic aquae ductum Ravennae restauravit, quem princeps Traianus fecerat, et post multa tempora aquam introduxit. Palatium usque ad perfectum fecit, quem non dedicavit. Portica circa palatium perfecit. Item Veronae thermas et palatium fecit et a porta usque ad palatium porticum addidit.<sup>3</sup> Aquae ductum, quod per multa tempora destructum fuerat, renovavit et aquam intromisit. Muros alios novos circuit<sup>4</sup> civitatem. Item Ticino palatium, thermas, amphitheatrum, et alios muros civitatis fecit.

72. Sed et per alias civitates multa beneficia praestitit. Sic enim oblectavit vicinas gentes, ut se illi sub foedus darent aliae gentes, sibi eum regem sperantes. Negotiantes vero de diversis provinciis ad ipsum concurrebant. Tanta enim disciplinae fuit,

<sup>1</sup> *aliam germanam suam*] *alia g.s.* B; *filiam germanae suae*, Henr. Val.    <sup>2</sup> *placavit omnes gentes*, Momms.; *placuit omnibus gentibus*, B.    <sup>3</sup> *addidit*, Momms.; *reddedit*, B<sup>3</sup>; *reddidit*, B<sup>3</sup> (emended) P.    <sup>4</sup> *circuit*] B; *circumivit*, P.

At the request of the people he gave orders that the words of the promise which he had made to them should be inscribed upon a bronze tablet and set up in a public place.

70. Then returning to Ravenna, five months later, he gave Amalabirga, another sister of his,<sup>1</sup> in marriage to Herminifred, king of the Turingi, and in that way gained peace with all the nations round about. He was besides a lover of building and restorer of cities. 71. At Ravenna he repaired the aqueduct which the emperor Trajan had constructed, and thus brought water into the city after a long time. He completely finished the palace, but did not dedicate it. He completed the colonnades around the palace. He also built baths and a palace at Verona, and added a colonnade extending all the way from the gate to the Palace; besides that, he restored the aqueduct at Verona, which had long since been destroyed, and brought water into the city, as well as <sup>2</sup>surrounding <sup>3</sup>the city with new walls. Also at Ticinum <sup>4</sup> he built a palace, baths, and an amphitheatre, besides <sup>5</sup>new city walls.

72. He also showed many favours to the other cities. And he so won the good-will of the neighbouring nations, that they offered to make treaties with him, in the hope that he would be their king. Indeed, merchants flocked to him from the various provinces, for his organization was such that if anyone

<sup>1</sup> Others call her his niece.

<sup>2</sup> For this use of *alius* see *Class. Phil.* xxiii. (1928), pp. 60 ff., and for its use in Ammianus, *Amer. Jour. of Phil.* lvii. (1936), pp. 137 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *circuit*, late Latin for *circumdedit*.

<sup>4</sup> Modern Pavia.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

ut, si quis voluit in agro suo argentum vel aurum dimittere, ac si intra muros civitatis esset ita existimaretur. 73. Et hoc per totam Italiam tanto modo<sup>1</sup> augurium habebat, ut nulli civitati portam fecerit<sup>2</sup>: nec in civitate portae claudebantur: quivis quod opus habebat faciebat qua hora vellet, ac si in die. Sexaginta modios tritici in solidum ipsius tempore emerunt,<sup>3</sup> et vinum triginta amphoras in solidum.

13. 74. Eodem itaque tempore habebat Anastasius imperator tres nepotes, id est Pompeium, Probum et Hypatium; cogitans quem de ipsis faceret post se imperatorem, quodam die iussit eos secum prandere, et intra palatium post prandium meridiari, et singula lecta eis sterni. Et in uno lecto iussit ad capitem<sup>4</sup> regium insigne<sup>5</sup> poni, et quis de ipsis in eodem lecto elegisset dormire, in hoc se debere cognoscere cui regnum postea traderet. Unus quidem in uno lecto se iactavit, duo enim in alio, amore fraterno, se collocaverunt. Et ita contigit, ut in illo lecto ubi regium insigne<sup>6</sup> positum erat nullus eorum dormiret. 75. Dum haec vidisset, coepit cogitare intra se, et discens<sup>7</sup> eo quod nullus eorum regnaret coepit orare deum, ut illi revelatio fieret, ut scire possit, dum adviveret, quis post occasum eius regnum susciperet. Haec eodem

<sup>1</sup> *tanto modo*, Momm., doubtfully; *totum modo*, B<sup>2</sup>; B<sup>2</sup> (emend.) P omit.

<sup>2</sup> *portam fecerit*, Momm.; *portas faeceret*, B<sup>2</sup> (emend.); *portas faceret*, P. <sup>3</sup> *emerunt*, Gardt.; *fuertunt*] B; Momm. thought *frumenta* might have fallen out.

<sup>4</sup> *capitem*] *capite*, B; *caput*, P. <sup>5</sup> *regium insigne*, Hirschfeld; *regnum*] BP; perhaps *signum*, Momm.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note 5, above.

<sup>7</sup> *discens*, Momm. doubtfully; *dicere*, BP.

wished to send consignments of gold or silver in his domain, it was deemed as good as if he were within the walls of a city. 73. And he followed this principle so fully throughout all Italy, that he gave no city a gate; and where there were already gates, they were never shut; and every one could carry on his business at whatever hour he chose, as if it were in daylight. In his time sixty measures of wheat were bought for a single gold-piece,<sup>1</sup> and thirty amphorae of wine for the same price.

13. 74. Now at that same time the emperor Anastasius had three grandsons, namely, Pompeius, Probus, and Hypatius. Considering which one of them he should make his successor, he invited them to have luncheon with him one day, and after luncheon to take their midday siesta within the palace, where he had a couch prepared for each of them. Under the pillow on one couch he ordered the symbol of royalty to be put, and decided that whichever of them chose that couch for his nap, in him he ought to recognise the one to whom he should later turn over the rule. One of the grandsons threw himself down on one couch, but the other two, from brotherly affection, took their places together on another, and so it happened that none of them slept on the couch where the emblem of royalty had been placed. 75. When Anastasius saw this, he began to ponder, and learning from it that none of them should rule, he began to pray to God that He would show him a sign, so that while he still lived he might know who should receive the royal power after his death. While he was considering the question with fasting and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 11, 53.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

cogitante et orante cum ieiunio, quadam noctu vidit hominem, qui ita eum admonuit: "Crastinus qui tibi primus intra cubiculum nuntiatus fuerit, ipse accipiet post te regnum tuum." 76. Ita factum est ut Iustinus, qui comes erat excubitorum, dum advenisset, ubi directus fuerat ab imperatore, renuntiaretur ipse ei primus<sup>1</sup> per praepositum cubiculi. Cumque haec cognovisset, coepit gratias deo referre, qui ei dignatus est revelare successorem.

77. Cumque haec apud se tacite habuisset, quadam die procedens imperator, dum festinus Iustinus<sup>2</sup> vellet a latere imperatoris transire, obsequium ordinare vellens, calcavit chlamydem imperatoris. 78. Cui imperator hoc tantum dixit, "quid festinas?" Nam ultima vita regni sui temptans eum diabolus, vellens<sup>3</sup> sectam Eunomianam sequi; quem populus fidelis repressit, ita ut ei in ecclesia clamaretur: "In trinitatem lanceolam non mittes."<sup>4</sup> Non post multum temporis in lecto suo intra urbem Constantinopolim morbo tentus extremam clausit diem.

14. 79. Igitur rex Theodericus illiteratus erat et sic obtuso<sup>5</sup> sensu, ut in decem annos regni sui quattuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nulloatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream iussit

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<sup>1</sup> *renuntiaretur ipse ei primus*]; *renuntiaret ipse ei nuntiatus est primus*, PB.      <sup>2</sup> *festinus Iustinus*, Momm.; *Iustinus*, Wagner; *festinus*, BP.      <sup>3</sup> *uellens*] B<sup>2</sup>; *uolens*, B<sup>2</sup> (emend.) P.      <sup>4</sup> *mittes*, scripsi; *mittis*] B.      <sup>5</sup> *obtuso*, Zangermeister; *obrito*] BP; *bruto*, Henr. Val.

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<sup>1</sup> Or: arriving when he had been summoned . . .

<sup>2</sup> Of the man seen in his dream, see § 75.

prayer, one night in a dream he saw a man, who advised him as follows : “ The person whose arrival shall first be announced to you tomorrow in your bedroom will be the one to receive your throne after you.” 76. Now it chanced that Justinus, who was commander of the watch, on coming to a place whither he had been directed to go<sup>1</sup> by the emperor, was the first to be announced to him by his head-chamberlain. And when the king knew this, he began to thank God for having deigned to reveal to him who his successor should be.

77. These words<sup>2</sup> he kept to himself, but one day, when the emperor was in a procession, and Justinus wished to pass along quickly on one side of the emperor, in order to put his followers in line, he trod on the emperor’s cloak. 78. But the emperor only said to him : “ What is your hurry ? ”<sup>3</sup> Then in the last days of his reign the devil tempted him, wishing him to follow the Eunomian sect ;<sup>4</sup> but the people of the faith checked him and even cried out to him in the church : “ You shall not hurl your puny lance against the Trinity.” Not long afterwards Anastasius was taken ill and confined to his bed in the city of Constantinople, and ended his last day.

14. 79. Now King Theodoric was without training in letters, and of such dull comprehension that for ten years of his reign he had been wholly unable to learn the four letters necessary for endorsing his edicts. For that reason he had a golden plate with

<sup>3</sup> Thus implying that Justinus would succeed him.

<sup>4</sup> The followers of Eunomius, a native of Cappadocia (died about 392). He became Bishop of Cyzicus, and was an extreme Arian.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

interrasilem<sup>1</sup> fieri, quattuor litteras “legi”<sup>2</sup> habentem; unde si subscribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eam pennam ducebat,<sup>3</sup> ut subscriptio eius tantum<sup>4</sup> videretur.

80. Ergo Theodericus, dato consulatu Eutharico, Roma et Ravenna triumphavit qui Eutharicus nimis asper fuit et contra fidem catholicam inimicus. 81. Post haec Theoderico Verona consistente propter metum gentium facta est lis inter Christianos et Iudaeos Ravennates. Quare Iudaei baptizatos nolentes, dum ludunt<sup>5</sup> frequenter oblatam aquam<sup>6</sup> in aquam fluminis iactaverunt. Dehinc accensus est populus non observantes<sup>7</sup> neque regi neque Eutharico aut Petro, qui tunc episcopus erat, consurgentes ad synagogas, mox eas incenderunt. Quod et in Roma in re<sup>8</sup> eadem similiter contigit.

82. Mox Iudaei currentes Veronam, ubi rex erat, agente Triwane praeposito cubiculi, et ipse haereticus favens Iudaeis, insinuans regi factum adversus Christianos. Qui mox iussit propter praesumptionem incendii, ut omnis populus Romanus<sup>9</sup> Ravennates synagogas, quas incendio concremaverunt,

<sup>1</sup> *interrasilem*] B<sup>3</sup> (emended) P<sup>1</sup>; *interra\* silem*, B<sup>3</sup>; *interasilem*, P<sup>2</sup>. <sup>2</sup> *legi*] B<sup>1</sup> (ut con. Reiske); *regis*, B<sup>1</sup> (emend.) P. <sup>3</sup> *ducebat*]; *duce\*\*t*, B<sup>1</sup>; *duceret*, B<sup>2</sup>P. <sup>4</sup> *tantum*]; *tamen*, Hirschfeld. <sup>5</sup> *ludunt*] P (con. parum certe, Momm.); *laudent*, B<sup>3</sup>; *ludent*, B<sup>3</sup> (emend.); *lavant*, Hirschfeld; *ludibundi*, con. Warmington. <sup>6</sup> *aquam*, add. Warmington. <sup>7</sup> *observantes*, Momm.; *reservantes*, BP. <sup>8</sup> *re*, Momm.; *cena*, BP. <sup>9</sup> *et* (after *Romanus*), sugg. by Momm.; BP omit.

slits made, containing the four letters "legi";<sup>1</sup> then, if he wished to endorse anything, he placed the plate over the paper and drew his pen through the slits, so that only this subscription of his was seen.<sup>2</sup>

80. Then Theodoric made Eutharicus<sup>3</sup> consul and celebrated triumphs at Rome and at Ravenna. This Eutharicus was an excessively rough man, and an enemy to the Catholic faith. 81. After this, while Theodoric was remaining at Verona through fear of the neighbouring peoples, strife arose between the Christians and the Jews of the city of Ravenna; accordingly the Jews, being unwilling to be baptised, often in sport threw the holy water that was offered to them into the water of the river. Because of this the people were fired with anger, and without respect for the king, for Eutharicus, or for Peter, who was bishop at the time, they rose against the synagogues and presently set them on fire. And this same thing happened in a similar affair at Rome.

82. Presently the Jews hastened to Verona, where the king was, and there the head-chamberlain Triwane acted on their behalf; he, too, as a heretic favoured the Jews, and cajoled the king into taking action against the Christians. Accordingly Theodoric, on the presumption that they had resorted to arson, presently gave orders that the whole Roman<sup>4</sup> population should furnish money for the rebuilding of the

<sup>1</sup> "I have read (it)." Or perhaps *ΘEOΔ*; see *regis*, crit. note 2, and supply *nominis*.

<sup>2</sup> The same story is told by Procopius, *Anecdota*, 6, 15, of the emperor Justinus.

<sup>3</sup> He was the king's son-in-law, husband of Amalasuntha.

<sup>4</sup> The Gothic population was not included, since they had taken no part in the burning.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

data pecunia restaurarent ; qui vero non habuissent unde dare fustati per publicum sub voce praeconia ducerentur. Data praecepta ad Eutharicum, Cilligam, et Petrum episcopum secundum hunc tenorem et <sup>1</sup> ita adimpletum.

83. Ex eo enim invenit diabolus locum, quem ad modum hominem bene rem publicam sine querella gubernantem subriperet. Nam mox iussit ad fonticulos in proastio civitatis Veronensis oratorium Santi Stephani, id est <sup>2</sup> altarium, subverti. Item ut nullus Romanus arma usque ad cultellum uteretur vetuit. 84. Item mulier pauper de gente Gothica, iacens sub porticu non longe a palatio Ravennati, quattuor generavit dracones ; duo de occidente in orientem ferri in nubibus a populo visi sunt et in mari praecipitari,<sup>3</sup> duo portati sunt unum caput habentes. Stella cum facula apparuit, quae dicitur cometes, splendens <sup>4</sup> per dies quindecim. Terrae mota frequenter fuerunt.

85. Post haec coepit adversus Romanos rex subinde fremere inventa occasione. Cyprianus, qui tunc referendarius erat, postea comes sacram et magister, actus cupiditate insinuans de Albino patricio, eo quod litteras adversus regnum eius imperatori Iustino misisset ; quod factum dum

<sup>1</sup> et, Mommm. ; *praecepit et*, BP. <sup>2</sup> *id est*] ; *idem situm*, B ; *ibidem s.*, P ; Mommm. suggests that *id est altarium* is an interpolation, which seems probable. <sup>3</sup> *praecipitari*] P<sup>2</sup> (conj.) ; *praecipitati*, B ; *praecipitati sunt*, P<sup>1</sup>. <sup>4</sup> *cometes splendens*, Henr. Val. ; *comes pendens*] ; *comis pendens* BP.

<sup>1</sup> The form *frustati* for *fustati* occurs in the edict *Langob. Luitpr.* ch. 141, *facit eas decalvari et frustari per vicos vicinantes* (Mommsen, who reads it here, with B).

synagogues of Ravenna which had been burned; and that those who did not have anything from which they could give should be whipped<sup>1</sup> through the streets of the city while a herald made proclamation of their offence. This was in substance the order given to Eutharicus, Cilliga, and the Bishop Peter, and thus it was carried out.

83. Shortly after that the devil found an opportunity to steal for his own a man who was ruling the state well and without complaint. For presently Theodoric gave orders that an oratory of St. Stephen, that is, a high altar, beside the springs in a suburb of the city of Verona, should be destroyed. He also forbade any Roman to carry arms, except a small pen-knife. 84. Also a poor woman of the Gothic race, lying in a colonnade not far from the palace at Ravenna, gave birth to four snakes; two of these in the sight of the people were carried up on clouds from west to east and then fell into the sea; the two others, which had but a single head, were taken away. A star with a train of fire appeared, of the kind called a comet,<sup>2</sup> and shone for fifteen days. There were frequent earthquakes.

85. After this the king began from time to time, when he found an opportunity, to vent his rage upon the Romans. Cyprianus, who was then a referee,<sup>3</sup> afterwards count of the privy purse and a master,<sup>4</sup> was led by avarice to make a charge against the patrician Albinus, to the effect that he had sent to the emperor Justinus a letter hostile to Theodoric's rule. When Albinus was summoned

<sup>1</sup> See Amm. xxv. 10, 2 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *magister militum*.

<sup>2</sup> See Index II, Vol. I.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

evocatus<sup>1</sup> negaret, tunc Beothius patricius, qui magister officiorum erat, in conspectu regis dixit: "Falsa est insinuatio Cypriani; sed si Albinus fecit, et ego et cunctus senatus uno consilio fecimus; falsum est, domne rex." 86. Tunc Cyprianus haesitans, non solum adversus Albinum, sed et adversus Boethium, eius defensorem, deducit falsos testes. Sed rex dolum Romanis tendebat<sup>2</sup> et quacrebat quem ad modum eos interficeret; plus credidit falsis testibus quam senatoribus. 87. Tunc Albinus et Boetius ducti in custodiam ad baptisterium ecclesiae. Rex vero vocavit Eusebium, praefectum urbis, Ticinum<sup>3</sup> et inaudito Boethio protulit in eum sententiam. Quem mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in custodia habebatur, misere fecit occidi.<sup>4</sup> Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutissime tortus, ita ut oculi eius creparent, sic sub tormenta ad ultimum cum fuste occiditur.

15. 88. Rediens igitur rex Ravennam,<sup>5</sup> tractans non ut dei amicus sed legi eius inimicus, immemor factus omnis eius beneficii et gratiae quam ei dederat, confidens in brachio suo, item<sup>6</sup> credens quod eum pertimesceret Iustinus imperator, mittens et evocans Ravennam Iohannem, sedis apostolicae praesulem, et dicit ad eum: "Ambula Constantinopolim ad

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<sup>1</sup> *reuocitus*] B; *reuocatus*, P; *evocatus*, pref. by Momm.  
<sup>2</sup> *tendebat*, Henr. Val.]; *tenebat*, BP.      <sup>3</sup> *Ticini*] B;  
*Ticinum*, pref. by Momm.      <sup>4</sup> *quem . . . occidi*, Momm.;  
*qui (quem, P<sup>1</sup>) mox . . . misit rex et facit occidi*, BP.      <sup>5</sup> *rex*  
*Ravennam*] Hadr. Val.; *ex Ravenna*, BP.      <sup>6</sup> *item*]  
preceded by a space in B.

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently named from an otherwise unrecorded Calventius, modern Calvenzeno.

and denied this, the patrician Boethius, who was master of ceremonies, said in the king's presence : "The charge of Cyprianus is false, but if Albinus did that, so also have I and the whole senate with one accord done it ; it is false, my Lord King." 86. Then Cyprianus, after some hesitation, produced false witnesses, not only against Albinus, but against his defender Boethius. Moreover, the king was plotting evil against the Romans and seeking an opportunity for killing them ; hence he trusted the false witnesses rather than the senators. 87. Then Albinus and Boethius were imprisoned in the baptistery of a church. And the king summoned Eusebius, prefect of the city, to Ticinum, and pronounced sentence on Boethius without giving him a hearing. Presently at the Calventian estate,<sup>1</sup> where Boethius was confined,<sup>2</sup> he had him put to a wretched death. He was tortured for a long time with a cord bound about his forehead so tightly that his eyes cracked in their sockets, and finally, while under torture, he was beaten to death with a cudgel.

15. 88. Then the king, on his return to Ravenna, acted no longer as a friend of God, but as an enemy to His law ; forgetful of all His kindness and of the favour which He had shown him, trusting to his own arm, believing, too, that the emperor Justinus stood in great fear of him, he sent and summoned to Ravenna Johannes,<sup>3</sup> who at that time sat upon the apostolic throne, and said to him : "Go to the emperor Justinus in Constantinople, and tell him

<sup>2</sup> The sentence of death had been changed to exile.

<sup>3</sup> The first Roman pope of that name, successor to Hormisdas.



## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Iustinum imperatorem, et dic ei inter alia, ut reconciliatos<sup>1</sup> in catholica restituat religione.” 89. Cui papa Iohannes ita respondit: “Quod factururus es, rex, facito citius;”<sup>2</sup> ecce in conspectu tuo adsto. Hoc tibi ego non promitto me facturum, nec illi dicturus sum. Nam in aliis causis, quas<sup>3</sup> mihi iniunxeris, obtinere ab eodem, annuente deo, potero.”

90. Iubet ergo rex iratus navem fabricari<sup>4</sup> et super impositum eum cum aliis episcopis, id est Ecclesium Ravennatem et Eusebium Fanestrem, et Sabinum Campanum, et alios duos, simul et senatores Theodorum, Importunum, Agapitum, et alium Agapitum. Sed deus, qui fideles cultores suos non deserit, cum prosperitate perduxit. 91. Cui Iustinus imperator venienti ita occurrit ac si Beato Petro; cui data legatione, omnia repromisit facturum praeter reconciliatos, qui se fidei catholicae dederunt, Arrianis restitui nullatenus posse.

92. Sed dum haec aguntur, Symmachus caput senati, cuius Boethius filiam habuit uxorem, deducitur de Roma Ravennam. Metuens vero rex ne dolore<sup>5</sup> generi aliquid adversus regnum eius

<sup>1</sup> *reconciliatos*]; *reconciliatus*, B<sup>2</sup>; *reconciliatos hereticos*, B<sup>2</sup> (emend.).

<sup>2</sup> *facito citius*]; *fac cito*, P<sup>2</sup> (emend.) (“recte puto,” Momm.); *facito*, BP<sup>1</sup>. <sup>3</sup> *quas*] B<sup>1</sup> (?) P<sup>1</sup> (script. emendata); *quibus*, BP<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *fabricari* (fortasse *forari*), Momm.]; *fa\*\*\*\*\**, B<sup>2</sup>; *preparari*, B<sup>2</sup> (emend.) P.

<sup>5</sup> *dolore*] Henr. Val.; *dolo*, BP.

<sup>1</sup> To the Arians; see note 1, § 94, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> On the Metaurus river, in Umbria; cf. Tac., *Hist.* iii. 50. Also called Fanum, Caes., *B.C.* i. 11, 4 (modern

among other things to restore<sup>1</sup> those who have become reconciled and joined the Catholic Church."

89. To him the Pope Johannes replied: "What you will do, O king, do quickly. Lo! here I stand before you. But this thing I will not promise you to do, nor will I give the emperor your command. But anything else which you may enjoin upon me with God's help I shall be able to obtain from him."

90. Thereupon the king in anger gave orders that a ship should be built, and that Johannes should be embarked on it with the other bishops; that is, Ecclesius of Ravenna, Eusebius of Fanum Fortunae,<sup>2</sup> Sabinus of Campania, and two others; and with them the senators Theodorus, Importunus, and Agapitus, with another Agapitus. But God, who does not desert his faithful worshippers, conducted them in safety. 91. The emperor Justinus received the Roman bishop on his arrival as he would have received Saint Peter, gave him audience, and promised that he would do everything that was asked, except that those who had become reconciled and returned to the Catholic faith could by no means be restored to the Arians.<sup>3</sup>

92. But while all this was going on, Symmachus, the head of the senate, whose daughter Boethius had married, was brought from Rome to Ravenna. There the king, fearing that through resentment at the death of his son-in-law,<sup>4</sup> Symmachus might take some step in opposition to his rule, ordered him

Fano) and Colonia Julia Fanestris; cf. Mela, ii. 4, 64; Dessau, *Inscr.* 6651, 6652; *C.I.L.* xi, 6238, 6240.

<sup>2</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Boethius; see 85-87, above.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

tractaret, obiecto crimine iussit interfici. 93. Rever-  
tens <sup>1</sup> Iohannes papa a Iustino, quem Theodericus  
cum dolo suscepit et in offensa sua eum esse iubet.  
Qui post paucos dies defunctus est. Ergo euntes  
populi ante corpusculum eius, subito unus de turba  
adeptus a daemonio cecidit, et dum pervenissent  
cum lectulo ubi latus <sup>2</sup> erat usque ad hominem, subito  
sanus surrexit et praecedebat in exsequias. Quod  
videntes populi et senatores, coeperunt reliquias de  
veste eius tollere. Sic cum summo gaudio populi  
deductus est corpus eius foris civitatem.

16. 94. Igitur Symmachus, scolasticus Iudaeus,  
iubente non rege sed tyranno, dictavit praecepta die  
quarta feria, septimo kalend. Septembr. indictione  
quarta, Olybrio consule, ut die dominico adveniente

<sup>1</sup> *reuertens*] B<sup>2</sup>; *reuertens igitur*, B<sup>2</sup> (emend.) P. <sup>2</sup> *latus*,  
Momm.; *lectus*, BP.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Amm. xxii. 11, 10.

<sup>2</sup> At this time called *scholasticus*.

<sup>3</sup> When the price of grain at Rome seemed likely to rise too high, contributions of grain were demanded of the provinces in addition to the regular tribute. These were called *annonae* (Dig. xxvi. 7, 32, 6), *indictiones temporariae* (Dig. xxxiii. 2, 28) or *indictiones* (Pliny, *Paneg.* 29). Their scope was extended in the fourth century and regulated by a census of 289. Diocletian made them annual, and after 297 held a new census, to be repeated every five years, and combined every three census-periods into a fifteen-year cycle, counting the years from one to fifteen and then beginning again. This arrangement was wrongly said to have begun in 312, for papyrus receipts show that the cycle began in 297—298, coinciding with Diocletian's stay in Egypt, when he personally conducted the siege of Alexandria, which ended early in 297 (Eutr. ix. 23). The fifteen-year cycle probably had some connection with Egypt. Augustus, or at latest Tiberius, established a rating

to be put to death under a false accusation. 93. Then Pope Johannes returned from Justinus; Theodoric received him in a hostile spirit, and ordered him to be deemed as one of his enemies; a few days later Johannes died. When the people were marching before his dead body, suddenly one of the crowd was possessed by a devil and fell down; but when they had come, with the coffin in which Johannes was carried, to the place where the stricken man lay, he suddenly got up sound and well and took his place in the front of the funeral procession. When the people and the senators beheld this, they began to take relics<sup>1</sup> from the Pope's garments. Then the body was escorted out of the city attended by the great rejoicing of the people.

16. 94. Then Symmachus, an advocate<sup>2</sup> and a Jew, at the order of a tyrant rather than a king, announced on an appointed day, which was a Wednesday, the 26th of August, in the fourth indiction,<sup>3</sup> under the consulship of Olybrius,<sup>4</sup> that

there every fourteen years, because the fourteenth year was the end of puberty and the beginning of liability to taxation. The system was extended from Egypt to other provinces before the middle of the fourth century. In Italy the cycle began on September 1st (Ambros. *Noë et arca* 17, 60, Migne, 14, 390, *a Septembri mense annus videatur incipere, sicut indictionum praesentium usus ostendit*). An inscr. of 552 gives August 11th as *in fine indictionis* xv., De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. urbis Romae*, I. 979; and it was the same for the greater part (if not the whole) of the empire. September 1st was chosen as nearest to the beginning of the month in Egypt (Aug. 29). The *indictiones* were used as a means of dating in 307, at first in Egypt. In other provinces first in 359. In Italy first about 380 (Seeck in Pauly-Wiss., ix. (1916), 1327 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See 11, 54, note 3.

## ANONYMI VALESIANI PARS POSTERIOR

Arriani basilicas catholicas invaderent. 95. Sed qui non patitur fideles cultores suos ab alienigenis opprimi mox intulit in eum sententiam Arrii, auctoris religionis eius; fluxum ventris incurrit, et dum intra triduum evacuatus fuisset, eodem die, quo se gaudebat ecclesias invadere simul regnum et animam amisit. 96. Ergo antequam exhalaret, nepotem suum Athalaricum in regnum constituit. Se autem vivo fecit sibi monimentum ex lapide quadrato, mirae magnitudinis opus, et saxum ingens quod<sup>1</sup> superponeret inquisivit.

<sup>1</sup> *saxum ingentem quem*] B; *ingens quod*, P.

on the following Sabbath the Arians<sup>1</sup> would take possession of the Catholic churches. 95. But He who does not allow his faithful worshippers to be oppressed by unbelievers soon brought upon Theodoric the same punishment that Arius, the founder of his religion, had suffered ; for the king was seized with a diarrhœa, and after three days of open bowels lost both his throne and his life on the very same day on which he rejoiced to attack the churches.<sup>2</sup> 96. But before breathing his last he named his grandson Athalaric as his successor. During his lifetime he had made himself a mausoleum<sup>3</sup> of squared blocks of stone, a work of extraordinary size, and sought out a huge rock to place upon it.

<sup>1</sup> A sect founded by Arius, an elder of Alexandria in the fourth century. He held that the Son was created by the Father, and subordinate to the Father, although possessing a similar nature ; thus he practically denied the divinity of Christ. Although this doctrine was condemned by the Council of Nicaea in 325, it nevertheless had many adherents for a long time thereafter. On the spelling, see note on § 48, above.

<sup>2</sup> A.D. 526.

<sup>3</sup> This is still in existence at Ravenna, although stripped of its external decorations.



## INDEX <sup>1</sup>

- Abanni (Abannae), a people of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 37.
- Abienus (Avienus), a senator, xxviii. 1, 48, 49, 50.
- Acacius, xxxi. 11, 3, read by Her. see Actus.
- Academia, the Academy of Plato, xxx. 4, 5.
- Acincum (Aquincum), a town of Lower Pannonia; modern Alt-Ofen; xxx. 5, 13, 14.
- Acontisma,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 8.
- Actus, xxxi. 11, 3, read by V; see crit. note.
- Ad Innocentes, a place in Mediolanum, xxvii. 7, 5.
- Adda, a town of Mauretania, Sitifensis, xxix. 5, 28.
- Aedico, see Edico.
- Aegaeum mare,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 7; xxxi. 16, 7.
- Aegyptia civitas.<sup>1</sup>
- Aegyptiacae res.<sup>2</sup>
- Aegyptii,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 5, 14; their fondness for quarrels, xxii. 6, 1 (cf. xxii. 16, 23); the Colchians descended from, xxii. 8, 24; their personal appearance and habits, xxii. 16, 23.
1. Aegyptus,<sup>2</sup> the Nile in Homer.
2. Aegyptus,<sup>2</sup> the country, xxviii. 4, 9; the most ancient of nations, xxii. 15, 2; description of, xxii. 15 and 16; invaded
2. Aegyptus—continued.  
by Cambyzes, xvii. 4, 3; *Aegypti praefectus*, xix. 12, 10 (cf. xvii. 4, 5, note); *dux*, xxii. 11, 2; xxiii. 3, 5; xxiv. 1, 9; *rector*, xxii. 14, 6; hieroglyphics, xvii. 4, 8 ff.; a source of grain, xxviii. 1, 17, note; of learning, xxii. 16, 19 ff.
- Aenus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 13.
1. Aequitius,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 6, 3, 12; consul with Gratianus in 374, xxx. 3, 1; 6, 2.
2. Aequitius, a kinsman of Valens, xxxi. 12, 15; 13, 18.
- Aeruli (Eruli, Heruli) et Batavi,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 1, 6; 8, 7.
- Aeschines, the celebrated Athenian orator (389-314 B.C.), xxx. 4, 5.
- Aesopus, a writer of mimes, xxx. 4, 21, note.
- Aethiopes,<sup>2</sup> the people of Aethiopia,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 5, 37.
- Aetnaeae favillae, embers from Mt. Aetna in eastern Sicily, xxxi. 4, 9.
- Afri,<sup>1</sup> the people of Africa, xxvii. 9, 2; see also xv. 10, 10, note.
- Africa, the country,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 5, 18, note; the Roman province, xxvii. 6, 1; 9, 1; xxviii. 1, 17 (Rome's source of grain after the founding of Constantinople): 6, 5; xxix. 5, 18; 6, 1; xxx. 7, 3, 10; disturbances in, xxvii.

<sup>1</sup> Names which occur for the first time in Vol. III., and those which appeared in Vol. I. and Vol. II. and are repeated in Vol. III.; also a very few which were omitted in the Indices to Vol. I. and Vol. II. Names which occur but once or twice in Vols. I. and II., but not in Vol. III., are usually not repeated, except for names of the same form (such as Scipio). Superior figures (Acontisma<sup>2</sup>) refer to the Indices of Vols. I. and II., the descriptions in which are ordinarily not repeated. When two figures are given (e.g. Hadrianus,<sup>1, 2</sup>) the description is given under the former figure. Fuller details are given of the important persons and places. References to the *Exc. Val.* are usually given by sections.



## INDEX

### Africa—continued.

- 9; xxviii. 6; xxix. 5; Exc. 9;  
*Africae proconsul*, xxvii. 6, 1;  
*comes per A.*, xxviii. 6, 5; xxx.  
 7, 3 (*comes rei castrensis*). See  
 also *Africanus*, adj.  
*Africanus*, -a, -um, adj.: *clades*,  
 xxx. 2, 9; 9, 1; *provinciae*,  
 xxviii. 6, 1.  
 1. *Africanus*, a pleader, xxix. 3, 6.  
 2. *Africanus superior*.<sup>1</sup>  
 3. *Africanus*,<sup>1</sup> governor of Pan-  
 nonia Secunda.  
*Agabana*, a fortress in Persia,  
 xxvii. 12, 3.  
 1. *Agapitus* (*Agapetus*), a senator,  
 cons. in 517, Exc. 90.  
 2. *Agapitus* (*Agapetus*), a Roman  
 bishop in 536, Exc. 90.  
*Agathyrsl*,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 2, 14, note.  
*Aginatus*, *vicarius* of Rome in 370,  
 xxviii. 1, 30, 32, 50 ff.  
*Agrigentinus taurus*, xxviii. 1, 46,  
 note.  
*Agrippae lavacrum*, the *Thermae*  
 built by *Agrippa* near the  
 Pantheon in 25 B.C., xxix. 6, 19  
*Alax*,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 54.  
*Alamanni*,<sup>1</sup> avoid towns, xvi. 2,  
 12; unwilling to besiege towns,  
 xvi. 4, 2; xxvii. 1, 1; xxviii. 2,  
 6; 5, 8, 15; xxxi. 10, 5  
 (*Germani*): 11, 6; defeated at  
*Argentoratus*, xvi. 12; again  
 rebel, xxi. 3, 4; invade *Gaul*  
 and *Ractia*, xxvi. 4, 5; 5, 7, 13;  
 defeated by *Jovinus*, xxvii. 2  
 See also *Lentenses*.  
*Alamannia*,<sup>2</sup> xxx. 3, 1.  
*Alamannica*, -a, -um,<sup>1</sup>: *excursus*,  
 xxx. 7, 5; *gens*, xxix. 4, 7;  
*populus*, xxxi. 10, 1; *tentoria*,  
 xxvii. 2, 9.  
*Alani*, see *Halani*.  
*Alanus* (*Ἀλανός*), a mountain range  
 of *Sarmatia*, xxxi. 2, 13, note.  
*Alaricus*, Exc. 63.  
*Alatheus*, a leader of the *Visigoths*  
 xxxi. 3, 3; 4, 12; 12, 12, 17.  
*Alavivus*, a Gothic leader, xxxi. 4,  
 1, 8; 5, 5.  
*Albania*, a region of Asia near the  
 Caspian Sea, xxvii. 12, 17; see  
*Alibani*.<sup>1, 2</sup>  
 1. *Albinus*.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. *Albinus*.<sup>1</sup>

3. *Albinus*, Exc. 85.  
 1. *Alexander Magnus*,<sup>1</sup> his journeys,  
 xxviii. 4, 18; compared with  
*Papirius Cursor*, xxx. 8, 5; his  
 wise reply to his mother, xiv.  
 11, 22; dreams of an infinity  
 of worlds, xv. 1, 4; how he broke  
 his sleep, xvi. 5, 4; founded  
*Alexandria*, xxii. 11, 6; and  
*Callisthenes*, xviii. 3, 7; altars  
 to, xxii. 8, 40; conquered  
*Darius*, xxiii. 6, 22; xxvi. 8, 15;  
 his continence, xxiv. 4, 27; his  
 generosity, xxv. 4, 15; his  
 death, xxiii. 6, 2; his successor,  
 xiv. 8, 5; xxiii. 6, 3.  
 2. *Alexander* (*Severus*).<sup>2</sup>  
 3. *Alexander Heliopolites*.<sup>2</sup>  
 1. *Alexandria*,<sup>1</sup> in Egypt, descrip-  
 tion of, xxii. 16, 7-13, 15 ff.  
 2. *Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> in *Arachosia*.  
 3. *Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> in *Ariana*.  
 4. *Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> in *Carmania*.  
 5. *Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> an island in *Persia*.  
 6. *Alexandria*,<sup>2</sup> in *Sogdiana*.  
*Alfenus* (*Varus*), a Roman jurist,  
 consul in 39 B.C., xxx. 4, 12;  
 cf. *Gellius*, vii. 5.  
*Alica*, Exc. 27.  
*Alpes*,<sup>1</sup> Exc. 4: *Iuliae*,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 6, 1;  
 xxxi. 11, 3; 16, 7.  
 1. *Alypius*,<sup>2</sup> *vicarius* of Britain,  
 xxix. 1, 44.  
 2. *Alypius*, xxviii. 1, 16.  
*Amalabirga* (*Amalaberga*), daughter  
 of *Amalafrida*, Exc. 70.  
*Amalafrida* (*Amalafrida*), sister of  
*Theodoric*, king of the *Vandals*,  
 Exc. 68.  
*Amandus*, Exc. 23, 26.  
*Amantius*, xxviii. 1, 19, 21.  
*Amazones*,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 2, 16. Their  
 wars with the *Athenians*, xxii.  
 8, 18, 22; 27.  
*Ambiani*,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 8, 1.  
*Ammianus*, see *Introd.*, pp. ix. ff.  
*Ampelius*, prefect of Rome in  
 371-372, xxviii. 1, 22; cf. 4, 3.  
*Anastasia*, Exc. 14; cf. *Anastasiana*  
*balnea*.<sup>2</sup>  
*Anastasius*, emperor of the East  
 (A.D. 491-518), Exc. 56, 64, 74, 77.  
 1. *Anatolius*.<sup>1</sup>  
 2. *Anatolius*.<sup>2</sup>

# INDEX

8. Anatolius, a *palatinus*, see Index of Officials, Vol. I.; *xxix.* 1, 5.
- Anchialos (Anchialus),<sup>2</sup> a town of Thrace, *xxvii.* 4, 12; *xxxi.* 5, 16.
- Ancorarius, a mountain of Mauritania, *xxix.* 5, 25.
- Andocides, the Attic orator, born *circ.* 440 B.C., *xxx.* 4, 5.
- Anepsia, wife of Victorinus (*q.v.*), *xxviii.* 1, 34, 35, 49.
- Annonaria, see Tuscia.
- Antaeus, son of Poseidon and Ge, a cruel tyrant, slain by Heracles, *xxviii.* 1, 46; *xxx.* 4, 19.
- Anthropophagi,<sup>2</sup> *xxxi.* 2, 15.
1. Antiochia,<sup>1</sup> Antioch, the Syrian city, *xxviii.* 4, 3; *xxix.* 1, 4, 16; *xxxi.* 7, 1; 11, 1; brilliantly lighted at night, *xiv.* 1, 9; captured by the Persians in time of Gallienus, *xxiii.* 5, 3; Julian closes its Christian church, *xxii.* 13, 2; satirized by Julian, *xxii.* 14, 2; riot at, *xxxi.* 1, 2.
2. Antiochia,<sup>2</sup>
- Antiphon (Antipho), a Greek orator of the fifth century B.C., *xxx.* 4, 5.
1. Antoninus Pius, *xxx.* 8, 12, note; see Antoninus imperator.<sup>1</sup>
2. Antoninus Heliogabalus.<sup>2</sup>
3. Antoninus,<sup>2</sup> the deserter to the Persians.
1. Antonius (M.), a celebrated Roman orator (143-187 B.C.), *xxx.* 4, 6.
2. Antonius<sup>2</sup> (M.), the triumvir.
3. Antonius,<sup>2</sup> a tribune.
1. Apamia,<sup>2</sup> in Assyria.
2. Apamia,<sup>2</sup> in Parthia.
3. Apamia,<sup>2</sup> on the Propontis.
4. Apamia,<sup>1</sup> a city in Syria, *xxviii.* 2, 11.
- (Apaudulus), see Sapaudulus.
- Appia via, *Exc.* 10.
- Appius Claudius, consul in 79 B.C., *xxvii.* 4, 10.
- Apri, a city of Thrace, *xxvii.* 4, 12.
- Apronianus,<sup>2</sup> *xxvii.* 3, 3.
- Aquileia,<sup>1</sup> *xxix.* 6, 1, besieged by the Marcomanni; strong and well situated, *xxi.* 11, 2 (cf. *12.* 1); besieged and taken by Julian, *xxi.* 12, 4 ff.; *xxii.* 8, 49.
- Aquilo,<sup>1</sup> the north wind, *xxvii.* 4, 3.
- Arabes beati,<sup>2</sup> Arabes Scenitae (Sarraceni).<sup>2</sup>
- Arabia,<sup>1</sup> *xxxi.* 3, 5; see also Arabes.
- Arabici odores, *xxix.* 1, 30.
- Arator, *xxviii.* 2, 5.
- Arbitio, Flavius, <sup>1,2</sup> his cunning, cruelty, and injustice, *xv.* 2, 4; 3, 2.
- Arbor Felix, a Roman camp near lacus Brigantinus, Arbona, modern Arbon, *xxxi.* 10, 20.
- Arcani, *xxviii.* 3, 8, note.
- Arctous, -a, -um, adj. from Arctos: *gentes*, *xxxi.* 4, 2; *latas*, *xxx.* 4, 1; *provinciae*,<sup>1</sup> *xxxi.* 16, 7; *stellae*, *xxvii.* 4, 6.
- Areaagni (Arcvagni, cod. B), daughter of Theodorici and wife of Alaric II., *Exc.* 63.
- Arelate,<sup>1</sup> *xxix.* 5, 5.
- Areopagitae, *xxix.* 2, 19, the members of the Areopagus, an ancient judicial assembly at Athens, which held court on a rocky hill of the same name (Ares' Hill) west of the Acropolis. It presided over cases of homicide, and had besides important religious, censorial, and political authority.
1. Arethusa.<sup>1</sup>
2. Arethusa, a courier-station of Macedonia, *xxvii.* 4, 8, where Euripides was buried.
- Argentaria, *xxxi.* 10, 8, note.
- Arlagne, daughter of Leo the Great, *Exc.* 39, see crit. note.
- Arlarius, a king of the Goths under Constantine the Great, *Exc.* 31.
- Arichi (Arinchi, T.L.L.).<sup>2</sup>
- Arlintheus,<sup>1,2</sup> *magister peditum*, *xxvii.* 5, 4, 9; *comes*, *12.* 13, 15; effect of his authority and stature, *xxvi.* 8, 5 (cf. Claud., *In Eutr.* i. 478).
- Aristides, the famous Athenian statesman and general, surnamed the Just (flor. *circ.* 489-468), *xxx.* 4, 21.
- Aristomenes, a native of Lepcis in northern Africa, *xxviii.* 6, 18, 20, 28.

## INDEX

Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 4, 8.

Arrius, see *Arrius*.

**Armenia**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxvii. 12, 1, 5, 10, 15; xxx. 1, 4; 2, 1, 2, 4; xxxi. 1, 3; first taken from the Romans by Narseus, grandfather of Sapor II., xxiii. 5, 11; taken from him by Galerius, xvii. 5, 6; the Persians demand its return by Valentinian, xxvi. 4, 6; see Armenia Minor.<sup>1, 2</sup>

**Armenii**,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 12, 13, 17, 18 xxx. 1, 1, 13; xxxi. 2, 21.

**Arrabannes** (Artabannes), a satrap of Armenia, xxvii. 12, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14; xxx. 1, 3.

**Arraces**, a Persian envoy, xxx. 2, 2. **Arriana secta**, Exc. 48; **Arriani**, 91, 94, note.

**Arrius**, Exc. 48, p. 569, note 1.

1. **Arsaces**,<sup>2</sup> the Parthian king.

2. **Arsaces**,<sup>2</sup> king of Armenia, a faithful friend of the Romans, sacrificed by Jovian, xxv. 7, 12; xxvii. 12, 3, 5, 9; his wife, 12, 12.

**Artaxerxes Longimanus** (Macrochir), king of Persia from 464 to 425 B.C., xxx. 8, 4 (Artaxerxes, MSS. except W<sup>2</sup>). Cf. Nepos, xxi. 1, 3.

**Artemisia**, the famous queen of Caria, wife of Mausolus, xxviii. 4, 9.

1. **Artemius**.<sup>1</sup>

2. **Artemius**.<sup>2</sup>

**Artogerassa**, a town of Armenia, xxvii. 12, 5; captured by the Persians, xxvii. 12, 12.

**Asbolius**, a wrestler, xxviii. 1, 8, 29.

**Ascarii**, xxvii. 2, 9.

**Asia**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the country, the diocese, and the province, xxvii. 9, 6 (*vicarius*); xxviii. 1, 3; xxix. 1, 36 (*proconsul*); 2, 19 (*proconsul*), 21, 22 (*proconsul*); its boundary, xxxi. 2, 13; 14, 8; Exc. 18, 23. See *Asiatici*.

**Asiatici**<sup>1</sup> tractus, xxxi. 2, 16.

**Aspacures**, made king of Hiberia by the Persians in 368-370, xxvii. 12, 16, 17; xxx. 2, 2.

**Athalaricus**, a king of the Ostrogoths, Exc. 96.

**Athanasius**, a king of the Visigoths, xxvii. 5, 6, 10 (died at Constantinople); xxxi. 3, 4, 6, 8.

1. **Athanasius**,<sup>1</sup> a bishop of Alexandria.

2. **Athanasius**, a charioteer, xxix. 3, 5.

**Athenae**, xxvii. 9, 6; xxviii. 1, 4.

**Athenienses**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxviii. 1, 4; *A. iudices*, xxix. 2, 19; purify Delos, xxii. 12, 8.

**Athos**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 4, 7 (conjecture of Voss).

**Atlas** (Atlans), the mountain range of north-western Africa, xxix. 1, 25; cf. *Atlantei*.<sup>1</sup>

**Attacotti** (Atacotti, Atecotti),<sup>2</sup> a people of Britain, xxvii. 8, 5.

**Atthuarii**, see *Franci*.

**Atticus**, -a, um,<sup>2</sup> adj.: *Athenae*, xxvii. 9, 6; *monumenta*, xxx. 4, 5; as substantive (for *Athenienses*), xxii. 8, 8.

**Attila**, king of the Huns, Exc. 38.

**Auchenius**, a charioteer, xxviii. 1, 27.

**Audiense** (Auziense) castellum, a fortress of Auzia, a town of Numidia, xxix. 5, 44, 49.

**Augoflada** (Audeflada), second wife of Theodoric, Exc. 63.

**Augusta**, a later name for *Lundinium*, xxviii. 3, 1.

**Augustulus** (Romulus), Exc. 37.

1. **Augustus mensis**, xxxi. 12, 10.

2. **Augustus**,<sup>2</sup> the first Roman emperor.

3. **Augustus**,<sup>2</sup> an imperial title, *passim*: use of, by Valentinian, xxvii. 6, 16; cf. *Augusta nuncupatio*, xxiii. 6, 5.

**Aurelianus**,<sup>2</sup> the Roman emperor, xxx. 8, 8; conquers the Goths, xxxi. 5, 17.

**Aurunci**, xxx. 4, 12.

**Austoriani** (Austuriani),<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 6, 2, 13.

**Avastomates**, a people of Mauretania Caesariensis, xxix. 5, 33.

**Avernus lacus**, the lake in Campania, near Cumae and Balae, xxviii. 4, 18.

**Avitianus**, *vicarius* of Africa, xxvii. 7, 1.

# INDEX

Babylon, citadel of, founded by Belus; walls of, by Semiramis, xxiii. 6, 23; cf. Curtius, v. 1, 14.

Bacurius, a native of Hiberia, xxxi. 12, 16.

Baetica,<sup>2</sup> a consular province of Spain, xxviii. 1, 26.

Baiurae (Baniurae), a Gaetullian people in Mauretania Tingitana, xxix. 5, 33; cf. Plin. *N.H.* v. 17.

Balchobaudes, xxvii. 2, 6.

Barbarus, xxviii. 1, 36.

Barzimeres, xxx. 1, 11, 16; xxxi. 8, 9.

Basilia, a town of Helvetia, modern Basel, xxx. 3, 1.

Basiliscus, a senator of Constantinople, Exc. 41-43.

Basilus, Exc. 68.

1. Bassianus Caesar, Exc. 14 f.

2. Bassianus, a secretary, xxix. 2, 5.

Bassus,<sup>1</sup>

Bassus, see Terracius.

Batavi,<sup>1</sup> xxxi. 13, 9; et Aeruli,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 1, 6 (Eruli); 8, 7 (Heruli).

Bavares (Dessau, T.L.L. ii. 1790, 43), xxix. 5, 33 (Davares, cod. V), a people of Mauritania.

Bedente, read by Gardt., Mommsen, for Bedesis (*q.v.*).

Bedesis (MSS., T.L.L.), a river of north-eastern Italy near Ravenna, modern Rocco, Exc. 54; cf. Plin. *N.H.* iii. 115.

Bellen, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 21, 24.

Bellona,<sup>2</sup> the Roman goddess of war, xxvii. 4, 4; xxviii. 1, 1; xxix. 2, 20; xxxi. 1, 1; 13, 1; the Cappadocian goddess, xxi. 5, 1.

Beroea, a town of Thrace, xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 9, 1; 11. 2, note.

Bessi, a Thracian tribe, xxvii. 4, 11.

Bezabde,<sup>2</sup>

Bitheridus, xxix. 4, 7.

Bithynia,<sup>1</sup> Exc. 5.

Boae (Boa)<sup>2</sup>, xxviii. 1, 23.

Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus) *magister officiorum* under Theodoric, consul in 501; he was famous for his learning and for his translations of Greek

Boethius—*continued.*  
philosophical works; Exc. 85-87 (Boetius, MSS.).

1. Bononia,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 8, 6; Exc. 4. The Gallic city.

2. Bononia, Bononea,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 11, 6. The city in Pannonia.

1. Borysthenes,<sup>2</sup> the river, xxxi. 3, 3; its origin and course, xxii. 8, 40.

2. Borysthenes (Borysthenis), a town on the river Borysthenes, xxii. 8, 40.

Bosporus,<sup>2</sup> xx. 9, 1; xxiii. 6, 7; xxvii. 4, 10; xxxi. 5, 15 (Thracian); xxxi. 2, 21 (Cimmerian); Thracian and Cimmerian, xxii. 8, 13.

Brachmani (Bragmani), (-æ),<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 13.

Branchidae, a race of priests at Miletus, xxix. 1, 31, note.

Bregetio (Brigitio),<sup>1</sup> a city of Pannonia, xxx. 5, 15.

Britannicus, -a, um (Britannicus); *exercitus*, xxx. 7, 3; *strepitus*, xxx. 9, 1.

Britannia,<sup>1</sup> Britanniae (Britannia), xxvii. 3, 1, 4, 10; 9, 1; xxix. 1, 44; 4, 7; a place of exile, xxii. 3, 3; xxviii. 3, 4; a source of grain-supply, xviii. 2, 3; of pearls, xxiii. 6, 88; ravaged by the Scoti and Picti, xx. 1, 1.

Britanni<sup>2</sup> (Brittanni), xxviii. 1, 21; 3, 1.

Brutus (M. Iunius), the regicide, xxvii. 9, 10.

Bucinobantes, a people of the Alamanni, living near Moguntiacum (Mainz), xxix. 4, 7.

Burgundii,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 5, 9, 14; kindred of Romans, xxviii. 5, 11; xxx. 7, 11; their characteristics, xxviii. 5, 9; at odds with the Alamanni, xxviii. 5, 11.

Busiris, a king of Egypt, said to have sacrificed foreigners to Zeus and to have been slain by Heracles, xxviii. 1, 46.

Byzantium,<sup>2</sup> Exc. 18, 25, 27, adorned by Constantine, 30, note; a colony of the Athenians, xxii. 8, 8, note; see Constantinopolis.

# INDEX

- Cabillonum (Cavillonum, Cabil-  
 lona, Cabillo),<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 1, 2.  
 Cabyle, a town of Thrace, xxxi.  
 11, 5.  
 Caecilius, a *consiliarius*, xxviii. 6,  
 21 (note), 28, 29.  
 Caecilius, xxviii. 6, 22.  
 1. Caesar Augustus.<sup>1</sup>  
 2. Caesar (C. Iulius),<sup>1</sup> see Iulius.  
 3. Caesar, Caesares,<sup>1</sup> Nerva, xxxi.  
 16, 9; use of the title by  
 Valentinian and others, xxvii. 6,  
 16; Caesar Constantius, Exc. 31.  
 1. Caesarea,<sup>2</sup> in Palestine.  
 2. Caesarea,<sup>2</sup> in Cappadocia.  
 3. Caesarea, a city of Mauritania,  
 xxix. 5, 18, 19, 42.  
 Caesariensis, a division of Mauri-  
 tania, xxix. 5, 6 (note), 50;  
 Caesariensis Maurus, xxvii. 6, 14.  
 1. Caesarius,<sup>2</sup> prefect of Con-  
 stantinople.  
 2. Caesarius, xxx. 2, 11.  
 Cafaves, a people of Mauritania  
 xxix. 5, 33.  
 Callatia, a town of Lower Moesia  
 (European Scythia), xxvii. 4, 12.  
 Caledones, see Dicaledones.  
 Callipolis,<sup>2</sup> Exc. 26.  
 Callistratus, an Athenian orator of  
 the fourth century B.C., xxx. 4, 5,  
 and note; cf. Gell. iii. 13, 3 ff.  
 Calocaerus, Exc. 35, note.  
 Calventianus ager, Exc. 87, note.  
 Camenius, brother of Terracius  
 Bassus, xxviii. 1, 27.  
 Camillus, Furius,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 3, 9.  
 Campensis, xxviii. 1, 8, 29.  
 Cancr sidus,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 4, 24.  
 Cannensis pugna, xxxi. 13, 19.  
 Cantauriani, a people of Mauri-  
 tania, xxix. 5, 33.  
 Cappadocia,<sup>2</sup> Exc. 29.  
 Caparienses, a people of Mauri-  
 tania, xxix. 5, 37.  
 Caparienses montes, in Mauri-  
 tania, xxix. 5, 34.  
 Cares, the people of Caria in south-  
 Western Asia Minor, xxviii. 4, 9.  
 Carnuntum, a city of Illyricum  
 (Pannonia, T.L.L.),<sup>2</sup> xxx. 5, 2,  
 11.  
 Carpi, a people of Thrace (Dacia,  
 T.L.L.), xxvii. 5, 5; xxviii. 1, 5.  
 Carthaginenses, xxviii. 1, 17.  
 Carthago,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 6, 16.  
 Cascellius (A), a celebrated jurist,  
 a contemporary of Cicero and  
 Augustus, xxx. 4, 12; cf. Cic.  
*Ad Att.* xv. 26, 4; Horace, *A.P.*  
 371; Pomponius, *Dig.* 1. 2. 2.  
 45.  
 Cassii,<sup>2</sup> xxx. 8, 13.  
 Cassio, xxxi. 12, 16.  
 1. Castor,<sup>2</sup> the demi-god.  
 2. Castor, xxix. 5, 50.  
 1. Castra Constantia.<sup>1</sup>  
 2. Castra Herculis.<sup>1</sup>  
 3. Castra Martis, a fortress of  
 Dacia Ripensis, xxxi. 11, 6, note.  
 4. Castra Maurorum.<sup>1</sup>  
 Catelauni,<sup>1</sup> Châlons-sur-Marne,  
 xxvii. 2, 4.  
 1. Cato Censorius,<sup>1</sup> xxx. 4, 21.  
 2. Cato Uticensis,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 4, 21.  
 Cato, xxviii. 1, 39, a Cato, i.e., a  
 man like Cato.  
 Caucalandensis, a place in Sar-  
 matia (Dacia, T.L.L.), xxxi. 4,  
 13. See note on Carnuntum.  
 Celtæ<sup>1</sup> et Petulantes,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 10, 4.  
 1. Cerealis,<sup>1</sup> Neratius, uncle of  
 Gallus Caesar.  
 2. Cerealis, tribune in charge of  
 the stables, xxx. 5, 19; 10, 5;  
 brother of Justina Augusta,  
 xxviii. 2, 10.  
 Cethegus, a senator, xxviii. 1, 16.  
 Chalcedon,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 1, 4; Exc. 27.  
 Charietto,<sup>1</sup> count-commander in  
 both Germanies, xxvii. 1, 2, 5.  
 Chilo, xxviii. 1, 8.  
 Christiani,<sup>2</sup> the Christians, xxvii.  
 7, 5; quarrels of, 9, 9; xxxi.  
 12, 9; 15, 6; Exc. 20, 33, 81;  
 see also Christianus.  
 Christianus, -a, -um,<sup>1, 2</sup> adj.:  
*ritus antistites*, xxix. 5, 15; *ritus*  
*conventiculum*, xxvii. 3, 13;  
*ritus sollemnitatis*, 10, 1; *ritus*  
*festus dies*, xxviii. 6, 27; *ritus*  
*presbyter*, xxix. 3, 4; xxxi. 12,  
 8; *religio*, xxvii. 7, 6; as subst.,  
 Exc. 33.  
 Christus, the Saviour, Exc. 33; cf.  
 Iesus.<sup>2</sup>  
 Chrysopolis,<sup>2</sup> Exc. 27, note.

\* For such variations see Pre-  
 faces to Vol. II. and Vol. III.

# INDEX

**Olbale**, a city of Pannonia, also called Colonia Aurelia (T.L.L.), xxx. 7, 2.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

**Olbale**, Exc. 16, note.

# INDEX

1. Constantinus,<sup>1, 2</sup> Constantine the Great, Exc. 1, 2; made Caesar, 4; succeeds his father (cf. § 1), 6, 8, 9, 12 ff.; criticized by Julian, xxi. 10, 8; 12, 25; too indulgent to avaricious courtiers, xvi. 8, 12. See *Introd.*, Vol. I., pp. xxiv ff.
2. Constantinus II.,<sup>2</sup> son of Constantine the Great, xxi. 6, 2, note; made Caesar, Exc. 19, 31, 35.
1. Constantius (Chlorus), father of Constantine the Great, Exc. 1, 2, 4, 6.
2. Constantius, Iulius,<sup>1</sup> xiv. 11, 27; xxv. 3, 23. Father of Gallus and Julian.
3. Constantius II. (Flavius Iulius), third son of Constantine the Great, born at Sirmium, 317; his mother was Fausta, second wife of Constantine. Celebrates *tricennalia*, xiv. 5, 1 (see note); consul six times before 354 (xiv. 10, 1); also in 356 (xvi. 1, 1), 357 (xvi. 11, 1), 360 (xx. 1, 1). His daughter by his third wife Faustina (xxi. 6, 4) became wife of Gratianus, xxi. 15, 6. Carries on successful wars through his generals (xvi. 10, 2) against the Lentienses, xv. 4, the Alamanni, xiv. 10, the Sarmatians and Quadi, xvii. 12, and the Limigantes, xvii. 13; more successful in civil than in foreign wars, xiv. 10, 16; 11, 8; cf. xx. 11, 32; unsuccessful against the Persians, but lost no territory, xxv. 9, 3; visits Rome in 357, xvi. 10; erects an obelisk there, xvii. 4; marches against Julian, but dies at Mobsucrene in Cilicia, xxi. 15, 2; said to have named Julian as his successor, xxi. 15, 2 (cf. 5); his arrogant signatures, xv. 1, 8; influenced by flatterers, xiv. 5, 5; ready to listen to calumny, xiv. 9, 2; devotion of nobles to, xxi. 10, 7; under influence of wives and eunuchs, xxi. 16, 16; his merits and defects, xxi. 16, his personal appearance, xxi.
3. Constantius II.—*continued*. 16, 19 (see portrait, Vol. II., frontispiece). See also Exc. 14, 25 and Vol. I., *Introd.*, xxv. ff.
4. Constantius, a tribune, xxv. 9, 12.
- Contensis, adj. from a town of Africa, xxix. 5, 39. The word occurs only here.
- Corbulo, see Domitius.<sup>1</sup>
1. Cornelius Gallus.<sup>1</sup>
2. Cornelius, a senator, xxviii. 1, 29.
- Cornuti,<sup>1</sup> xxxi. 8, 9.
- Corsica, the large island west of Italy and north of Sardinia, xxviii. 1, 6; see also Corsi.<sup>1</sup>
- Crassi,<sup>2</sup> xxiii. 3, 1, note.
3. Crassus<sup>2</sup> (M. Licinius) grandfather of the triumvir, xxvi. 9, 11; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, vii. 79.
- Cremona, a city of Cisalpine Gaul on the Padus (Po), Exc. 53; see also Cremonensis.<sup>1</sup>
- Crescens, a *vicarius* of Africa, xxviii. 6, 23.
- Cresphontes, xxviii. 4, 27.
- Cretensis, a native of Crete, xxviii. 4, 5.
- Cretes canes, xxx. 4, 8.
- Crispus,<sup>1</sup> son of Constantine the Great, Exc. 19, 23, 26, 27.
- Crotoniates, a native of Croton, a city of Magna Graecia in the country of the Brutii, xxx. 7, 2.
1. Ctesiphon, an Athenian defended by Demosthenes against Aeschines in the *Oration on the Crown*, xxx. 4, 19.
2. Ctesiphon,<sup>1, 2</sup> the Parthian city, xxix. 1, 4. It was founded, according to Ammianus, by Vardanes, enlarged and fortified by Pacorus; see xxiii. 6, 23, notes 3 and 4.
- Cunctator (Q. Fabius Maximus), the opponent of Hannibal, xxix. 5, 32.
- Curandius, xxix. 5, 24.
- Curio (C. Scribonius), consul in 76 or 72 B.C., xxix. 5, 22.
- Cursor, Papirius (L.), consul in 333 B.C. and several times thereafter; dictator in 309 B.C. and victorious over the Samnites, xxviii. 3, 9.

# INDEX

Cylaces, an Armenian satrap, xxvii. 12, 5, 6, 9, 14; xxx. 1, 3.

Cynossema.<sup>2</sup>

Cyprianus, Exc. 85.

Cyprus,<sup>1</sup> the island, Exc. 35.

Cyria, sister of Firmus, king of Mauretania, xxix. 5, 28.

1. Cyrus,<sup>1, 2</sup> the Persian king, xxvii. 12, 17; his memory, xvi. 5, 8; his simple diet, xxi. 9, 2; slain by Tomyris,<sup>2</sup> xxiii. 6, 7.

2. Cyrus,<sup>2</sup> the river, xxvii. 12, 16.  
Cyzicus,<sup>2</sup> besieged by Mithradates, xxiii. 6, 56; besieged and taken by Procopius, xxvi. 8, 7 ff.; besieged by the Scythians, xxxi. 5, 16.

Daci,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 5, 16.

Dacia,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 5; Exc. 16. Dacia Ripensis<sup>2</sup>; Dacia Mediterranea,<sup>2</sup> Nova Dacia, Exc. 13, note. See also Daciae.<sup>2</sup>

Dagalaifus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 2, 1.

Dalii, xxviii. 4, 6.

Dalmatia, see Delmatia.

Dalmatius, Caesar under Constantine the Great, Exc. 35.

Damasus, a Roman bishop, xxvii. 8, 12.

Danastius (Danaster), a river of Scythia, also called Tyras<sup>2</sup> modern Dniester, xxxi. 3, 3, 5.

Danielus, xxx. 1, 11, 16.

Danubius,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxvii. 5, 5; xxix. 6, 6; xxxi. 3, 7; 4, 1, 5; 11, 6; see also Hister.<sup>1</sup>

1. Daphne,<sup>1</sup> the suburb of Antioch.

2. Daphne, a fortress, xxvii. 5, 2, note.

Dardani, the people of Dardania in Illyricum (not the same as the Trojan Dardania<sup>2</sup>), xxix. 5, 22, 23.

Davares, see Bavares.

Decii, imperatores, xxxi. 5, 16; see Decii.<sup>1, 2</sup>

Decius, Caesar, emperor of Rome from A.D. 249 to 251, xxxi. 13, 13.

Delmatia (Dalmatia),<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 23; Dalmatiae, Exc. 1.

Delphica cortina, xxix. 1, 29; see Delphorum oraculum.<sup>1</sup>

Demochares, physician of King Pyrrus of Epirus, xxx. 1, 22, note.

1. Democritus, the philosopher.<sup>1, 2</sup>

2. Democritus, a physician, xxviii. 4, 34.

Demosthenes, the celebrated Athenian orator (383-322 B.C.), xxx. 1, 23, note; 4, 5.

Dibaltum, a city of Thrace, xxxi. 8, 9; cf. 12, 15. Deultum, Pliny, *N.H.* iv. 25; so also coins.

Dicalydones (Dicalidones, Caladones) a division of the Picti, a people of Britain, xxvii. 8, 5.

Didius (T.), consul in 98 B.C., victor over the Thracians, xxvii. 4, 10.

Dinarchus (Deinarchus), one of the ten Attic orators, born in Corinth about 361 B.C., came to Athens about 342 B.C.; xxx. 4, 5.

Diocles, xxvii. 7, 5.

Diocletianus,<sup>1</sup> the Roman emperor; transfers Carpi to Pannonia, xxviii. 1, 5; Exc. 1, 14; his tomb, xvi. 8, 4; fortifies Cercusium, xxiii. 5, 2; consul with Aristobulus, xxiii. 1, 1, note; introduced kissing the purple, xv. 5, 18.

1. Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> a count.

2. Diodorus, a former member of the secret service, xxvii. 7, 5.

1. Diogenes, prefect of Bithynia, xxix. 1, 43.

2. Diogenes, xxix. 1, 44.

Diogmitae, see xxvii. 9, 6, note.

Dionysius,<sup>1</sup> his feasts, xxix. 2, 4; his treatment of Philoxenus, xv. 5, 37; his precautions against plots, xvi. 8, 10; said to have become a school-master, xiv. 11, 30.

Dionysopolis (Dionisopolis), a town of Lower Moesia (Scythia Europaea), or Thrace, on the Euxine, xxvii. 4, 12.

Dius, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 11.

Divitenses, see Index II., Vol. I., xxvii. 1, 2.



# INDEX

- Dolabella** (Cn. Cornelius), son-in-law of Cicero, consul in 44 B.C., proconsul of Asia, **xxix. 2, 19, note.**
- 1. Domitianus,**<sup>1</sup> the emperor; contrasted with Titus, **xiv. 11, 28**; hated brave and efficient men, **xv. 5, 35**; his cruelty, **xxi. 16, 8**; forbade gelding, **xviii. 4, 5.**
- Domitius Corbulo,**<sup>1</sup> **xxix. 5, 4.**
- Doricum bellum,**<sup>2</sup> **xxviii. 1, 4.**
- Doriscus,**<sup>1</sup> **xxxi. 4, 7.**
- Dorostorus** (Durostorus), a town of Lower Moesia (Thrace), **xxvii. 4, 12.**
- Doryphorianus**, a Gaul, *vicarius* of Rome in 374-376; **xxviii. 1, 53, 54, 57.**
- Drusus** (M. Livius), consul in 112 B.C.; he prevented the Thracians from recrossing the Danube, **xxvii. 4, 10.**
- Dulcitius**, general (*dux*) in Britain in 368, **xxvii. 8, 10**; **xxviii. 3, 6.**
- Duodense**, read by earlier editors for Audiense (*q.v.*).
- Eboracum**, a city of Britain, modern York, **Exc. 4.**
- Ecclesius**, a bishop, **Exc. 90.**
- Edico** (Aedico, MSS.), father of Odoacer, **Exc. 45, note.**
- Emonensis**, see Hemonensis.
- Eous**, -a, -um, <sup>1, 2</sup>, adj. from Eos, eastern: *orbis*, **xxvii. 1, 1**; *partes*, **xxx. 4, 1**; **xxxi. 10, 11**; *tractus*, **xxviii. 1, 1**; **xxx. 2, 9**; **4, 1**; see also Oriens.
- Ephesus**, the famous city of Lydia in western Asia Minor, **xxix. 1, 42**; see also Ephesus.<sup>2</sup>
- Epicurus**, the Athenian philosopher (341-270 B.C.), **xxx. 4, 3, note.**
- Epimenides**, **xxviii. 4, 5, note.**
- Epirotes**,<sup>2</sup> a native of Epirus, **xxix. 3, 4**; Epirotae, the people of Epirus, **xxx. 5, 8.**
- Epirus**, the country on the eastern side of the Ionian Sea, west of Thessaly and Macedonia, **xxxi. 5, 17.**
- Equitius**, see Aequitius.
- Erechthius** (Erechthius), **xxviii. 6, 18, 20, 28.**
- Ereriliva**, afterwards called Eusebia, **Exc. 58.**
- Ermenrichus**, a king of the Ostrogoths, **xxxi. 3, 1.**
- Eruli**, see Aeruli.
- Erythraeum oppidum**, **xxxi. 14, 8, note.**
- Esalas**, **xxviii. 1, 44.**
- Euboea**,<sup>2</sup> **xxx. 4, 5, note.**
- Eumenius**, **xxviii. 1, 48.**
- Eumolpius**, see Philippopolis.
- Eunomiana secta**, **Exc. 78, note.**
- Euphratensis**, see Commagene.<sup>1</sup>
- Euphrates**,<sup>1</sup> **xxx. 1, 8**; one end of frontier of Orient, **xiv. 8, 5**; used typically of the Orient, **xvi. 10, 6**; a barrier to the Persians, **xviii. 6, 3**; its banks fortified, **xviii. 7, 6**; swollen by melted snow, **xviii. 7, 9**; fordable near its source, **xviii. 7, 10**; a boat for ferrying men and animals across, **xix. 8, 9**; crossed by Constantius, **xx. 11, 4**; **xxi. 7, 7**; crossed by one highway to Persia, **xxiii. 3, 1**; almost too narrow for Julian's fleet, **xxiii. 3, 9**; its mouth, **xxiii. 6, 11**; divided into many branches, **xxiv. 3, 14**; connected with the Tigris, **xxiv. 6, 1** (see Naarmalcha).
- Eupraxius**, master of the rolls, **xxvii. 6, 14**; quaestor, **xxviii. 1, 25.**
- Euripides**, the Athenian tragic poet (484-406 B.C.); his tomb, **xxvii. 4, 8.**
- 1. Europa**,<sup>2</sup> the continent, **xxxi. 2, 13.**
- 2. Europa**,<sup>2</sup> a Roman province in Thrace, **xxvii. 4, 12.**
- Eusaphius**, **xxviii. 1, 27.**
- 1. Eusebius**,<sup>1</sup> also called Pittacus.
- 2. Eusebius**,<sup>1, 2</sup> grand chamberlain of Constantius II.; his disposition, **xiv. 11, 2**; his influence, **xviii. 4, 3** (see *Introd.*, p. xxxvi, note 6); cf. **xxii. 3, 12**; his death, **xxii. 3, 12.**
- 3. Eusebius**,<sup>1</sup> count of the privy-purse, surnamed Mattyocopus.
- 4. Eusebius**,<sup>1</sup> consul with Hypatius in 359; accused of treason, **xxix. 2, 9.**

# INDEX

5. Eusebius,<sup>2</sup> bishop of Nicomedia.  
6. Eusebius, a prefect of Rome, Exc. 87.  
7. Eusebius, a bishop, Exc. 90.  
Euserius, a *vicarius* of Asia, xxix. 1, 9, 34, 35.  
Eutharicus, Exc. 80.  
Eutropius, proconsul of Asia, xxix. 1, 36, note.  
Euxinus pontus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 7; xxx. 1, 22; see also Pontus Euxinus.  
Evander, the Arcadian who was said to have led a colony from Pallantium to Italy, and settled on the Palatine Hill in prehistoric times, xxx. 4, 12, note (Evandri mater).  
Evasius, xxix. 5, 43.  
Eventus Bonus, worshipped at Rome as a deity, xxix. 6, 19, note.
- Fabricenses, xxxi. 6, 2; see Index II., Vol. I.  
Fabricius Luscinus, xxx. 1, 22; see Luscinus.<sup>2</sup>  
Fanestris, a native of Fanum Fortunae, Exc. 90, note.  
Farnobius, xxxi. 4, 12; 9, 3, 4.  
Fausiana, xxviii. 1, 48, 49.  
Faustinus, xxx. 5, 11.  
Faustus Niger, Exc. 57.  
Faventia, Exc. 52, note.  
Februarius mensis, xxix. 5, 31; xxxi. 10, 4.  
Felix Arbor, a fortress, xxxi. 10, 20.  
Ferasii, xxviii. 4, 7. Read by Heraeus for Perrasius of codex V.  
Fericus, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 21, 24.  
Ferratus, a mountain of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 11.  
1. Festus (Festinus, V.) Tridentinus, master of the rolls, proconsular governor of Syria and later of Asia, xxix. 2, 22.  
2. Festus, an envoy, Exc. 64.  
Fidustius, xxix. 1, 6 ff., 37.  
Firmus, a prince of Mauritania, xxviii. 6, 26; xxix. 5, 2 ff.; xxx. 7, 10; etc.  
Flabunii, see Flavonii.
- Flaccianus, xxviii. 6, 7, 16, 23.  
Flaviana, xxviii. 1, 28.  
Flavianus Nicomachus, *vicarius* of Africa, xxviii. 6, 28.  
Flavonii, xxviii. 4, 7; read by Heraeus for Flabunii of codex V.  
1. Florentius,<sup>1, 2</sup> praetorian prefect of Gaul under Constantius II., consul in 361.  
2. Florentius,<sup>1, 2</sup> son of Nigrrianus.  
3. Florentius, praetorian prefect in Gaul under Valentinian, and Valens, xxvii. 7, 7.  
4. Florentius,<sup>2</sup> a tribune.  
5. Florentius, a German general, xxix. 4, 7.  
Florus, xxix. 5, 43.  
Fortuna,<sup>1, 2</sup> the goddess, her wheel, xxxi. 1, 1; cf. xxvi. 8, 13; xxxi. 3, 8; 13, 19; forms pact with Virtue, xiv. 6, 3; arbitress of human chances, xv. 5, 1; her sickle changes, xiv. 11, 30-33; Fortuna orbis Romani, xxv. 9, 7; F. Orientis, xviii. 4, 1; F. Constanti, xiv. 10, 16; F. Valentiniani, xxx. 5, 18.  
Fortunatianus, xxix. 1, 5; 2, 1.  
Franci,<sup>1</sup> invade Gaul with the Saxons, xxvii. 8, 5; xxxi. 10, 6; also called Salii, xvii. 8, 3; invade Germany, xvii. 2, 1, 4; settle in Toxiandra in the Roman territory, xvii. 8, 3; in the Roman imperial service, xv. 5, 11; Exc. 63. Franci Athuarii, defeated by Julian, xx. 10, 2.  
Francia, the country of the Franci, xxx. 3, 7.  
Fraomarius, king of the Bucinobantes, a German tribe, xxix. 4, 7.  
Frigeridus, xxxi. 7, 3, 5; 9, 1; 10, 21.  
Fritigernus, a leader of the Goths, xxxi. 4, 8; 5, 3, 5, 7; 6, 3, 4; 11, 5; 12, 8, 14; 15, 15; 16, 3.  
Frontinus, xxviii. 1, 21.  
1. Fulvius,<sup>2</sup> conquers Capua.  
2. Fulvius (Flaccus, M.),<sup>1</sup> consul in 125 B.C.  
Fullofaudes, xxvii. 8, 1.  
Funarius, a nickname of Gratianus, father of the emperor Valentinian, xxx. 7, 2.

# INDEX

- Furlae**,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 2, 11; xxix. 1, 33; 2, 21; xxxi. 1, 1; 10, 1; see also *Εὐμενίδης*,<sup>2</sup> *Megaera*.<sup>1</sup>
- Furiales faces**, xxxi. 5, 4.
- Gabinus**, a king of the Quadi, xxix. 6, 5; xxx. 5, 3.
- Galonatis**, a fortress of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 25.
- Galatae**, the Greek name for Galli, xv. 9, 3.
- Galba**, an early Roman orator, xxx. 4, 6.
- Galerius**,<sup>1</sup> Exc. 1-8 ff.; his death, Exc. 8.
- Galli**: other names for, xv. 9, 3; manners and customs of, xv. 12; brave sally of, at Amida, xix. 6, 7 ff. (cf. xix. 6, 3-5); *Gallorum colloquio*, xxvii. 6, 1 (see crit. note); *terra*<sup>1, 2</sup>; *proceres*, xxv. 5, 2; Exc. 4.
- Gallia**,<sup>1</sup> *Galliae*,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxvii. 2, 11; 4, 1; xxviii. 2, 1, 10; 6, 12; xxix. 1, 8; 3, 1; xxx. 3, 3; 4, 1; 5, 17; 7, 5; xxxi. 7, 4; 8, 2; 10, 6, 20; Exc. 13; description of, xv. 9-12; customs of inhabitants of, xv. 12, 1-4; Exc. 4.
- Gallicanus**, -a, -um,<sup>1, 2</sup> adj.: *miles*, xxix. 6, 16; xxx. 10, 3; *cohortes*, xxx. 10, 1; *exercitus*, xxxi. 12, 6; *limites*, xxvii. 1, 1; *tractus*, xxvii. 8, 5; see also *Gallicus*.<sup>1, 2</sup>
- Gallienus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the emperor, drained the treasury, xxx. 8, 8; roamed the streets at night, xiv. 1, 9; Persian invasion in time of, xviii. 6, 3; ruthlessness of, xxi. 16, 9; Persian plot in time of, xxiii. 5, 3 (note); tomb of, Exc. 10.
1. Gallus, see *Cornelius*.
  2. Gallus Caesar, see xiv. 1, 1 (p. 2, note 1); brother of Julian and husband of Constantia (see p. 4, note 1); his life, personal appearance, and character, xiv. 11, 27-28; cf. also xiv. 1, 2-9; put to death by order of Constantianus, xiv. 11, 23; Consul for the third time in 354, xiv. 10, 1, note; his tendency to cruelty, xiv. 1; 7; 9, 9.
- Ganges**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 2, 16.
1. *Gaudentius*,<sup>1, 2</sup> a member of the secret service.
  2. *Gaudentius*,<sup>2</sup> a targeteer.
- Geloni**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 2, 14.
- Genius**,<sup>2</sup>
- Gerasa**,<sup>1</sup> excavations in 1930-31 revealed one of the best preserved provincial cities of the Roman Empire to be found in the area captured from Semitic-speaking peoples, with interesting remains. One of the league of ten cities in Palestine known, during the first and second centuries, A.D., as the Decapolis.
- Gerasa**, a river of Scythia, xxxi. 3, 7.
- Germani**,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 2, 3, 6; xxxi. 10, 5, 16; *Germani arctoi*, xxv. 6, 13; *transrhenani*, xv. 11, 4; see *Germania*<sup>1</sup> and *Alamanni*.<sup>1</sup>
- Germania** *utraque*, Upper and Lower (First and Second) Germany, xxvii. 1, 2.
- Germanicopolis**, a city of Isauria, xxvii. 9, 7, note.
- Gildo**, xxix. 5, 6, 21, 24.
- Glycerius**, Exc. 36.
1. *Gordianus senior*,<sup>2</sup> the emperor; see *Gordiani*.<sup>1</sup>
  2. *Gordianus iunior*,<sup>2</sup> the emperor; his tomb, xxiii. 5, 7, 17.
- Gorgias Leontinus**, the celebrated orator and sophist of Leontini in Sicily; he came to Athens as an envoy in 427 B.C. and introduced the study of Rhetoric, xxx. 4, 3.
- Gothi**,<sup>2</sup> invade Thrace in time of Constantine, Exc. 21, note; aid *Licinius*, 27; Constantine makes war on, 31; defeats them in Sarmatia, 34; invade Thrace and Pannonia in time of Valentinian, xxvi. 4, 5; 6, 11; send aid to Procopius, xxvi. 10, 3; xxvii. 4, 1; 5, 1 (cf. xxxi. 3, 4); driven from their homes by Huns, xxxi. 3, 1-7; cross into Thrace, some with Valens' permission, others secretly, 4, 1-6; ill-treated by the Romans, they revolt, 5, 1 ff.; defeat *Lupicinus*

# INDEX

## Gothi—continued.

and devastate Thrace, 5, 9; defeated by Gratianus, 9, 1-4; by Sebastianus, 11, 1-4; Gratianus goes to help Valens against, 11, 6; Valens attacks without Gratianus and is defeated, 12, 10 ff.; 13, 1-7 (cf. 18, 19); vainly besiege Hadrianopolis, 15, 2 ff.; vain attempt of, on Constantinople, 16, 4-7; massacre of by Julius, 16, 8; Julian's opinion of, xxii. 7, 8; their chiefs called *iudices*, xxvii. 5, 6; Zeno seeks aid of, Exc. 42; make Theodoric their king, 57 (cf. 58 and 60); a saying of Theodoric about, 61. See also Gothia, Gruthungi, Thervingi.

Gothia, the country of the Goths, xxx. 2, 8.

Gothicus, -a, -um, adj. to Gothi: *gens*, Exc. 49; sc. *lingua*, 58; *ripa*, 35.

Gracchus (C. Sempronius), the famous tribune (123 B.C.) and orator, xxx. 4, 19, note.

Grace, in Greek, xxx. 5, 9.

Graeci,<sup>1, 2</sup> said to have settled in Gaul, xv. 9, 3; Graecorum *neniae*, xxxi. 13, 19; see also Graeculus.<sup>1</sup>

Graccia,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxix. 1, 39; xxx. 1, 23; 4, 5; xxxi. 4, 7; 5, 17; G. *fabulosa*, xviii. 6, 23; see also Graii *veteres*.<sup>1</sup>

Graecus,<sup>1, 2</sup> -a, -um, adj.: *litterae*, xxxi. 14, 9; *sermo*, xxix. 2, 25; *scriptores*, xxx. 8, 4; *versus*, xxxi. 1, 4; as substantive, Graecus, xxxi. 16, 9.

1. Gratianus, father of Valentinian, xxx. 7, 2.

2. Gratianus,<sup>2</sup> the Roman emperor, 367-383; consul, 366 (371), 374, 377 (380); made sharer in rule, xxvii. 6, 4; attacks Alamanni, xxvii. 10, 6; sends envoys to Africa, xxviii. 6, 28; aids Valens against Goths, xxxi. 7, 3, 4; 10, 3 ff.; success of his generals against Goths, xxxi. 9, 1 ff.; 10, 6 ff.; against the Lentienses Alamanni, xxxi. 10; betrothed to 3. Constantia, xxi.

## 2. Gratianus—continued.

15, 6; she is almost captured, xxix. 6, 7; imitates Commodus, xxxi. 10, 18, 19; marches into Thrace, xxxi. 11, 6; envied by Valens, xxxi. 12, 7; his character, xxxi. 10, 18.

Greuthungi, a tribe of the Ostrogoths, xxvii. 5, 6; xxxi. 3, 1, 5; 4, 12; 5, 3.

Gundebadus, Exc. 63.

Hadrianus,<sup>1, 2</sup> the Roman emperor, his hatred of learned and distinguished men, xxx. 8, 10; his desire to know the future, xxv. 4, 17; blocked the Castalian fount, xxii. 12, 8, note; founded the city of Antinou, xxii. 16, 2, note.

Hadrianopolis,<sup>1</sup> previously called Uscudama, xiv. 11, 15; xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 6, 1; 11, 2, 3; 12, 4 (Hadrianopolis), 10; 15, 2; 16, 2; Exc. 17, 24.

Haemimontanus,<sup>1</sup> -a, -um, adj.: *angustiae*, xxxi. 8, 1; *celsitudines*, xxvii. 4, 6; as subst., Haemimontani, xxvii. 4, 11, note.

Haemimontus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 12.

Haemus,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 7, 3; its heights, xxvii. 4, 6; its passes, xxxi. 3, 1.

Halani,<sup>2</sup> formerly called Massagetae, xxxi. 2, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21; 3, 1, 3; 8, 4; 11, 6; 12, 17; 16, 3.

Hannibalianus,<sup>1</sup> Exc. 35.

Hebrus,<sup>1</sup> its source, xxvii. 4, 10, cf. xviii. 6, 5; xxxi. 11, 4.

1. Helena,<sup>2</sup> wife of Menelaus.

2. Helena, wife of I. Constantius and mother of Constantine the Great, Exc. 1, 2.

3. Helena,<sup>1, 2</sup> sister of Constantius II.<sup>1</sup>; wife of Julian, xv. 8, 18; hostile to Eusebia, wife of Constantius II., xvi. 10, 18 f.; her death and place of burial, xxi. 1, 5.

Heliodorus, an astrologer, xxix. 1, 5; 2, 6, 13.

HAIOS, see Sol.

Hellespontiacus, -a, -um, adj. from Hellespontus, the strait: *pontes*, xxxi. 4, 7; *proelia*, xxii. 8, 35.

# INDEX

- Hellespontus**,<sup>1</sup> used by Ammianus only of the province in north-western Asia Minor (see map 1, Vol. I.), xviii. 6, 18; xxii. 8, 4; xxvi. 8, 7; xxxi. 6, 2. The strait of that name is alluded to, but not named, in xxi. 10, 4 and xxii. 8, 4, and designated by the adjective *Hellespontiacus* (*q.v.*).
- Hemonensis**, a native of Hemonia (Emona), modern Laibach, xviii. 1, 45.
1. **Heraclaea**,<sup>2</sup> a city of Thrace, xvii. 4, 12, also called *Perinthus* (*q.v.*).
2. **Heraclaea**,<sup>2</sup> a city of Bithynia.
- Heraclia**,<sup>2</sup> a city of Media.
- Heraclidae** (*Heraclidae*), descendants of *Heraclides*, xviii. 4, 27.
- Hercullius** (*Maximianus*), see *Maximianus*, Exc. 1, note, 5, 6.
- Hermifridus**, a king of the *Turingi*, Exc. 70.
1. **Hermogenes**,<sup>1</sup> a cavalry commander.
2. **Hermogenes Ponticus**,<sup>1</sup> praetorian prefect.
3. **Hermogenes**, a military leader in Germany, xviii. 2, 6.
- Heruli**, Exc. 54; see *Aeruli*.
- Hesperius**, proconsul of Africa, xviii. 6, 28.
- Hesychia**, xviii. 1, 47.
1. **Hiberia**,<sup>2</sup> xvii. 12, 4; divided between two rulers, xvii. 12, 16, 17, 18; xxx. 2, 2.
2. **Hiberia**,<sup>2</sup> an early name of Hispania.
- Hibernus**, a native of 1. *Hiberia*, xxxi. 12, 16.
- Hierocles**, xxix. 1, 44.
- Hilarinus**,<sup>2</sup> a charioteer.
- Hilarius**, xxix. 1, 7, 28, 35; xxxi. 14, 8.
- Hispaniae**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 13, 17.
- Hispanilla**, xviii. 1, 14.
- Hister**,<sup>1</sup> xvii. 4, 6; 5, 2; 6, 12; xxix. 6, 2; xxxi. 2, 13; 3, 3, 8; 4, 2, 12; 8, 1, 6; see also *ιστρος*. Applied to the lower part of the Danube and also to the whole river.
- Homerus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xvii. 4, 3; xxxi. 14, 8.
- Homericus**, -a, -um *Lotophagi*, xiv. 6, 21; *Phaeaces*, xviii. 5, 7; *Ulixes*, xxvii. 8, 4; *Ajax* (*Ajax*), xviii. 1, 54.
1. **Hortarius**,<sup>1</sup> king of the *Alamanni*; submits to *Julian* and remains loyal, xvii. 10, 5-9; cf. xviii. 2, 2, 13, 14.
2. **Hortarius**, a German magnate, xxix. 4, 7.
- Huni**, the Huns, their location, appearance and habits, xxxi. 2, 1-12; 3, 1, 3, 6, 8; 8, 4; 16, 3.
- Hymetius**, proconsul of Africa, xviii. 1, 17, 19, 20, 22.
1. **Hypatius**,<sup>1</sup> consul in 359, xxix. 2, 9, 16.
2. **Hypatius**, grandson of the emperor *Anastasius*, Exc. 74.
- Hyperides**, an Athenian orator, a contemporary of *Demosthenes*, and with him an opponent of the Macedonian party. He later became the accuser of *Demosthenes* and after the latter's banishment fled to *Aegina*, was handed over to *Antipater*, and had his tongue cut out (in 322 B.C.), xxx. 4, 5.
1. **Ianuarius**,<sup>2</sup>
2. **Ianuarius mensis**, *Kalendae*, xvii. 1, 1.
- (*Ianus*,<sup>1</sup> the god; read by V. for *canos* in xviii. 4, 30.)
- Icosium**, a city of *Mauritania*, xxix. 5, 16.
- Iesaleni auxillares**, xxix. 5, 47; see *Iesalenses*.
- Iesalenses**, a people of Africa, xxix. 5, 44, 51.
- Igilgilitanum**, the African name of the sea coast of *Mauritania Sitifensis*, so called from the city *Igilgilis*, xxix. 5, 5 (see crit. note).
- Illyricum**<sup>1</sup> (*Illyria*<sup>2</sup>), xviii. 1, 57; xxix. 6, 3, 16; xxx. 3, 1; 7, 10; 9, 1; xxxi. 9, 2; 10, 5, 20; Exc. 5, 13.
- Illyricanus**,<sup>2</sup>
- Illyricus**, -a, -um<sup>2</sup>: *numeri*, xvii. 10, 6; as substantive, xvii. 7, 5.

# INDEX

Illyrii,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 12; xxx. 5, 2.  
 Importunus, a senator, Exc. 90.  
 Indi,<sup>1</sup> xxxi. 2, 16 (Indorum terrae<sup>2</sup>).  
 India; see Indi.  
 Indicus, -a, -um.<sup>2</sup>  
 Informatio, worshipped as a goddess, xxix. 2, 18.  
 Innocentia, xxix. 3, 9.  
 1. Innocentius,<sup>1</sup> a tribune.  
 2. Innocentius,<sup>1</sup> a field-measurer.  
 Interamna, Exc. 6, note.  
 Iohannes, a Roman pope of the time of Theodorici, Exc. 88, note, 89, 93.  
 Iones,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 4.  
 1. Iovianus, a *protector domesticus*, xxi. 16, 20; omens of his future high station, xxi. 16, 21; xxv. 10, 16; made emperor 24th July, 363, xxv. 5, 4; 8, 8; compelled to make a shameful treaty with Sapor, xxv. 7, 9 ff.; the treaty violated by the Persians, xxvii. 12, 1, 15; cf. xxx. 2, 3; returns to Mesopotamia, xxv. 7-8; plots against Procopius, xxvi. 6, 3; adorns the tomb of Julian, xxv. 10, 5; takes his son Varronianus as colleague in the consulship (364); dies suddenly at Dadastana in Bithynia, 20th Feb., 364, xxv. 10, 11, 12; buried in Constantinople, xxvi. 1, 3; his character and appearance, xxv. 10, 14-15; took Constantius as his model, xxv. 10, 14; his elevation foretold by his father, xxv. 10, 16.  
 2. Iovinus,<sup>2</sup> a secretary.  
 3. Iovinus,<sup>2</sup> a soldier.  
 1. Iovinus,<sup>2</sup> a *magister equitum*, xxvii. 2, 1, 4; called *magister rei castrensis*, xxvii. 10, 6, note; succeeded by 1. Theodosius, xxviii. 3, 9.  
 2. Iovinus, an envoy sent from Africa, xxviii. 6, 16, 20 f., 22.  
 Iphicles, a philosopher, xxx. 5, 8.  
 Irenaeus, xxix. 1, 6.  
 Isafenses, a people of Africa, xxix. 5, 40, 41, 43, 46, 51, 53.  
 Isauri,<sup>1</sup> their location, xiv. 2, 1, note; their habits, xiv. 2, 1; xix. 13, 1.

Isauria,<sup>1</sup> bands of brigands from, ravage Pamphylia and Cilicia, xxvii. 9, 6; Exc. 39; see also Isauri.  
 Isocrates, the famous Attic orator (436-338 B.C.), xxx. 8, 6.  
 \*Ιστορος, the Greek name of the Hister (*q.v.*), xxxi. 1, 5.  
 Italia,<sup>1, 2</sup> used of the country, xv. 9, 7; 10, 10; 12 3; xvii. 7, 13; xxi. 7, 4; xxiii. 6, 57; xxvii. 4, 13; xxx. 1, 22; 8, 5; xxxi. 5, 12; Exc. 9, 13, 32, 38, 46; the prefecture, xiv. 7, 9; xv. 8, 1; xvi. 11, 2; 12, 69; xviii. 6, 5; xxvi. 5, 5; xxvii. 4, 1; xxviii. 5, 15; xxxi. 11, 1; and the diocese, xx. 9, 1; xxi. 7, 1; 8, 3; 13, 6; xxv. 4, 25; 8, 11; xxvii. 7, 5; Exc. 4.  
 Italicus,<sup>1, 2</sup> -a, -um,<sup>1</sup> adj.: *oppida*, xxxi. 9, 4; *numeri*, xxvii. 10, 6.  
 Iubalena natio, an African people xxix. 5, 44.  
 Iudaei,<sup>1</sup> subdued by Pompey, xiv. 8, 12; in Persia, xxiv. 4, 1; opinion of Marcus Aurelius of, xxii. 5, 5; strife with Christians at Ravenna, Exc. 80 ff.  
 1. Iulianus (Didius)<sup>2</sup>.  
 2. Iulianus,<sup>1, 2</sup> Flavius Claudius, the emperor, son of Iulius Constantius<sup>1</sup> (a son of Constantius Chlorus) and Basilina, born at Constantinople, xxv. 3, 23; brought up by 5. Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, xxii. 9, 4; in retirement with his brother Gallus, xv. 2, 7; through Eusebia allowed to study in Milan and Athens, xv. 2, 8; cf. xxi. 6, 4; made Caesar by Constantius II., xv. 8, 1-3; the emperor's opinion of, xv. 8, 8, 9; married to Helena, sister of Constantius II., xv. 8, 18; accused by 3. Marcellus, xvi. 7, 1; defended by Eutherius, xvi. 7, 3; consul (355), xvi. 1, 1; (356), xvi. 11, 1; (360), xx. 1, 1; (363), xxiii. 1, 1; accused by Barbatio, xvi. 11, 7; by Gaudentius, xvii. 9, 7; cf. xxi. 7, 2; hated by Gomoarius, xxi. 13, 16; Constantius' jealousy

## INDEX

### 2. Iulianus—continued.

of, xx. 4, 1; campaign against the Laeti, xvi. 11, 4-6; against the Alamanni, xvi. 12; xvii. 1, 1 ff. (cf. xxvii. 1, 1), whom he compels to sue for peace, xvii. 1, 12-13; against the Franks, xvii. 2; against the Franks and Chamavi, xvii. 8; mutiny of troops of, xvii. 9, 3 ff.; Suomarius and Hortarius, kings of the Alamanni, surrender to, xvii. 10; his kind treatment of the Gauls, xviii. 1, 1-4; compels five kings of the Alamanni to sue for peace, xviii. 2; ordered to send part of his troops to the Orient, xx. 4, 2 ff.; hailed as Augustus by his troops, but rebukes them, xx. 4, 14 f.; again hailed as Augustus by the rebellious soldiers, xx. 4, 17; crowned by Maurus, xx. 4, 18 (cf. xxxi. 10, 21); announces the situation to Constantius, xx. 8, 5 ff.; accused by 1. Florentius, xx. 8, 20 f.; receives a letter from Constantius (xx. 9, 4-5), who appoints officials for Gaul; Julian forms his own court, xx. 9, 8; cf. xxi. 1, 4; celebrates quinquennial games at Vienne, xxi. 1, 4; has his wife's body sent to Rome, xxi. 1, 5; foresees the death of Constantius, xxi. 1, 6 (cf. 2, 2); pretends to embrace Christianity, xxi. 2, 4; crushes revolt of Vadomarius, king of the Alamanni, xxi. 3, 5 (cf. xxix. 4, 2); marches against Constantinople, xxi. 8; hears of Constantius' death, xxii. 2, 1 (cf. xxi. 12, 18); winters in Constantinople, xxi. 12, 16; said to have been named successor by Constantius, xxi. 15, 2, 5 (cf. xxii. 2, 1); re-establishes his court, xxii. 3, 1-3; attacks the adherents of Constantius and foes of Gallus, xxii. 3, 1; adopts pagan religion, xxii. 5, 1, 2; Exc. 33; receives many envoys, xxii. 7, 10, note; all nations sound praises of, xxii. 9, 1; refuses aid of kings, xxiii.

### 2. Iulianus—continued.

2, 1; goes to Antioch, xxii. 9, 14; writes the *Misopogon*, xxii. 14, 2; sets out for Persia, xxiii. 2, 7; names Procopius as his successor, xxiii. 3, 2; captures Pisabora, Maiozamalcha, and several fortresses, xxiv. 1-6; burns his fleet and retreats to Corduena, xxiv. 7 and 8; is killed in battle with the Persians, xxv. 3, 2-6; rumours that he was killed by a Roman, xxv. 6, 6; his body taken to Tarsus by Procopius, xxv. 9, 12 (cf. xxiii. 2, 5); his tomb adorned by Jovian, xxv. 10, 5, note; called Divus, xxvi. 10, 8; his personal appearance, xv. 8, 16; xxv. 4, 22 (cf. xxii. 2, 5; 14, 3; xvii. 11, 1); his character, xiv. 11, 28; xxv. 4; xvi. 1; his temperance and devotion to study, xvi. 5, 4-6; his mildness, xvi. 5, 12; his humanity, xviii. 1, 4; relieves the Gauls of excessive tributes, xvii. 3, 1 ff. (cf. xviii. 1, 1 ff.); a lover of justice, xxii. 9, 9; 10, 2; xxx. 4, 1; takes Marcus Aurelius as model, xvi. 1, 4; submits to correction, xxii. 10, 3; attempts to restore the temple at Jerusalem, xxiii. 1, 2; recommends harmony to the Christian bishops, xxii. 5, 3-4; forbids Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar, xxii. 10, 7 (cf. xxv. 4, 20); closes the greater church at Antioch, xxii. 13, 2; his many sacrifices to the gods, xxii. 12, 6; makes offering to Jupiter Casius, xxii. 14, 4; swears to make no more offerings to Mars Ultor, xxiv. 8, 17; his devotion to predictions, auguries, and superstition generally, xxii. 1, 1; 12, 6-8; (cf. xxiii. 3, 3; xxv. 4, 17); his Etruscan soothsayers, xxiii. 5, 10; xxv. 2, 7; assailed by the soldiers as an Asiatic and a Greeklings, xvii. 9, 3 (cf. xvi. 7, 6); ridiculed by courtiers of Constantius, xvii. 11, 1; by the people of Antioch, xxii. 14, 8;

# INDEX

2. *Julianus—continued.*  
his valour, xxiv. 2, 14 ff.;  
xxiv. 4, 4 f.; his memory said  
to have been assailed by Valen-  
tinian and Valens, xxvi. 4, 4.
2. *Julianus.*<sup>2</sup>
3. *Julianus.*<sup>2</sup>
1. *Iulius Caesar (C.)*,<sup>2</sup> *dictator.*  
xxix. 2, 18; his journeys, xxviii.  
4, 18; 2, 18; his account of  
Gaul, xv. 11, 1, note.
2. *Iulius*, see 2. *Constantius.*
3. *Iulius*,<sup>2</sup> a commander of the  
army beyond Taurus, xxxi. 16, 8.  
*Iulius mensis*,<sup>1, 2</sup>
- Iustina*, sister of Cerealis and wife  
of the emperor Valentinian,  
xxviii. 2, 10; xxx. 10, 4.
- Iustinus*, Exc. 76 f., 85, 88.
- Iustitia*,<sup>1, 2</sup> the goddess, xxviii. 6,  
1, 25; xxix. 2, 20; xxx. 2, 9;  
xxx. 15, 7.
- Iuvenalis*, Juvenal, the Roman  
satirist (circ. A.D. 60-140),  
xxviii. 4, 14, note.
- Laches*, xxviii. 4, 27; used typi-  
cally; see note.
- Lagarimanus*, a Gothic general,  
xxx. 3, 5.
- Lamfoctum*, a town of Mauritania,  
xxix. 5, 13.
- Lampadius*,<sup>1</sup> prefect of Rome  
(ex-prefect in 365), xxvii. 3, 5;  
xxviii. 1, 26.
- Laurentius*, Exc. 65.
- Lauretum*, Exc. 55, note.
- Lauriacum*, a city of Noricum,  
modern Lorch, xxxi. 10, 20.
- Lazi*; see *Lazica*.
- Lazica*, a people and province of  
Scythia, xxvii. 12, 11, 17.
- Lentienses*,<sup>1</sup> a division of the Ala-  
manni, xxxi. 10, 2, 4, 17; 12,  
1; in the Roman imperial  
service, xxxi. 10, 3.
1. *Leo*,<sup>2</sup> a Pannonian, secretary,  
and later master of ceremonies,  
xxviii. 1, 12, 41; xxx. 2, 10;  
5, 10.
2. *Leo*, emperor of the East, Exc.  
39, note.
3. *Leo*, son of Zeno, son-in-law  
of 2. *Leo*, Exc. 39, note.
4. *Leo*, the Lion, a sign of the  
Zodiac, xxxi. 13, 7.
- Leontinus*, a native of Leontini, a  
town of eastern Sicily, north-  
west of Syracuse; see *Gorgias*,  
xxx. 4, 3.
- Lepcis*, a city of northern Africa  
xxviii. 6, 4, 18.
- Lepcitanus*, -a, -um, adj. from  
*Lepcis*: *ager*, xxviii. 6, 10;  
*moenia*, id., 6, 15; as subst.,  
*Lepcitani*, id., 6, 5.
- Lernaea serpens*, the hydra of  
Lerna in Argolis, slain by  
Heracles, xxix. 5, 22.
- Levila*, a commander-in-chief, Exc.  
54.
- Liberi Sarmatae*,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 6, 15.
1. *Liberius*, a Roman bishop, xv.  
7, 6, 9, 10.
2. *Liberius*, praetorian prefect of  
Illyricum under Theoderic, Exc.  
68.
- Liburnae*, light galleys used by the  
Liburni, an Illyrian people  
living between Istria and Dal-  
matia, Exc. 28.
- Libycum aequor*,<sup>2</sup> the Libyan Sea,  
xxx. 4, 6.
- Liciniani*, Exc. 16.
- Licinius*, Exc. 7; made Caesar, 8;  
emperor, 13; wars with Con-  
stantine, 15 ff., 20 ff.; consul with  
Constantine, 19; his death, 29.
- Licinius Caesar*, son of the above,  
Exc. 19.
- Limigantes*, see *Sarmatae*.
1. *Lollianus*,<sup>1</sup> also called *Mavortius*  
(xvi. 8, 5).
2. *Lollianus*, xxviii. 1, 26.
- Lucanicus*, xxviii. 4, 23.
- Lucifer*, xix. 7, 2, the morning star.
- Lucius*, an African, xxviii. 6, 22.
1. *Lucullus (L. Licinius)*,<sup>2</sup>
2. *Lucullus (M. Licinius)*,<sup>2</sup> xxvii.  
4, 11.
- Lundinium*,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 8, 7; xxviii.  
3, 1. See *Augusta*.
1. *Lupicinus*,<sup>1, 2</sup> sent to Britain  
against the Picts, xx. 1, 2; 4,  
3, 9; 9, 9; succeeded by  
*Gomoarius*, xx. 9, 5; *magister*  
*equitum* in Orient, xxvi. 5, 2;  
8, 4; 9, 1; general (*comes*) in  
Thrace, xxxi. 4, 9; 5, 2; 8, 4; 9, 1.



# INDEX

2. Lupicinus, xxvii. 10, 12.
- Luscius,<sup>2</sup> xxx. 1, 22.
- Lusius, a Roman general under Trajan and Hadrian, xxix. 5, 4.
1. Lycurgus,<sup>1</sup>
2. Lycurgi,<sup>2</sup> xxx. 8, 13, note.
- Macedonia,<sup>1</sup> xxxi. 5, 16; 16, 2; Exc. 32.
- Macrianus,<sup>1</sup> a king of the Alamanni, xviii. 2, 15; plotted against by Valentinian, xxviii. 5, 8; Valentinian tries to take him alive, but fails, xxix. 4, 2, 5 (cf. xxx. 7, 11); Fraomarius made king in his place; xxix. 4, 7; makes peace with Valentinian, xxx. 3, 3 ff.; killed by king Mallobaudes, xxx. 3, 7.
- Maecoticus, -a, -um, adj. from Maeotis palus<sup>2</sup>: *paludes*, xxxi. 2, 1; *stagna*, xxxi. 2, 21.
- Magentiaci milites, xxxi. 11 3.
- Magnentius,<sup>1,2</sup> xxx. 7, 3.
- Mallobaudes,<sup>1</sup> comes domesticorum and king of the Franks, xxxi. 10, 6; kills Macrianus, xxx. 3, 7.
- Mamaeae aquae, a palace and baths built by Alexander Severus at Balae and named from his mother Julia Mamaea; xxviii. 4, 19, note.
- Mamertinus,<sup>2</sup> accused of embezzlement, xxvii. 7, 1.
- Manes, xiv. 11, 24; of savages, xv. 3, 6; of Cottius, xv. 10, 7; tartarei, xviii. 4, 1.
- Mantuana vates, xv. 9, 1.
- Maratocupreni, the inhabitants of a town in Syria near Apamea, who lived by brigandage, xxviii. 2, 11.
- Marcellianus, son of Maximinus, the praetorian prefect, treacherously kills Gabinus, king of the Quadi, xxix. 6, 3 ff.
1. Marcellus (M. Claudius),<sup>2</sup> consul in 222 B.C. and four times thereafter. He stormed Syracuse in 212 B.C.; xxv. 3, 13, note; xxviii. 4, 23.
2. Marcellus,<sup>2</sup> succeeds Ursicinus.
3. Marcellus,<sup>2</sup> son of 2. Marcellus.
4. Marcellus,<sup>2</sup> hailed as Augustus after the death of Procopius, but put to death.
5. Marcellus, husband of Rufina, xxviii. 1, 44.
- Marcianopolis, a city of eastern Moesia (Mysia, xxvii. 4, 12) near the Euxine, xxvii. 4, 12, note; 5, 5, 6; xxxi. 5, 4; 8, 1.
1. Marcianus,<sup>2</sup> a count.
2. Marcianus, *vir clarissimus*, xxviii. 1, 27.
3. Marcianus (Aelius) a celebrated Roman jurist, who wrote under Caracalla and Alexander Severus (*Dig.* i. 4, 7; xlviii. 17, 1; xxxv. 1, 33). Another of the same name was proconsul of Baetica under Antoninus Pius (*Dig.* i. 6, 2), xxx. 4, 17. Marciani, xxx. 4, 17.
- Marcomanni,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 6, 1; xxxi. 4, 2; Marcus Aurelius on the, xxii. 5, 5.
- Marcus Aurelius,<sup>1,2</sup> the emperor. On his nymphaeum, see Index I., Vol. I., s.v. M.A.; refuses to read letters of Cassius, xxi. 16, 11; war with the Quadi, xxix. 6, 1; with the Marcomanni, xxxi. 5, 13; cited with Trajan as a model emperor, xxx. 9, 1; imitated by Julian, xvi. 1, 4; a saying of, xxii. 5, 5; M. Antoninus, xxxi. 10, 19.
- Mardiensis campus, Exc. 17.
1. Marinus,<sup>1</sup>
2. Marinus, xxviii. 1, 14.
1. Marius (C),<sup>2</sup> attended by a Genius, xxi. 14, 5; allows plebeians to plunder houses of proscribed, xxx. 8, 9; his defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones (xxx. 5, 12).
2. Marius Maximus, xxviii. 4, 14, note.
- Maronea,<sup>2</sup> a city of Thrace, xxvii. 4, 13.
- Mars,<sup>2</sup> the god, worshipped in the form of a sword, xxxi. 2, 23.
1. Martinianus, Exc. 25, 28, 29.
2. Martinianus, xxix. 5, 50.
- Martis castra, see Castra Martia.

# INDEX

- Martius** <sup>2</sup> a, -um, adj. to Mars: *pulvis*, xxvii. 6, 8; *pulveres*, xxiii. 6, 83; *officia*, xxvii. 8, 3.
- Mascizel**, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 11, 14.
- Masilla**, xxix. 5, 51, 54, 55.
- Masinissenses**, a people of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 11.
- Mattiaceae aquae**, xxix. 4, 3, note.
- Mattiarum**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 13, 8.
- Mauri**,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 5, 25; **Maurus**, xxix. 5, 3, 15; **Maurus Caesariensis**, xxvii. 6, 14.
- Mauricae gentes**, xxx. 7, 10.
- Mauritania**,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 6, 1; **Caesariensis et Sitifensis**, xxix. 5, 5, 27, 50.
1. **Maurus**; see **Mauri**.
  2. **Maurus**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 10, 21.
  3. **Maurus**,<sup>2</sup>
- Mavortius**; see 1. **Lollianus**.
1. **Maxentius**, proclaimed emperor by the pretorians in 306; Exc. 6, 7, 9, 10, note, 12, note. See *Introd. Vol. I*, p. xxv.
  2. **Maxentius**, a Pannonian, xxvii. 7, 6.
- Maxima**, wife of Chilo, xxviii. 1, 8.
- Maximianopolis**, a city of Thrace, xxvii. 4, 13.
- Maximianus Hercullius**, called **Caesar Maximianus**,<sup>2</sup> xxv. 10, 2 (his statue); **Hercullius**, Exc. 1 (note), 10; **Hercullius Maximianus**, Exc. 29; **Maximianus**, Exc. 14.
1. **Maximinus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the emperor.
  2. **Maximinus**,<sup>1</sup> made **Caesar** by **Galerius**, Exc. 5, 9.
  3. **Maximinus praefectus urbi** and praetorian prefect in Italy, his cruelty and oppression, xxviii. 1; put to death by **Gratian**, xxviii. 1, 57; xxix. 2, 22, 23; 3, 1; 6, 3; xxx. 2, 11.
  1. **Maximus**,<sup>2</sup> a senator.
  2. **Maximus**,<sup>2</sup> the philosopher, received with high honour by **Julian**, xxii. 7, 3; present at **Julian's** death, xxv. 3, 23; put to death, xxix. 1, 42.
  3. **Maximus**,<sup>2</sup> a tribune.
  4. **Maximus**, xxix. 5, 6, 21; xxxi. 4, 9.
- Mazices**, a people of **Mauritania**, xxix. 5, 17, 21, 25, 26; see also **Mazicus**.
- Mazicus**, adj. to **Mazices**: *optimas*, xxix. 5, 51.
- Mazuca**, a prince of **Mauritania**, xxix. 5, 40, 41.
- Mazucanus**, the name of an estate, xxix. 5, 31.
- Media**,<sup>1, 2</sup> described, xxiii. 6, 27 ff.; overrun by the **Halani**, xxxi. 2, 21.
- Medianum**, a fortress of **Mauritania**, xxix. 5, 45.
- Medicus**, -a, -um,<sup>2</sup> adj.: *bellum primum*, xxviii. 1, 3; *acies*, xxxi. 4, 7.
1. **Mediolanum**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the Italian city, xxvii. 7, 5; xxviii. 6, 30; Exc. 13, 51, 53.
  2. **Mediolanum**,<sup>1</sup> in **Lugdunensis Secunda**.
- Melanchlaeni**, a nation dwelling near the **Palus Maeotis**, xxxi. 2, 15.
- Melanthias**, an imperial villa near **Constantinople**, xxxi. 11, 1; 12, 1.
- Menus (Moenus)**, a river of Germany, modern **Main**, xvii. 1, 6.
- Mercurii signum**, the planet **Mercury**, xxviii. 4, 24.
- Merobaudes**, consul in 377, xxviii. 6, 29; xxx. 10, 2, 4; xxxi. 7, 4; 8, 2.
- Mesopotamia**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxx. 2, 4 (dux, cf. xvi. 9, 2; xviii. 7, 3; xxv. 8, 7); frontier-defences of, xiv. 3, 2; the lions of, xviii. 7, 5; invaded by **Persians**, xv. 13, 4; desired by **Sapor**, xx. 6, 1; description of, in a lost book, xiv. 7, 21, note.
- Messala**, prefect of **Pannonia**, xxix. 6, 7.
- Messores**, xxviii. 4, 28; see **Cimessores**.
- Mestrianus**, Exc. 18.
- Meterius**, xxviii. 6, 26, 27.
- Mica aurea**, xxix. 3, 9, note.
- Micon**, xxviii. 4, 27, used typically, see note.
- Miletus**, the famous city on the coast of **Caria** in south-western **Asia Minor**, xxviii. 1, 3, 4.

# INDEX

- Milo, native of Croton (see Crotoniates), celebrated for his great physical strength, xxx. 7, 2.
1. Mimas, a mountain on the promontory of Melaena in western Lydia, xxxi. 14, 8, 9; *Mimas*, xxix. 1, 33; xxxi. 14, 8.
  2. Mimas, a noble, xxxi. 14, 9.
- Minervius, an ex-consul, xxviii. 1, 24.
- Minucius (Rufus, M.), consul in 110 B.C., who devastated Thrace, xxvii. 4, 10; cf. Florus, i. 39, 5.
- Mithridates (Mithradates),<sup>1</sup> conquered by Pompey, xxix. 5, 33.
- Modestus,<sup>1</sup> praetorian prefect, xxix. 1, 10; xxx. 4, 2.
1. Moesia,<sup>1</sup> the district, xxxi. 8, 4; Exc. 18; see also Mysia.
  2. Moesia,<sup>2</sup> a city of Parthia.
- Mogontiacus,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 10, 1; xxix. 4, 7; xxx. 2, 10; 3, 4.
- Mucianus, xxviii. 1, 36.
- Mulvius pons, the bridge carrying the via Flaminia over the Tiber, north of Rome, xxvii. 3, 9, note.
- Munderichus, xxxi. 3, 5.
- Murocineta, the name of a villa, xxx. 10, 4.
- Musones, a people of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 27.
- Musonius, xxvii. 9, 6.
- Mutina, a city of Gallia Cispadana, modern Modena, xxxi. 9, 4; cf. Suet., *Aug.* 10, 2 f.; Florus, ii. 15.
- Mychon, a noble of Lepcis, xxviii. 6, 14.
- Mysia, a part of Thrace, xxvii. 4, 12 (for Moesia), *Μύσιος γαίης* (= γαία), xxxi. 1, 5.
- Μύσιος γαία*; see Mysia.
- Naissus, Exc. 2; see Naessus.<sup>2</sup>
- Nannenus, general (*comes*) in Britain, xxviii. 5, 1.
- Nannienus, *virtutis sobriae dux*, xxxi. 10, 6 f.
1. Narseus.<sup>2</sup>
  2. Narseus.<sup>1, 2</sup>
- Nectaridus, xxvii. 8, 1.
- Neocaesarea, a city of Pontus.
- Polemoniacus, xxvii. 12, 9.
1. Nepos,<sup>2</sup> Cornelius.
  2. Nepos (Iulius), Exc. 36.
- Nepontianus, xxviii. 1, 1; see *Introd.*, pp. xxv f.
- Nerva, Caesar (M. Cocceius), emperor of Rome from A.D. 96 to 98. xxxi. 16, 9.
- Nervi; see Nervii.
- Nervii<sup>2</sup> (Nervi), xxxi. 2, 14, note.
- Nevitta,<sup>1, 2</sup> a barbarian by birth, xxi. 10, 8; a Roman cavalry commander, xvii. 6, 3; xxi. 8, 1, 3; in charge of pass of Succ, xxi. 10, 2; appointed judge by Julian, xxii. 3, 1; consul with Mamertinus in 362, xxi. 10, 8 (cf. xvii. 6, 3); 12, 25; xxii. 7, 1; takes part in campaign against Persians, xxiv. 1, 2; 4, 13; xxv. 5, 2; his character, xxi. 10, 8.
1. Nicaea,<sup>1</sup> a city of Gaul.
  2. Nicaea,<sup>2</sup> a city of Bithynia, xxx. 7, 4; earthquake at, xxii. 13, 5.
- Nicasius, xxviii. 6, 10.
- Nice, a station (*statio*) in Thrace, xxxi. 11, 2; 12, 3.
- Nicer, a river in the Agri Decumates, south-west of Germany, modern Neckar, xxviii. 2, 2.
- Nicias, the physician of Pyrrus, king of Epirus, xxx. 1, 22.
- Nicomedia,<sup>1, 2</sup> Exc. 35; a city of Bithynia xvii. 7, 1 (cf. xxii. 8, 5); praises of, xxii. 9, 3; earthquakes at, xvii. 7, 1 ff.; xxii. 13, 5; Julian's liberality to, xxii. 9, 5.
- Nicopolis, a city of Moesia (Mysia), founded by Trajan, xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 5, 16; 11, 2.
1. Nigrinus,<sup>2</sup> tribune of cavalry; rebels against Julian and seizes Aquileia, xxi. 11, 2 ff.; burned alive, xxi. 12, 20.
  2. Nigrinus, xxx. 5, 12.
- Nilus,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 4.
- Nilus,<sup>1</sup> its sources, etc., xxii. 15, 3-13, 27; celebration of birthday of, xxii. 15, 17; mouths of, xxii. 15, 10.
- Nisibis, defended by Ursicinus, xiv. 9, 1; xviii. 6, 8; 7, 8 (cf. xxv. 1, 15); avoided by king of Persians, xx. 7, 1; occupied by Romans, xx. 6, 9; surrendered to Persians, xxv.

# INDEX

## Nisibis—continued.

7, 1 (cf. 9, 8 ff.); departure of citizens, xxv. 9, 5; cf. Nisibeni,<sup>1</sup> xviii. 10, 1; *Nisibena proditio*, id., 3.

Nomades, xxxi. 2, 17.

Nova, Exc. 42.

Nova Dacia, see Dacia.

Novidunum, a city of Thrace, xxvii. 5, 6.

Nubel, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 2 ff.

Numa Pompilius,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxviii. 1, 39.

Numerius or Numenius, a tribune, xxix. 2, 17; see crit. note.

*Núμφαι*, xxxi. 1, 5.

Oceanus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 8, 4; *fretalis*, xxviii. 2, 1, note; 5, 1; xxxi. 5, 12.

Oculus,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 1, 22.

1. Octavianus Augustus,<sup>1</sup>

2. Octavianus,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 3, 4.

Odessus,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 12.

Odoacer, king of Italy from 476-493, Exc. 37, 45, 46, 47, 48 ff. (his death, 55).

Odoin, Exc. 68.

Odrysae,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 4, 9, 10.

Oeensis (ager), the territory of the city of Oea on the coast of Tripolitana, modern Tripoli, xxviii. 6, 10.

1. Olybrius, prefect of Rome, xxviii. 1, 8, 9, 32; 4, 1.

2. Olybrius, consul in 491, Exc. 54; 94.

Olympia,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 1, 39.

Olympicum certamen, xxix. 1, 25; see also Olympia.

Opitergium, a city of Italy, modern Oderzo, xxix. 6, 1.

Opplius (C.), xxx. 8, 7, note.

Orestes, father of Romulus Augustus, regent of Italy 475-476, Exc. 36, 37.

Orfitus,<sup>1</sup> exiled and recalled, xxvii. 3, 2; 7, 3.

Oriens,<sup>1</sup> its boundaries and provinces, except Egypt (q.v.) and Mesopotamia (see xiv. 7, 21, note), xiv. 8, 5 ff.; *Orientis apex*, xxii. 9, 14; *Orientis comes*, xxi. 4, 2; xxiii. 1, 4; prefect of, xxvi. 5, 5; ready to obey

## Oriens—continued.

Julian, xxi. 15, 4; long ravaged by Persians, xxii. 12, 1; Julian's attempt to restore the, xxv. 4, 26; Nisibis bulwark of the, xxv. 8, 14; cf. 9, 8; well treated by Valens, xxx. 1, 1; xxxi. 14, 2; ruled by Licinius, Exc. 18. *Orientalis provinciae*,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 2, 4; xxxi. 16, 8.

Oropus, xxx. 4, 5, note.

Padus, the great river of Cisalpine Gaul, modern Po, xxviii. 5, 15.

Pagonii, xxviii. 4, 7.

*Παγονίη*, xxxi. 1, 5.

Palas; see Capellacium.<sup>1</sup>

Palatinus, -a, -um, adj. from palatium: Apollo, xxiii. 3, 3; 6, 24; *cohors*, xviii. 5, 4; *militēs*, xxvi. 6, 5; as subst., Palatini, xxii. 4, 1 (see Index II., Vol. I.).

1. Palladius,<sup>2</sup> *magister officiorum* of Gallus Caesar.

2. Palladius, a tribune and secretary, xxviii. 6, 12, 17, 20 ff., 22, 25, 26, 27.

3. Palladius, a *Palatinus* (q.v.), xxix. 1, 5, 6, 25; 2, 1, 6.

Palman, ad, Exc. 66, note.

Palmyreni, the people of Palmyra, a city in the eastern part of Syria, modern Tadmor, xxviii. 4, 9.

Pamphylia,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 9, 6; xxxi. 5, 16 (*Pamphyliæ civitates*).

Panchariana statio, in Africa, xxix. 5, 9.

Pancratius, an envoy sent from Africa, xxviii. 6, 16, 20.

Pannonia,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxviii. 1, 5; 3, 4; xxx. 7, 2; Exc. 8, 9, 45; *Pannoniae*, xxx. 5, 3; xxxi. 10, 6; see *Pannonica* and *Pannonius*.

*Pannonica auxilia*, xxxi. 7, 3.

Pannonius, -a, -um, adj.: *caesus*, xxx. 7, 10; as subst., Pannonius, xxvi. 7, 16; xxvii. 3, 11; 7, 6; Pannonii, xxvi. 1, 6.

Papa (Para, codd. A and G) son of Arsaces, king of Armenia, xxvii. 12, 9 ff.; treacherously slain by the Romans, xxx. 1, 1 ff.; 2, 1; (cf. xxxi. 1, 3).

Paphius, a Roman senator, xxviii. 1, 29.

# INDEX

**Papirius Cursor** (*I.*), consul in 320 B.C., dictator in 325 and victor over the Samnites, xxviii. 3, 9; xxx. 8, 5.

**Para**, see **Papa**.

**Parisii**,<sup>1,2</sup> **Paris**, xxvii. 2, 1, 10; also called **Lutetia** (**Parisiorum**), xv. 11, 3.

**Parma**, a city in the western part of Cispadine Gaul, modern **Parma**, xxxi. 9, 4.

**Parthi**,<sup>1,2</sup> **Parthyaei** (xxiii. 6, 43), the early Parthians (**Persae**), xxviii. 4, 9; see **Persae**.

**Parthicus**, -a, -um,<sup>1,2</sup> adj. : *fragor*, xxix. 2, 21; *procinctus*, xxx. 8, 8; sc. *arcus*, xxii. 8, 37.

**Parthyaei**; see **Parthi**.

**Pasiphilus**, xxix. 1, 36.

**Paternianus**, xxx. 3, 2.

**Patricius**, xxix. 1, 7, 28; xxxi. 14, 8.

1. **Paulus**,<sup>1,2</sup> the secretary surnamed **Catena**.

2. **Paulus**, Exc. 37.

**Peregrinus Proteus**, xxix. 1, 39, n.

**Pergamius**, xxix. 1, 6, 25.

**Perinthus**, xxx. 16, 1; see also 1. **Heraclea**.

**Perrasii**; see **Ferasii**.

**Persae**,<sup>1,2</sup> also called **Parthi**, their Scythian origin, xxxi. 2, 20; **Persarum rex** (**Narseus**), xxiii. 5, 11 (see also **Artaxerxes** and **Sapor**); titles of kings of, xvii. 5, 3 (cf. xxiii. 6, 5); xix. 2, 11; kings of, do not take part in battles, xix. 7, 8; defeated by Greeks near the **Eurymedon**, xvii. 11, 3; always enemies of the Romans, xvi. 9, 1; tricked by **Ammianus**, xviii. 6, 15; battle with, at **Singara**, xviii. 5, 7 (cf. 9, 3; xix. 2, 8; 9, 9); take **Amida**, xix. 4, ff.; pursue the Roman army, xix. 8, 10; execute Roman leaders, xix. 9, 2; right of wearing tiara among the, xviii. 5, 6; customs of, xxiii. 6, 5 ff.; 75-84: worship of **Silence** by, xxi. 13, 4; take council amid wine, xviii. 5, 8; consult auspices before battle, xxi. 13, 8; paintings of, xxiv. 6, 3; defend **Bezabde**, xx. 11,

**Persae—continued.**

1 ff.; corpses of, dry up, xix. 9, 9; campaign of **Julian** against, xxii. 12, 1 (see also 3. **Julianus**); **Bactriani** hostile to, xxiii. 6, 55; plagued by foreign and civil wars, xxiii. 6, 83; dress of, 6, 84; **Valens** sends envoys to, xxxi. 7, 1; **Septem Persae**, xxiii. 6, 36, note; see also **Persia** and **Persis**. **Persia**, description of, xxiii. 6, 1-43. **Persis**<sup>2</sup> = **Persia**, xxiii. 6, 14; xxx. 2, 6; **Persidis** (**Persidos**) *rex*, xviii. 4, 1; **P. viae regiae**, xxiii. 3, 1; **P. regna**, xxiii. 5, 16; 6, 22, 36; xxiv. 7, 3; **P. regiones**, xx. 6, 7; **P. incrementa**, xxiii. 6, 27; *fines*, xxiii. 6, 73, 74; beauty of women of, xxiv. 4, 27. Also = a province of **Persia**, **P. antiqua**, xxiii. 6, 41; xxiii. 6, 14.

**Petrus**, an estate in **Mauritania**, xxix. 5, 13.

1. **Petrus**,<sup>1</sup> surnamed **Valuomerus**.

2. **Petrus**, a bishop of **Ravenna**, Exc. 81.

**Petulantius** et **Celtae**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 10, 4; **Petulantium hastatus**, xx. 4, 18, note.

**Phaeaces**,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 8, 4.

**Phalangius**, xxviii. 1, 26.

**Phalaris**,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 46, note.

**Pherrasio**, see **Ferasii**.

**Philippopolis**,<sup>2</sup> called **Eumolpias**, xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 16, 2; captured by **Scythians**, xxxi. 5, 17.

1. **Philippus**,<sup>1</sup>

2. **Philippus**<sup>2</sup> (**Arabs**), praetorian prefect under **Gordian**; emperor of **Rome** from 244 to 249, Exc. 33.

**Philippi**, xxx. 4, 6, used typically for **L. Marcus Philippus**, consul in 91 B.C., and one of the most distinguished orators of his time; cf. **Cic. Brutus**, 47, 173; **Horace, Epist.**, i. 7, 46 ff.

**Philiton**, a writer of mimes, xxx. 4, 21, note.

**Phrynichus**, an early Attic tragic poet, whose *Capture of Miletus* was put upon the stage in 494 B.C. and imitated by **Aeschylus** in his *Persians*, xxviii. 1, 4.

# INDEX

- Picti,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 8, 5; Exc. 4; invade Britain, xx. 1, 1.
- Pierius, Exc. 53.
- Pietas.<sup>1</sup>
- Pinetum (also Pineta in Exc. Part II. and Du Cange), the pine grove at Ravenna, Exc. 37, 53, 54.
- Pirus, a mountain in Germany near Heidelberg, xxviii. 2, 5, note.
- Pistoriense oppidum (Pistoria), a town of Tuscia (Etruria), modern Pistoia, xxvii. 3, 1.
- Placentia, a town in the north-eastern part of Cispadine Gaul, modern Piacenza, Exc. 37.
- Plato,<sup>1, 2</sup> quoted, xxv. 4, 2; xxx. 4, 3, 5; *auctor amplissimus*, xxiii. 6, 32.
- Plautianus,<sup>2</sup> xxix. 1, 17.
- Polemoniacus Pontus, a name applied to a part of Pontus in north-eastern Asia Minor, xxvii. 12, 9, note.
1. Pompeius (Magnus, Cn),<sup>1, 2</sup> defeats Tigranes, xiv. 8, 10; takes Jerusalem, xiv. 8, 12; defeats Mithradates, xvi. 7, 10; xxiii. 5, 12 (cf. xxix. 5, 33); puts Perperna to death, xxvi. 9, 9; criticized, xvii. 11, 4; murdered in Egypt, xiv. 11, 32; his tomb, xxii. 16, 3.
  2. Pompeius, grandson of the emperor Anastasius, Exc. 74.
- Pompilius; see Numa Pompilius.
1. Ponticus.<sup>1</sup>
  2. Ponticus<sup>2</sup>: Ponticae gentes, Exc. 35.
1. Pontus, the province,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxxi. 4, 2; see also Polemoniacus.
  2. Pontus (Euxinus),<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 16, 7; description of, xxii. 8, 33-48; Pontus Ἐυξίνος, the reason for the name, xxii. 8, 33.
  3. Pontus Polemoniacus; see Polemoniacus Pontus.
- Porclaca, xxviii. 4, 28; see crit. note.
- Portus urbis Romae, Exc. 36; see Portus Augusti.<sup>1</sup>
- Potentius, son of 1. Ursicinus, xxxi. 13, 18.
- Praenestinus, adj. from Praeneste, a town of Latium east of Rome, modern Palestrina: *praetor*, xxx. 8, 5.
- Praetextatus,<sup>2</sup> proconsul of Achaia, xxii. 7, 6; prefect of Rome, xxvii. 9, 8; xxviii. 1, 24.
- Priarius, a king of the Alamanni, xxxi. 10, 10.
- Pristensis, a villa publica in Pannonia, xxix. 6, 7.
1. Probus, also called Petronius, praet. pref. in Illyricum, xxvii. 11, 1; praises of, xxviii. 1, 31; xxix. 6, 9; xxx. 3, 1; criticism of, xxx. 5, 4-10, 11.
  2. Probus, Exc. 7.
  3. Probus, grandson of the emperor Anastasius, Exc. 74.
1. Procopius,<sup>1, 2</sup> born in Cilicia, xxvi. 6, 1; secretary and envoy to Sapor, xvii. 14, 3; xviii. 6, 17; commands a part of Julian's army, xxiii. 3, 5; xxv. 8, 7, 16; xxvi. 6, 12; named by Julian as successor, xxvi. 6, 3; xxiii. 3, 2; a rival of 1. Jovianus, xxv. 7, 10; escorts Julian's body to Tarsus, xxv. 9, 12; after remaining in hiding begins to act as emperor in the Orient, xxvi. 5, 8; cf. xxix. 3, 7; sends letter to Goths, xxvii. 5, 1; they send auxiliaries to, xxvi. 10, 3; xxvii. 4, 1; 5, 1; xxxi. 3, 4; character of his followers, xxvi. 7, 1; betrayed by his men and put to death, xxvi. 9, 9; head of, sent to Valentinian in Gaul, xxvi. 10, 6; xxvii. 2, 10; character of, xxvi. 6, 1 ff.; personal appearance of, xxvi. 9, 11.
  2. Procopius.<sup>2</sup>
  3. Procopius, xxix. 1, 5.
- Profuturus, xxxi. 7, 1, 5; 8, 3.
- Propontis,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 10; xxxi. 5, 15; description of, xxii. 8, 5 f.
1. Proteus,<sup>2</sup> the seagod.
  2. Proteus; see Peregrinus.
- (Provertuldes), xxvii. 8, 2; see crit. note.
- Puteoli, a town on the Bay of Naples, modern Pozzuoli, xxviii. 4, 18.

# INDEX

- Pyrrus**,<sup>1</sup> king of Epirus, devastates Italy, xxx. 1, 22; his generalship, xxiv. 1, 3; see also Cineas.<sup>1</sup>
- Pythicum** (oraculum), xxix. 1, 31; see Delphorum oraculum.<sup>1</sup>
- Quadi**,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 6, 1, 2; xxx. 5, 11; 6, 1; xxxi. 4, 2; neighbours of the Sarmatians, their habits, xvii. 12, 1 ff.; invade Valeria, xvi. 10, 20; invade Pannonia and Moesia: defeated by Constantius, xvii. 12; Vitrodurus, king of, surrenders, xvii. 12, 21; with Sarmatians invade Pannonia, xxvi. 4, 5; rebellion of, xxix. 6, 1, 2; king Gabinus of, treacherously slain, xxix. 6, 5; xxx. 1, 1; send envoys to Valentinian, xxx. 6, 1.
- Quintianus**, xxix. 1, 17.
- Quintillii fratres**, xxviii. 4, 21, note.
- Raetiae**<sup>2</sup> (see Raetia<sup>1</sup>), the provinces of Raetia, xv. 4, 1; xvi. 10, 20; 12, 16; xvii. 6, 1; xxi. 3, 1; 8, 8; xxvi. 4, 5; xxviii. 2, 1; 5, 15; *Raetiarum tractus*, xxxi. 10, 1; see also *Raetici limites*<sup>2</sup> and *Raetius accola*.<sup>1</sup>
- Raetici limites**, xxii. 8, 44.
- Rando**, a chief of the Alamanni, xxvii. 10, 1.
- Ravenna**, a city on the eastern coast of Cisalpine Gaul, Exc. 9, 36, 52 ff., 70 f., 80 ff., 92, 96; see also Pinetum.
- Ravennas**, Exc. 90; -ates, 82.
- Reburri**, xxviii. 4, 7.
- Regium**, a city in south western Italy on the Fretum Siculum, modern Reggio di Calabria, xxxi. 9, 4.
- Remigius**,<sup>1</sup> magister officiorum, xxvii. 9, 2; xxviii. 6, 8, 30; xxix. 5, 2; xxx. 8, 12; retires, xxx. 2, 10, 11; his suicide, xv. 5, 36 (cf. xxx. 2, 12).
- Ῥῆμνσιος**,<sup>1</sup> xvii. 4, 18 ff.
- Rhamnusius**, adj. from Rhamnus, a town in the north-eastern part of Attica, famed for its temple of Themis;<sup>2</sup> the home of Antiphon, xxx. 4, 5.
- Rhenus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxviii. 5, 10, 11; Valentinian bridges, xxix. 4, 2; xxx. 3, 4; 10, 3; xxxi. 7, 4; source and passage of through Lake of Constance, xv. 4, 2 ff.; frozen over, xxvii. 6, 12; xxxi. 10, 4; repair of fortresses on, xxviii. 2, 1-5.
- Rhodopa**,<sup>2</sup> the province, xxvii. 4, 13.
- Rhodope**,<sup>2</sup> the mountain range, xxvii. 4, 7; xxxi. 8, 6; 11, 2.
- Richomeres**, xxxi. 7, 4, 5; 8, 2; 12, 4, 15, 17; 13, 9.
- Robur**, a fortress near Basilia (Basle), xxx. 3, 1.
- Roma**<sup>1</sup> (Urbs), senate and people of, revered everywhere, xiv. 6, 6; home of empire and of all virtues, xvi. 10, 13; increased by favour of the gods, xix. 10, 4; *sacratissima*, xvii. 3, 3; *aeterna*, xiv. 6, 1; xxviii. 1, 1; xxix. 6, 17, etc.; *venerabilis*, xiv. 6, 5; development of (*iuventus*, etc.), xiv. 6, 3-6 (cf. xxviii. 1 and 4); famous buildings of, xvi. 10, 13-17; xxvii. 3, 2; xxviii. 1, 1; Exc. 30; Exc. 33 (*millesimus annus*), 36, 44; called simply *urbs*, xxvii. 3, 2; 9, 8; 11, 1; xxviii. 1, 6; xxix. 3, 6; Exc. 10; the temple of the whole world, xvii. 4, 13; never finally defeated, xvii. 5, 14.
1. **Romanus**, -a, -um,<sup>2</sup> adj.: as subst. Roman, -orum; R. *agmen*, xix. 8, 10; xxi. 5, 3; xxviii. 5, 10; *arma*, xxxi. 5, 9; *auctoritas*, xxvii. 12, 4; *caespes*, xxvii. 4, 6; *castella*, xvii. 10, 1; *castra*, xvii. 13, 22; xxix. 5, 55; *cives*, xxvii. 9, 9; *classes*, xxvii. 4, 10; *collimitia*, xv. 4, 1; *damna*, xvii. 10, 3; *duces*, xvii. 12, 19; xxix. 5, 15; (*dux*) xxx. 8, 9; xxxi. 12, 11; *dicio*, xv. 11, 5; xx. 11, 7; xxi. 10, 3; *exercitus*, xxviii. 3, 1; xxvi. 7, 16; *finis*, xix. 9, 5; *imperium*, xv. 12, 5; xxvii. 6, 12; *iurisdiction*, xviii. 4, 5; *ius*, xxix. 6, 2; *limes*, xvii. 13, 1; xviii. 5, 3; xxviii. 5, 1; *magnitudo*, xiv. 6, 10; *maiestas*,

# INDEX

## 1. Romanus—continued.

xvi. 12, 31; *munimenta*, xv. 4, 9; xvi. 12, 58; *nomen*, xvi. 3, 3; xxix. 5, 2; *orbis*, xvi. 1, 1; xvii. 5, 13; xix. 2, 4, etc.; *pars*, xxx. 2, 2; *partes*, xxvii. 12, 16; *plebs*, xxx. 8, 9; *potentia*, xvii. 10, 10; 12, 11; *populus*, xiv. 8, 15; xxviii. 1, 17; Exc. 44; *praesidia*, xiv. 3, 4; *princeps*, xvii. 5, 1; xviii. 6, 18; *rector*, xxx. 1, 4; *res*, xvi. 12, 17; xvii. 14, 1; xxvii. 10, 3, etc.; *ritus*, xvii. 1, 7; *robur*, xviii. 5, 7; *sanguis*, xvi. 10, 1; *senatus* (*patres*, xiv. 6, 6), Exc. 44; *signa*, xvi. 12, 8; *solum*, xvii. 8, 3; xviii. 8, 20; xxvii. 10, 4; xxxi. 4, 13; *status*, xx. 8, 11; *utilitas*, xvii. 14, 1; *virtus*, xv. 4, 3.

## 2. Romanus.<sup>2</sup>

3. Romanus, commanding general in Africa, xxvii. 9, 1; xxviii. 6, 5, 8, 11, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26; xxix. 5, 2, 15, 50; xxx. 2, 10, 11.

1. Romulus,<sup>2</sup> a senator of Aquileia.

2. Romulus Augustulus, Exc. 37.

Rufina, xxviii. 1, 44, 45.

1. Rufinus.<sup>1</sup>

2. Rufinus (Vulcacius), praet. prefect, xxvii. 7, 2; 11, 1.

Rugi, a people of northern Germany, Exc. 48.

Rumor, personified, xviii. 6, 3. Cf. *Fama*.<sup>1</sup>

Ruricius, governor of Africa, xxvii. 9, 3; xxviii. 6, 11; executed, xxviii. 6, 22, 23.

Rusticianus, xxviii. 6, 10.

Rusticus Iulianus, xxvii. 6, 1, 2.

Rutilius, an orator, xxx. 4, 6.

Rutuplae,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 8, 6.

## 1. Sabinus.<sup>2</sup>

2. Sabinus, a bishop, Exc. 90.

Salia, comes *thesaurorum*, xxix. 1, 26.

Salices, a city of Thrace, xxxi. 7, 5. Sallustius; see Sallustius.

1. Sallustius,<sup>1</sup> the historian.

2. Sallustius, praetorian prefect in Gaul, xxi. 8, 1; xxii. 3, 1; consul with Julian in 363, xxiii. 1, 6; 5, 4.

## 3. Sallustius, xxix. 3, 7.

Salmaces, a prince of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 13.

Salona, a town of Dalmatia, modern Split—in Yugoslavia, Exc. 36, note.

Salsula, xxviii. 4, 28.

Salutius (Secundus, Saturninus), often confused with 2. Sallustius in Gardt. and earlier edd.; praet. pref. in Orient, xxii. 3, 1; xxvi. 5, 6; escapes from battle with Persians in 363, xxv. 3, 14, 21; declines imperial power, xxv. 5, 3; sent as envoy to Persians, xxv. 7, 7; xxvi. 2, 1; succeeded as prefect of Orient by Nebridius, xxvi. 7, 4.

Salvius, xxvii. 10, 12.

Samiramis,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 4, 9.

Samniticum bellum, xxx. 8, 5; see Samnites.<sup>1</sup>

Sapaudulus, a slave, xxviii. 1, 49; see crit. note.

Saphrax, a leader of the Goths, xxxi. 3, 3; 4, 12; 12, 12, 17.

Sapor,<sup>1,2</sup> Sapor II., king of the Persians, xvi. 9, 3; haughty letter of, to Constantius, xvii. 5, 3 (cf. 10); diadem of, xix. 1, 3; attacks Singara, xx. 6, 7; also captures Bezabde, xx. 7, 1 ff.; hears of Julian's death, xxv. 5, 8; renews war in time of Valentinian, xxvii. 12, 1 ff.; lord of many kings and nations, xix. 1, 6; unlucky in sieges, xix. 9, 9; xxix. 1, 1; 1, 4 (Parthus rex); xxx. 2, 1-7.

Saraceni,<sup>1,2</sup> their customs, desirable neither as friends nor enemies, xiv. 4, 1-7; same as Scenitae Arabes, xxii. 15, 2; Saraceni Assanitae, xxiv. 2, 4; chief of the, id., note; offer to be allies of Julian, xxiii. 3, 8 (cf. 5, 1); aid Romans in defending Constantinople, xxxi. 16, 5; their thirst for blood, xxxi. 16, 6; side with the Persians, against Julian because of his treatment of them, xxv. 6, 0, 10.

Saracenae gentes, xiv. 8, 5.

Sardus homo, xviii. 1, 7, a man of Sardinia.



# INDEX

- Sardinia**, the island west of Italy, xxviii. 1, 6; xxix. 3, 5.
- Sarmatae**,<sup>1, 2</sup> a race skilled in brigandage, xvi. 10, 20; xxix. 6, 8; arms and horses of, xvii. 12, 2, note; exiled by their slaves (Limigantes), but freed by Constantius and called **Liberi Sarmatae**, xxix. 6, 15; xvii. 12, 17-20; invade Upper Moesia and Pannonia Secunda, xvi. 10, 20; xvii. 12, 1; defeated by Constantius, xvii. 13; invade again under Valentinian, xxvi. 4, 5; xxix. 6, 8; envoys of, seek peace, xxx. 5, 1; driven from their homes, xxxi. 4, 13; Sarmatae Asiani, xxiii. 6, 61; Constantine allows 300,000 to settle in Roman territory; Exc. 31, 32, 34; Sarmata, a Sarmatian, xxxi. 12, 6; Exc. 31, 32, 34; see 1. Victor; also Sarmatia.
1. Saturninus.<sup>2</sup>
  2. Saturninus, xxix. 1, 17.
  3. Saturninus, xxxi. 8, 3, 5; 13, 9; see also Salutius.
- Sauromaces**, king of 1. Hiberia, xxvii. 12, 4, 16; xxx. 2, 4, 7.
- Sauromatae**,<sup>2</sup> xxxi. 2, 13.
- Savaria**, a city of Pannonia, modern Stein am Anger, xxx. 5, 14, 16.
- Saxones**,<sup>2</sup> invade Britain, xxvii. 8, 5; invade Gaul, xxviii. 2, 12; 5, 1, 4; xxx. 7, 8.
- Scaevolae**, used of typical orators, probably referring to Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul in 174 B.C., and Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul in 95 B.C., xxx. 4, 6.
- Scarponna**, a place near Metis (Charpeigne), xxvii. 2, 1.
- Scauri**, typical orators, probably referring especially to M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul in 115 B.C.; xxx. 4, 6; cf. Cicero, *Brutus*, 29, 110.
1. Scaurus,<sup>2</sup> the curule aedile.
  2. Scaurus,<sup>2</sup> consul 115 B.C., censor, 110, xxvii. 3, 9, note.
1. Scipio (P. Cornelius Africanus<sup>1</sup>), his continence, xxiv. 4, 27.
  2. Scipio (Cn. Cornelius Calvus<sup>1</sup>), xxxi. 13, 17.
  3. Scipio (P. Cornelius<sup>1</sup>).
  4. Scipio Aemilianus.<sup>1</sup>
  5. Scipio Nasica.<sup>2</sup>
- Sciri**, a Gothic race, Exc. 37, note.
- Scordisci**, a savage people of Thrace, xxvii. 4, 4.
- Scotti**,<sup>2</sup> a people of Britain who, with the Picti, invaded the Roman province, xxvii. 8, 5.
- Scythae**:<sup>2</sup> Asiatici, their queen Tomyris<sup>2</sup> defeats and kills Cyrus the Great, xxiii. 6, 7; allies of Constantius against Persians, xx. 8, 1; of Julian, xxiii. 2, 7; of Valens, xxx. 2, 6; home of, xxxi. 2, 13; Scythae Europaei, xxvii. 4, 12; see 1. Scythia.
1. Scythia,<sup>2</sup> the country; see also Scythae and Scythicus.
  2. Scythia, the Roman province, xxvii. 4, 12; xxxi. 8, 4; Exc. 32.
  3. Scythia,<sup>2</sup> a province of Persia.
- Scythia minor**, Exc. 18, note.
- Scythicus**, -a, -um,<sup>2</sup> adj.: *arcus*, xxii. 8, 10, 37, notes; *gentes*, xxxi. 5, 15; *regna*, xxiii. 6, 40; Σκυθική χώρα, xxxi. 1, 5.
- Sebastianus**,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 10, 6; xxx. 5, 13; 10, 3; defeats Goths, xxxi. 11, 1, 4; 12, 1, 6; slain in battle with Goths, 13, 18.
- Secundus**; see Salutius.
1. Seleucia,<sup>1</sup> in Isauria.
  2. Seleucia,<sup>2</sup> a city of Persia.
  3. Seleucia,<sup>1</sup> in Syria, xxix. 1, 16.
- Semicupae**, xxviii. 4, 28.
- Senicius**, brother of Bassianus (also called Senicio), Exc. 15; see crit. note.
- Serapini**, xxviii. 4, 28.
- Serdica**,<sup>1, 2</sup> xxxi. 16, 2; Exc. 8, 19.
- Seres**,<sup>1</sup> home of, xxiii. 6, 64, note; nature and customs of, xxiii. 6, 67, 69; xxxi. 2, 15; see also **Serica**<sup>2</sup> and **Serica indumenta**.
- Sergius**,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 10, 16.
- Serica indumenta**, xxviii. 4, 8. Silken clothing made from Sericum (see xxiii. 6, 67).
- Sericus**, xxviii. 1, 8 (note), 29.

## INDEX

- Serrorum montes**, mountains in the country of the Serri, a people of Asiatic Sarmatia, on the Euxine, xxvii. 5, 8; see Pliny, *N.H.*, vi. 16.
- Sertoriana nex**, xxx. 1, 23; see Sertorius.<sup>2</sup>
- Sessorium palatium**, Exc. 69, note.
- Severianus**, *comes*, xxvii. 1, 2
- Severinus**, a Pannonian monk, Exc. 45.
1. Severus (Septimius),<sup>2</sup> the emperor, defeats the Persians, xxiii. 5, 17; vainly besieges Hatra, xxv. 8, 5; defeats Pescennius Niger, xxvi. 8, 15; all but assassinated, xxix. 1, 17.
  2. (Severus); see Alexander.
  3. Severus, Caesar under Galerius, Exc. 4, note, 5, 9, 10.
  4. Severus,<sup>1</sup> commander of cavalry in Gaul, xvi. 10, 21; xvii. 10, 1; succeeded by Lupicinus, xviii. 2, 7; commander of infantry under Valentinian, xxvii. 6, 3; *domesticorum comes*, sent against Britain, xxvii. 8, 2; *magister rei castrensis*, sent against the Alamanni, xxvii. 10, 6; cf. xxix. 4, 3; aids Nannenus against Saxons, xxviii. 5, 2-3.
  5. Severus, sent as envoy to Valentinian from Tripolis, died on the way, xxviii. 6, 7, 16.
- Sibyllae**<sup>2</sup> oracula, used typically, xxx. 4, 11.
- Sicani**, with the Aborigines, the earliest inhabitants of Italy, xxx. 4, 12.
- Sicinini basilica**, xxvii. 3, 13, note.
- Sichnius**<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 10, 16.
- Siculus** Dionysius, the Sicilian Dionysius (see Dionysius),<sup>1</sup> xxix. 2, 4.
- Sigismundus**, son of Gundebadus, Exc. 63.
- Silvani lavacrum**, apparently in Campania, xxviii. 4, 19, note on Mamacae aquae.
- Silvas**, a prominent official of Lepcis, xxviii. 6, 4.
1. Simonides,<sup>1</sup> the lyric poet.
  2. Simonides, a philosopher, xxix. 1, 37, 38.
1. Simplicius.<sup>1</sup>
  2. Simplicius (Hemonensis), xxviii. 1, 45, 49, 52, 57.
- Sirmium**,<sup>1, 2</sup> Constantius returns in triumph to, xvii. 13, 33; makes his winter quarters in, xix. 11, 1; headquarters of troops, xxi. 9, 5; Julian meets Aurelius Victor at, xxi. 10, 6; Lucillianus in retirement at, xxv. 8, 9; Valentinian and Valens share the palace at, xxvi. 5, 4; xxix. 6, 7, 9 (residence of praetorian prefect); damage by lightning to, xxx. 5, 16; captured by Gratian, xxxi. 11, 6; Exc. 16.
- Sitifensis Mauritania**, a division of Mauritania,<sup>2</sup> named from the city of Sitifis, xxix. 5, 5, 27.
- Sitifis**, a city on the northern coast of Africa, xxviii. 6, 23; xxix. 5, 7, 50, 56.
- Smyrnaea mulier**, a matron from Smyrna, on the western coast of Ionia in Asia Minor, xxix. 2, 19.
- Socrates**,<sup>1, 2</sup> his desire for learning, xxviii. 4, 15.
- Sol**, mens mundi, xxi. 1, 11; as a god, xvii. 4, 12 (*ἥλιος*, xvii. 4, 18 ff.), xxii. 14, 7; xxiii. 6, 5.
- Solicinium**, a place in Germany, modern Schwetzingen, xxvii. 10, 8; xxx. 7, 7.
- Sopiana**, a city in the province of Valeria,<sup>1</sup> xxviii. 1, 5.
- Spartanus**<sup>2</sup> *canis*, xxix. 3, 3; *canes*, xxx. 4, 8.
- Spudasi**, xxix. 1, 5.
- Stachao**, one of the Austuriani (*q.v.*), xxviii. 6, 3.
- Stagira**, a city of Thrace, the birth-place of Aristotle, xxvii. 4, 8.
- Statarii**, xxviii. 4, 28.
- Stephanus**, St., Exc. 83.
- Stesichorus**, the famous Greek lyric poet (*circa* 640-555 B.C.). He spent the greater part of his life in Himera in Sicily, and died at Catania, xxviii. 4, 15.
- Subicarense castellum**, a fortress of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 55.
- Succi**,<sup>2</sup> *Succorum angustiae*, xxvii. 4, 5; xxxi. 10, 21.
- Sueridus**, a distinguished Goth, xxxi. 6, 1.

# INDEX

- Sugabarritanum**, a town of Mauritanian, *xxix.* 5, 20  
**Sugges**, an official of the Mauri, *xxix.* 5, 27.  
**(Suprae)**, read by Gardt. with cod. V., *xxx.* 1, 20; see crit. note and note on *scurrae*.  
**Syagrius**, consul in 381, *xxviii.* 2, 5, 9.  
**1. Symmachus**,<sup>3</sup> (L. Aurelius Avianus), a senator sent by Julian as envoy to Constantius, *xxi.* 12, 24; prefect of Rome in 364; praised in *xxvii.* 3, 3.  
**2. Symmachus** (Q. Aurelius Memmius), princeps senatus, father-in-law of Boethius, *Exc.* 92.  
**3. Symmachus**, a Roman bishop of the time of Theodoric, pope from 498-514, *Exc.* 65.  
**4. Symmachus**, a Jewish rhetorician, *Exc.* 94.  
**Syracusae**, Syracuse, the famous city of eastern Sicily, *xxviii.* 4, 23; see 1. Marcellus.  
**Syria**,<sup>1, 2</sup> described, *xiv.* 8, 8 ff.; *xxviii.* 2, 11; *xxix.* 2, 22; *Syriae*,<sup>2</sup> the Syrian provinces, *xiv.* 8, 11, etc.  
**Taifali**,<sup>1</sup> their location, *xxxi.* 3, 7; transferred to Italy, *xxxi.* 9, 3-4; their customs, *xxxi.* 9, 5.  
**Tanais**,<sup>2</sup> *xxxi.* 2, 13.  
**Tanaitae**, a people of the Halani, *xxxi.* 3, 1.  
**Tarrach**, *xxviii.* 4, 7.  
**Tarracius Bassus**, a prefect of Rome, *xxviii.* 1, 27.  
**Tarsus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> *xxx.* 1, 4.  
**Taurica gens**, see **Tauri**,<sup>2</sup> *xxviii.* 4, 32.  
**1. Taurus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> a quaestor.  
**2. Taurus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the mountain range; **Tauri montis vertices**, *xiv.* 8, 1; **Taurini vertices**, *xviii.* 9, 2; trans. **Taurum**, *xxxi.* 16, 8.  
**Temenus**, son of Aristomachus, one of the Heraclidae. He led the Heraclidae into the Peloponnesus and received Argos as his share in their conquest. His descendants are said to have founded the Macedonian king-

## Temenus—continued.

- dom, *xxviii.* 4, 27; but see O. Hoffman, *Die Makedonen*, pp. 256 ff.  
**1. Terentius**,<sup>1</sup> the Roman poet.  
**2. Terentius**, a baker who became governor (*corrector*) of Tuscia, *xxvii.* 3, 2, note 2.  
**3. Terentius**, *dux*, and later *comes rei militaris*, *xxvii.* 12, 10, 16; *xxx.* 1, 2, 4.  
**Teutones**, a Germanic people who with the Cimbri invaded Italy at the end of the second century, *B.C.*, *xxxi.* 5, 12; see *Teutonica bella*.<sup>1</sup>  
**Thelane**, son of Odoacer, *Exc.* 54.  
**Themistocles**,<sup>2</sup> *xxx.* 8, 8.  
**Theodegotha**, daughter of Theodoric, *Exc.* 63.  
**Theodericus**, leader of the Goths and later king of Italy; his parentage, *Exc.* 42, 53; made *patricius* and consul by Zeno, 49; sent against Odoacer, whom he defeated and killed, 54, 55; proclaimed king of Italy, 57; his beneficent reign, 60, 61, 70, ff.; changes in his later years, 85; his inability to write, 79; his death, 95; his mausoleum, 96.  
**Theodora**, wife of Constantius Chlorus, *Exc.* 1.  
**1. Theodorus**,<sup>2</sup> a secretary charged with aspiring to imperial rank, *xxix.* 1, 8 ff.; his character, *xxix.* 1, 8; the method of his selection, *xxix.* 1, 29 ff.; put to death, *xxviii.* 1, 38 (cf. *xxxi.* 1, 3).  
**2. Theodorus**, *Exc.* 68.  
**1. Theodosius**, a tribune, later general in Britain and Africa, *xxvii.* 8, 3; *xxviii.* 3; *magister equitum*, 5, 15; 6, 26; *xxix.* 3, 6; 4, 5; exploits of, in Africa, *xxix.* 5. For his death see Hieron. *Chron.*, 376, and A. Hoepffner, *Rev. des Etudes Lat.*, 14 (1936), pp. 119 ff.  
**2. Theodosius**, son of 1. Theodosius and emperor of Rome from 379 to 395; as general in Moesia defeats the Free Sarmatians, *xxix.* 6, 15.

## INDEX

- Theognis**, a famous Greek elegiac poet, who flourished in the second half of the sixth century B.C., xxix. 1, 21.
- Thersites**, xxx. 4, 15, note.
- Theruingi**, a Gothic tribe, xxxi. 3, 4; admitted to Roman territory, but badly treated, 5, 1; devastate the country and defeat Lupicinus, xxxi. 1, 8-9.
- Thessalia**, Thessaly, in the eastern part of northern Greece; devastated by Scythians, xxxi. 5, 17.
- Thessalonice**, a city of Macedonia on the Thermaic Gulf, modern Salonike; besieged by Scythians, xxxi. 5, 16; Exc. 21.
- Thracæ**,<sup>1, 2</sup> strength and hardness of, xxvii. 4, 14.
- Thracia**,<sup>1</sup> extent of, in ancient times, xxvii. 4, 3 (included Sordisci, 4, 4); its six provinces, xxvii. 4; xxx. 1, 15; xxxi. 3, 8; 4, 5; 8, 6; 12, 8; Exc. 18, 21, 25, 32. Thracia, the Thracian provinces, xxix. 1, 26; xxx. 2, 8; xxxi. 6, 5; 7, 1; 9, 1; 10, 1; 11, 6; 16, 8; Exc. 5.
- Tiberis**,<sup>1</sup> flood of, in 371, xxix. 6, 17; Exc. 6, 12.
- Ticinum**,<sup>1</sup> Exc. 71, 87.
- Tigavlae**, a city of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 20.
- Tigris**,<sup>1, 2</sup> its underground course, xxiii. 6, 15.
- Tingitanus**, -a, -um, adj. from Tingi (Tinge, Tingio), a town of Mauritania: *Castellum*, a fortified place in Mauretania Tingitana, xxix. 5, 25.
- Tipasa**, a city of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 17; 31, see crit. notes.
- Tisias** (Teisias), an early Greek rhetorician, xxx. 4, 3.
- Tomi**,<sup>1</sup> a city of eastern Moesia (Thrace) on the Euxine, xxvii. 4, 12.
1. **Traianus**,<sup>1, 2</sup> the emperor; makes Arabia a province, xiv. 8, 13; his glory in war, xvi. 1, 4; defeats the Persians, xxiii. 5, 17; tribunal of, in Persia, xxiv. 2, 3, note; his oaths, xxiv. 3, 9; vainly besieged Hatra, but almost perished, xxv. 8, 5, note;
1. **Traianus**—*continued*.  
put his own name on earlier buildings, xxvii. 3, 7, note; founded Marcanopolis, xxvii. 4, 12; xxix. 5, 4; cited with Marcus Aurelius as a good emperor, xxx. 9, 1; founds Nicopolis, xxxi. 5, 16; his Forum, xvi. 10, 15; imitated by Theodoric, Exc. 60; his aqueduct at Ravenna, Exc. 71.
2. **Traianus**, general (*comes*) in Armenia, later commander-in-chief, xxix. 1, 2; xxx. 1, 18; carries on war against Goths, xxxi. 7, 1, 5; 8, 3; succeeded by Sebastianus, 11, 1; restored to command, 12, 1; fell in battle in Armenia, xxxi. 13, 18.
- Transalpina**<sup>2</sup> auxilia, xxxi. 7, 3.
- Transcellensis mons**, a mountain of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 20.
- Transimundus**, a king of the Vandals, Exc. 68.
- Transtiberinus tractus**, a region of Rome, xxvii. 3, 4.
- Trebatius** (Testa, C.), the famous jurist, a friend of Cicero and Horace, xxx. 4, 12, note.
- Treveri**,<sup>1</sup> closes its gates against Magnentius, xv. 6, 4; frequented by Roman emperors, xv. 11, 9; xxvii. 8, 1; 10, 16; xxviii. 6, 20; xxix. 4, 6; xxx. 3, 7; 5, 1; 10, 1.
- Tridentinus**, a native of Tridentum,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 2, 22.
- Tripolis**, a district of northern Africa, xxviii. 6, 1, 12 ff.; xxx. 2, 9.
- Tripolitani**, the people of Tripolis, xxviii. 6, 7, 10, 20; cf. Tripolitana legatio.<sup>1</sup>
- Triwane**, head chamberlain of king Theodoric, Exc. 82.
- Trulla**, xxviii. 4, 28.
- Tubusuptum** (Tubusuctus), xxix. 5, 11.
- Tufa**, a general of king Odoacer, Exc. 51 f.
1. **Tullianus** career, the Tullianum, the Roman dungeon at the foot of the Capitoline hill, between the temple of Concord and the Curia, xxviii. 1, 57, note.

## INDEX

2. Tullianus, -a, -um,<sup>2</sup> adj. from Tullius (Cicero): *flosculi*, xxix. 1, 11; as subst., *Tullianum illud*, xxix. 5, 24.
- Tullius; see Cicero and 2. Tullianus.
- Turingi, Exc. 70.
- Tuscia,<sup>2</sup> xxviii. 1, 6; Tuscia Annonaria, xxvii. 3, 1, note.
- Tyndarides, sons of Tyndareus, king of Sparta, referring to Castor and Pollux, xxviii. 4, 11; see also Castores.
- Tyndenses, a people of Mauritania, xxix. 5, 11.
- Tyrrenum mare,<sup>1</sup> xxix. 6, 17.
- Ulixes, Ulysses, xxvii. 8, 4.
- Ultra, xxvii. 12, 16.
- Urbicius, general (*dux*) in Mesopotamia, xxx. 2, 4, 7.
1. Ursicinus,<sup>1</sup> *magister equitum* in Orient, character of, xiv. 9, 1; *vir magnanimus*, xv. 2, 3; *rei bellicae praestantissimus*, 5, 18; house of, coveted by Eusebius, xviii. 4, 3; skilled in Persian warfare, xviii. 6, 1, 3; chides 4. Antoninus, xviii. 8, 5; prevented from relieving Amida, xix. 3, 1-3; blamed for loss of Amida and cashiered, xx. 2, 1 5; his son, see Potentius; see also *Introd.*, x. ff. (Vol. I.).
2. Ursicinus,<sup>1</sup> a king of the Alamanni.
3. Ursicinus, successor to 3. Maximinus, xxviii. 1, 44, 45.
- Ursinus, strife of, with Damasus, xxvii. 3, 12; 9, 9.
- Uscudama, another name for Hadrianopolis<sup>1</sup> (*q.v.*).
- Utica, the city of northern Africa, north-west of Carthage, xxviii. 6, 23.
- Vadomarius,<sup>1</sup> king of the Alamanni, xviii. 2, 16, 18; makes inroads into Gaul, xiv. 10, 1; Constantius makes peace with, xvi. 12, 17; xviii. 2, 18; rouses him against Julian, xxi. 3, 4-5; Julian orders arrest of, and banishes to Spain, xxi. 4, 1-6 (cf. Vadomarius—*continued*. xxix. 4, 2); recalled and made general in Phoenicia, xxi. 3, 5; serves against Procopius, xxvi. 8, 2; against Sapor, xxix. 1, 2; his son, see Vithicabius.
- Vagabanta, a city of Mesopotamia, xxix. 1, 3.
- Valamericus (Walamericus), a general of the Goths, Exc. 42, 58 (Walamir).
1. Valens Thessalonicens.<sup>2</sup>
2. Valens, Flavius, emperor, 364-378, brother of Valentinian, a Pannonian by birth, xxvi. 5, 3; given rank of tribune by Valentinian, xxvi. 4, 2; made Augustus and assigned to Orient, xxvi. 4, 3 (cf. 5, 2); associated with Serenianus, xxvi. 5, 3; character of friends of, xxx. 4, 1; depends greatly on his brother, xxvii. 4, 1; has his court at Constantinople, xxvi. 5, 4; consul with Valentinian (365), xxvi. 5, 6; 9, 1; 10, 15; (368); (370), xxviii. 5, 1; (373, 376, 378); goes to Syria, xxvi. 6, 11; addressed as Sabalarus, xxvi. 8, 2; effect on, of his father-in-law Petronius, xxvi. 6, 7; Procopius as Augustus rises against, xxvi. 5, 8, 11; 6, 11 ff.; 7; cruelly punishes Procopius' friends, xxvi. 10, 1 ff; wages war with Goths who aided Procopius, but makes peace with them, xxvii. 4, 1; 5, 1-4; invades Isauria, xxvii. 9, 6; his cruel inquisitions of inquirers as to succession, xxix. 1, 18 ff. 2, 18; summons Papa, king of Armenia, to Tarsus, xxx. 1, 4; Sapor demands a change in Armenia and Hiberia, xxx. 2, 1-2; prepares for war against Sapor, xxx. 2, 3 ff.; Goths cross into Roman territory, xxxi. 4; assigns them homes in Thrace, xxxi. 4, 5; seeks aid from Gratian, xxxi. 7, 3, 4; 10, 3; Goths send envoy to, xxxi. 12, 8 f.; through jealousy does not wait for Gratian, xxxi. 12, 7; makes war rashly and is

# INDEX

## 2. Valens, Flavius—*continued*.

- defeated, xxxi. 12, 11 ff.; 13; body of, never found, xxxi. 13, 12; various opinions about his death, xxxi. 13, 14 ff.; Ammianus ends his history with death of, xxxi. 16, 9; his character, xxxi. 14; inclined to cruelty, xxvi. 10, 2 (cf. xxix. 1, 2 ff.; 2, 17); Valentinum lavacrum, xxxi. 1, 2.
3. Valens, Caesar under Licinius. Exc. 17, 18.
4. Valens, xxix. 2, 27.
1. Valens, the city of Gallia Viennensis.
2. Valens, a province of Britain subject to Rome, named after the emperor, xxviii. 3, 7.
1. Valentinianus I. (Flavius), emperor 364-375, a Pannonian, son of 1. Gratianus, xxx. 7, 2; tribune of cavalry in Gaul, xxv. 10, 6; xvi. 11, 6; narrowly escapes death, xxv. 10, 7; commander second division targeteers, xxv. 10, 9; sends 1. Theodosius to Britain, xxvii. 8, 3; with Gratianus defeats Alamanni, xxvii. 10; fortifies Rhine from Raetia to Belgic Channel, xxviii. 2, 1 ff. (note on §1); builds fortresses in lands of Quadi, xxix. 6, 2; causes death of king Gabinius, xxix. 6, 5; war with Quadi and Sarmatians, xxix. 6, 8 ff.; Tripolitani send gifts to, xxviii. 6, 7 (cf. xv. 5, 36; xxx. 2, 9); repels and tricks Burgundians, xxviii. 5, 9, 12, 13; plots against Macrianus, king of Alamanni, xxix. 4, 2-6; makes peace with him, xxx. 3, 1-4; attacks Sarmatians and Quadi, xxx. 5; angered by envoys of the Quadi, has a stroke and dies, xxx. 6, 1-6 (cf. xxviii. 6, 28); buried at Constantinople, xxx. 10, 1; summary of reign of, xxx. 7; a good administrator, xxix. 4, 1; indulgent to military commanders, hard on common soldiers, xxvii. 9, 4; xxx. 9, 1; prone to cruelty, xxvii. 7, 4; xxviii. 1, 21 ff.; xxix. 3, 2; xxx. 8, 2; keeps two fierce bears, xxix.

## 1. Valentinianus I.—*continued*.

- 3, 9; avaricious and jealous, xxx. 8, 8, 10; his good qualities, xxx. 9; his personal appearance, xxx. 9, 6 (see frontispiece); compared with Trajan, Exc. 60.
2. Valentinianus II., xxx. 10, 4.
1. Valentinus.<sup>1</sup>
2. Valentinus, xxviii. 3, 4, 6; xxx. 7, 10.
- Valeria,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Diocletian.
- Valeria,<sup>1</sup> a province of Pannonia, xxviii. 1, 5; 3, 4; xxix. 6, 3 (*dux per*), 12.
1. Valerianus, xxvii. 10, 16.
2. Valerianus, xxxi. 13, 18.
1. Valerius Corvinus.<sup>2</sup>
2. Valerius Publicola.<sup>1</sup>
- Vandali (Wandali), the Vandals, originally dwelling in northern Germany under the name of Vandilli. In the fifth century they overran Africa, Exc. 68.
- Varronianus, father of Jovian, his prediction, xxv. 10, 16.
- Vaticanus,<sup>1</sup> xxvii. 3, 6.
1. Venustus,<sup>2</sup> *ex-vicarius*, xxviii. 1, 24.
2. Vennustus.<sup>2</sup>
- Vergilius<sup>1</sup> (xxx. 4, 6).
- Verona, the city of northern Italy, Exc. 12, 71, 81, 82; see Veronensis.
- Veronensis civitas, Exc. 83.
- Verturiones, a people of the Picti, xxvii. 8, 5.
- Verus,<sup>2</sup> the emperor, xxvii. 6, 16.
1. Victor<sup>2</sup> (Sex. Aurelius).
2. Victor, a Sarmatian, general (*dux*) of Julian, xxiv. 1, 2; comes, xxiv. 6, 4, 13; xxv. 5, 2; xxvi. 5, 2; commander of cavalry, xxvii. 5, 1, 2, 9; xxx. 2, 4, 7 (*comes*), xxxi. 7, 1; 12, 6; 13, 9.
3. Victor,<sup>2</sup> a tribune.
- Victoriac, the goddess, xxviii. 6, 7.
- Victorinus, a friend of 1. Maximinus, xxviii. 1, 27, 34, 48 ff.
- Viderichus, son of a king of the Ostrogoths, xxxi. 3, 3.
- Vidini, a Scythian people, xxxi. 2, 14.
- Vincentius,<sup>2</sup> *vicarius* of Africa, xxix. 5, 6.

## INDEX

- Virgo, the sign of the Zodiac**, xxxi. 13, 7.
- Visigothae (Wisigothae)**, Exc. 53, 63.
- Vithericus, king of the Greuthungi**, xxxi. 4, 12.
- Vithicabius, son of Vadomarius**, xxvii. 10, 3; xxx. 7, 7.
- Vithimiris, a king of the Goths**, xxxi. 3, 3.
- Viventius Sciscianus**,<sup>2</sup> a Pannonian, prefect of Rome and praetorian prefect in Gaul, xxvii. 3, 11, 12; xxx. 5, 11.
- Vulcatius**; see Rufinus.
- Walamericus**; see Valamericus.
- Walamir**; see Valamericus.
- Wandali**; see Vandali.
- Wisigothae**; see Visigothae.
- Zammac, son of the king of Mauritania**, xxix. 5, 2.
1. Zeno,<sup>1</sup> the philosopher.
2. Zeno (Zenon), an Isaurian, emperor of the East, 474-496, Exc. 36 ff., 39 ff.; his death, 56.
- Zenobia, queen of Palmyra**, conquered by Aurelian, xxviii. 4, 9.
- Zephyrus**,<sup>1</sup>,<sup>2</sup> xxvii. 4, 3; xxxi. 4, 6.

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